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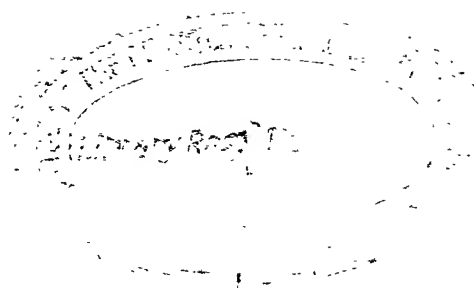














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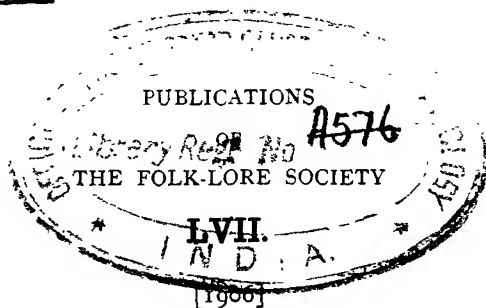
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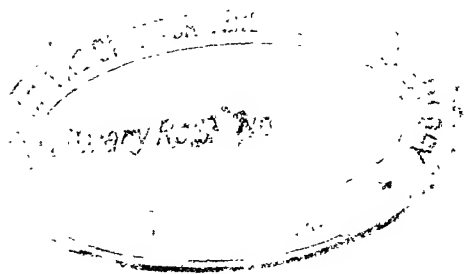
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# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FOLK-LORE

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COMPILED BY  
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The bibliography includes only works and periodicals published in the British Empire in 1905. Important articles in non-folklore journals and works are marked with an asterisk; there is no attempt at giving a full index to them.

Proper names in square brackets in italics are those of tribes; otherwise italics signify that the objects named are figured.

A certain number of periodicals—*Science of Man*, *Madras Christian College Magazine*, *West Africa*, *Malabar Review*, etc.—are either not yet accessible or not taken in by any English library, so far as the compiler is aware.

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- Byegones*, 1905, 49. Virgin's crowns at Minsterley. 28
- Byegones*, 1905, 50. Easter Sunday Custom. [Early rising, etc.] 29
- Byegones*, 1905, 38, 55, 64. Funeral Custom. [Flowers on grave.] 30
- Byegones*, 1905, 80-81. Welsh Superstition. [Teeth, wedding, etc.] 31
- Byegones*, 1905, 96. Children born with teeth. 32
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- Byegones*, 1905, 174. Itching palms. 34
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- Fowke, F. R.**, Superstitions of Trades and Callings. *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii. 465. [Milliners will not fit with black pins; blood as good omen, etc.] 43
- Frazer, J. G.**, Sympathy. *Folklore*, 16, 337. [Animal leechcraft.] 44
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- Hallam, W. H.**, and others, *Berks, Bucks and Oxon. Arch. Jl.*, x. 30-32, 62-63. [Berkshire Children's Games.] 46
- Harland-Oxley, W. E.**, *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii. 16. [Pins in heart as malevolent charm.] 47
- Hems, H.**, Christmas Custom in Somersetshire. *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii. 86, 236. [Burning the faggots.] 48
- Ingleby, H.**, Norfolk Folk-songs. *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii. 365. 49
- Jennings, H. L. F.**, A Cambridgeshire Witch. *Folklore*, 16, 187-190. 50
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- Macmichael, J. H.**, and others, All Fool's Day. *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii. 286, 333, 416. [Verses.] 56
- Page, J. T.**, and others, Horseshoes for luck. *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii. 9, 90, 214. [Correct position, etc.] 57
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- Ratcliffe, T.**, and others, Picking up scraps of iron. *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii. 348, 397. 59
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- Villiers, E.,** Mock Burial. *Folklore*, 16, 225. [Charm.] 66
- Wherry, B. A.,** Notes from Monmouthshire. *Folklore*, 16, 63-67. [Fairies; banshee; ashtree cure; "midsummer men"; burial customs.] 67

SCOTLAND.

- Bailey, D.,** Devil in Glencoe. *Folklore*, 16, 61-62. [Charms, second sight, etc.] 68
- Carmichael, E. C.,** Never was Piping so sad. *Celtic Review*, ii. 76-84. [Fairy music and instruments.] 69
- Krueger, G., and others,** Stopping clocks at death. *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., iii. 124, 175. 70
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- Macdonald, A.,** Some Legends of the Macneils of Barra. *Celtic Review*, i. 264-267. 73
- Mackenzie, W. C.,** Pigmies in the Hebrides. *Scottish Geog. Mag.*, xxi. 264-268. [Traditions of small race; pigmies and fairies; Finns and pigmies.] 74
- MacLagan, R. C.,** Additions to the Games of Argyllshire. *Folklore*, 16, 77-97; 192-221, 340-349, 439-460. 75
- MacLagan, R. C.,** Side-light to the history of St. Columba. *Caledonian Med. Jl.*, vi. 173-185. [Magical Birth, etc.] 76

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- Hyde, O.**, Religious Songs of Connacht. *New Ireland Rev.*, 23, 45-64. [Spells, etc.] 83
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## CONTINENT OF EUROPE

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- Cook, A. B.**, European Sky-God: the Italians. *Folklore*, 16, 260-332. [Sky-god=weather-god=rain-god=earth-god. Triple Jupiter; the oak; god and king; rex nemorensis; genii; heroes and Jupiter; emperors; divine rulers; superannuation; Regifugium, etc.] 90
- Crosland, J.**, German version of the thief legend. *Mod. Lang. Review*, i. 55-63. [Legend of Virgin Mary.] 91

- Elmore, J., Postgate, J. P.**, Uncanny thirteen. *Class. Rev.*, 19, 436-438. 92
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- Günther, R. T.**, The Cimaruta. *Folklore*, 16, 132-161. [Italian amulets.] 94
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- Janschul**, Animal Folklore from Russia. *Man*, 1905, 11. 97
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- Schetelig, H.**, and others, *Sagabook of Viking Club*, 1905. [59, Ship burial; 70, sacrificial find.] 104
- Sikes, E. E.**, Riddle from Wye Valley. *Folklore*, 16, 352. [Greek parallel.] 105
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- Weston, J. L.**, Scoppio del Carro at Florence. *Folklore*, 16, 182-184. [Easter ceremonies; car, bird, fireworks, etc.] 108
- Wherry, A.**, Dancing Tower Processions of Italy. *Folklore*, 16, 243-259. See also pp. 461-2, notes by C. S. Burne, A. Oldknow, M. Peacock. 109



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## INDIA.

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- Rajputana District Gazetteers*, Ajmer-Merwara, 1905. [26, Tribes and castes; 34, snake worship; 35, 39, burial, games, etc.: 40, festivals.] 112
- United Provinces District Gazetteers*, 39, Rai Bareilly. [119, Infanticide; 90, tenures and rents.] 113
- United Provinces District Gazetteers*, 42, Kheri. [101, Land tenure and rents; 66, 122, infanticide.] 114
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- Bromley, A. C.**, and others, *Echoes of Service*, 1905, 9, [Snake worship]; 57, [oracle.] 120
- Burn, R.**, *Formation of New Castes*. *Jo. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1905, i. 256-257. 121

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- Duthie, B.**, The Child and the Snake. *London Miss. Soc. Chron.*, 69, 280. [Snake worship.] 125
- Edwardes, G. M.**, Origin of Hindu Trimurti. *Jl. Anthropol. Soc. Bombay*, v. 293-300. [Hindu Trinity derived from Egypt.] 126
- Edwardes, G. M.**, Kanarese Proverbs relating to Castes. *Jl. Anthropol. Soc. Bombay*, v. 321-330. 127
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- Edwards, T. R.**, Face to face with Hinduism. *Missionary Herald*, 1905, 488-491. [Bakreswara; purificatory ceremonies; cremation; 533-536, River of death; divination; etc.] 129
- Garrett, J. G.**, Popular Religion of Ceylon. *Ch. Miss. Gleaner*, 32, 41-43. [Buddhist offerings, etc.] 130
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- Hahn, F.**, *Kurutch Folklore* (in the original language). Calcutta, 1905. [Folktales, customs and songs; translation to follow.] 134
- Harvest Field*, xvi. 439-440. [Marriage with a dagger.] 135
- Harvest Field*, xvi. 279. [Human blood offered to an idol.] 136
- Hearn, G. R.**, Passing through the Fire at Phalen. *Man*, 1905, 83. 137
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- Jamini Mohan Das**, Note on the Kantabudiyas of Cuttack. *Jo. As. Soc., Bengal*, 1905, i. 215. [Exogamy; tortoise and cobra kins, etc.] 139

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- Madras Weekly Mail*, 60, 46. [Hindu village worship; sacrifice, etc.] 146
- Madras Weekly Mail*, 60, 439. Beads in India. [Sacred necklaces.] 147
- Madras Weekly Mail*, 60, 475. Bloody sacrifice at Travancore. 148
- Madras Weekly Mail*, 60, 20. A Greek ceremony in Travancore. [The Muragapam.] 149
- Madras Weekly Mail*, 61, 102. Some Queer Temple Legends. [Growing idols, etc.] 150
- Madras Weekly Mail*, 61, 554. Witchcraft in S. India. [Initiation; duties of black magicians; magical figurines; counter charm; possession; exorcism.] 151
- Madras Weekly Mail*, 61, 688. Curious old Marwari custom. [Beating an insolvent debtor.] 152
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- Manley, G. T.**, Hindu Idol. *Church Miss. Intel.*, 56, 731-738. [Priest; origin of idols; deceiving the devata.] 154
- Mission Field*, 1905, 110. [Village deities.] 155
- Natesa Sastri**, Criminal Classes of the Bellany District. *Calcutta Review*, 122, 498-508. [Marriage; etc.] 156
- Neve, E. F.**, *Church Miss. Intel.*, 56, 695. [Worship at tombs. Charms.] 157
- Newcombe, A. C.**, Village, Town, and Jungle Life in India. (London.) [116, Snake-worship; 293, marriage.] 158
- Nightingale, A. E.**, Yogis and Ascetics. *Harvest Field*, xvi., 445-457. [Initiation; corpse-eating.] 159

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- Oldham, C. F.**, Sun and the Serpent. (London, Constable, pp. 208.) [Worship of Sun and serpent universal; Indian serpent cults; other areas.] 161
- O'Malley, L. S. S.**, Agraharis in Sasaram. *Jo. As. Soc., Bengal*, 73, iii., 35-43. [Customs; loss of caste; marriage; religion; cakes; widows; origin of the caste.] 162
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- Rose, H. A.**, Customary Law (Succession in Ruling Families) in Panjab Hill States. 271, Titles in do. *Indian Ant.*, 34, 226-227. 166
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[Salongs. Evil spirits; burial.] 190
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[74, Tiger shrine; 126, evil spirits; 128, courtship; burial.] 191
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[66, Colour superstitions.] 195
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[Morals; hospitality; criminal law, etc.] 198
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[Birth, marriage and death; music, riddles, evil eye, spirits, blood feud, asylum, etc.] 199
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[122, Evil Eye; 130, uncleanness; 134, religious drama; 178, marriage, etc.] 201
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[Criticism of "Semitic temple" theory.] See also *ib.* Nos. 64, 73,  
104. 204
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diversity of the narratives.] 205

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xix. 142-143. [Burial.] 206
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expulsion of evils at New Year.] 207
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Ant.*, 34, 93-109. [*Dard.*] 208
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tales; 38, local gods, etc.] 209
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songs; 18, 160, stone fight; 164, dance, etc.] 210
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[85, Prayer flags; 135, omens; 174, charms; 208, ragbushes; 216 sq.,  
monks, priests and temples; 222, wheel of life; 229, masks, etc.;  
240, training of magician; 380, possession; exorcism; oracles; 422,  
burial; amusements; 424, salutations; 449, calendar; 471, charm for  
killing enemy, etc.] 215

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giants, against sickness.] 216
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1904.* [185, Idols; processions.] 217

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[Offering for the dead.] 244
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- Cobham, H.**, African Stories from Calabar. *Jl. African Soc.*, iv. 307-309. [Three tortoise stories with comparative note.] 263
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- Wallis, C. B.**, In the Court of the Native Chiefs in Mendiland. *Jl. African Soc.*, iv. 397-409. [403, Medicine man; oath and poison; tabu; punishments; procedure.] 293
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<sup>1</sup> See also the preceding section.

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[*Batoro*: 26, religion; 28, evil spirits. *Banyoro*: 31, priests. *Bakuhu*: 33, cannibalism. *Bambuba*; do., burial.] 313
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- Gaul, W. T.**, Possibilities of an African Kraal. *The East and the West*, 3, 121-129. [*Mashona*; Councils, force of custom, birth, circumcision, marriage, hlonipa.] 315
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## AUSTRALIA.

- Creed, J. M.,** Position of Australian Aborigines in scale of human intelligence. *Nineteenth Century*, 57, 89-96. [Business aptitude ; girls as servants ; counting ; treatment of blind ; modesty, etc.] 362
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- Lang, A.,** All-Fathers in Australia. *Folklore*, 16, 222-224. [Baiaime, etc.] 365
- \* **Mathews, R. H.,** Ethnographical Notes. Sydney, 1905. 366
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[Anthropo- and theriomorphic cults; early notices of Baiame; missionaries in Australia.] 373
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MELANESIA AND POLYNESIA.

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[163, soul catching.] 375
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possession; burial of chiefs; witchcraft, etc.] 376
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landless men.] 377
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Hebrides. 118, 169, burial; 119, drum figures; 121, 128, secret society  
grades; 127, circumcision; 213, mana, yamstones, spirits; 216, gods,  
creation, future life, etc.] 378
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cannibalism, etc.] 380
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[Polynesia. Salutations; sitting; gait; carrying children; eloquence;  
sexual; whistling; gestures.] 381
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[Religion; future life; marriage.] 382

NEW ZEALAND.

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[Mythical beings; sacred trees, etc.; fairies, etc.] 383
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[Tabu; charms and spells; sick carried home, but remain outside house.] 385
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205-215. [Animism; origin of sex; tabu; menstruation.] 386
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[Mana of a weapon.] 387

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- Graham, G.**, Ngutu-atu. *Jo. Polyn. Soc.*, xiv. 159-160. [Historical. Visit of strange people.] 392
- Gudgeon, W. E.**, Origin of Ta-tatan. *Jo. Polyn. Soc.*, xiv. 217-218. [Heraldic marks on canoes at Aitutaki Island.] 393
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- Shand, A.**, and **Mair, G.**, Early history of Morioris. *Trans. N. Z. Inst.*, 37, 144-171. [Historical traditions; raids, etc.; cannibalism.] 400
- Smith, S. Percy**, Migration of Kahu-Hunu. *Jo. Polyn. Soc.*, xiv. 81-96. [Historical. 90, Topspinning; kites.] 401
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- Tu-nui-a-rangi, H. P.**, The "Iri," karakia. *Jo. Polyn. Soc.*, xiv. 100-101. [Incantation brings person from a distance.] 404

## INDEX OF AUTHORS.

- Addison, C., 275.  
 Akiele, F. L., 254.  
 Anantha Krishna Ayer, 117.  
 Annandale, N., 87.  
 Astley, H. J. D., 25.  
 Aston, W. G., 235.  
 Atkinson, F. W., 352.  
 Atkinson, V., 297.  
  
 Bacon, A. M., 236.  
 Bailey, D., 68.  
 Baldensperger, P. G., 193.  
 Bansidhar, Jotsi, 118.  
 Barry, F., 81.  
 Basden, G., 255.  
 Becke, L., 375.  
 Bennett, M. C., 216.  
 Bernheisel, C. F., 237.  
 Best, E., 383-386.  
 Bland, R. N., 186.  
 Boileau, 217.  
 Bouma, 298.  
 Box, E., 218.  
 Bradley-Birt, F. B., 119.  
 Briseid, T. E., 219.  
 Broadwood, L. E., 88.  
 Bromley, A. C., 120.  
 Brooke, J. W., 258.  
 Bryson, M. I., 220.  
 Burn, R., 121.  
 Burne, C. S., 51, 58, 109.  
 Butler, S., 89.  
  
 Callaway, G., 301.  
 Carey, F. W., 187.  
 Carmichael, E. C., 69.  
 Cator, D., 259, 354.  
 Chadwick, H. M., 35.  
 Cheyne, T. K., 19.  
 Chokuro Kudono, 238.  
 Clerke, E. M., 206, 355.  
 Cobham, H., 262, 263.  
 Coleman, C. H., 36.  
 Coole, A. B., 90.  
 Corner-Olmütz, C., 124.  
 Cotton, J. C., 264, 265.  
  
 Cowan, J., 387-390.  
 Crawley, A. E., 2.  
 Creed, J. M., 362.  
 Crosland, 91.  
 Cunningham, J. F., 304.  
 Curtis, W. E., 188.  
  
 Dadachauji, R. K., 3.  
 D'Aeth, F. G., 38.  
 Daiches, S., 194.  
 Darker, G. F., 266.  
 Davenport, F. M., 4.  
 Davey, J. W., 27.  
 Davies, J. C., 39.  
 Delme-Radcliffe, C., 305.  
 Dennett, R. E., 306-309.  
 Donnan, M., 310.  
 Drury, C., 82.  
 Duthie, B., 125.  
 Dyer, T. F. T., 5.  
  
 Edwardes, G. M., 126, 127, 128.  
 Edwards, T. R., 129.  
 Eliot, Sir C., 311.  
 Elgar, C. H., 267.  
 Elmore, J., 92.  
 Elworthy, F. T., 6, 93.  
 Engel, G., 239, 240.  
 Enock, R., 339.  
 Eyre, M., 40.  
  
 Fairclough, T. L., 312.  
 Farnell, L. R., 7.  
 Fisher, A. B., 313.  
 Fisher, Ruth B., 314.  
 Fison, L., 376, 377.  
 Fowke, F. R., 43.  
 France, C. H., 268.  
 Francke, A. H., 208.  
 Frazer, J. G., 8, 44, 363.  
 Freer, A. Goodrich, 195.  
  
 Garrett, J. G., 130.  
 Gaster, M., 9.  
 Gaul, W. T., 315.  
 Geil, W. E., 316.

- Gerish, W. B., 45.  
 Ghulam Muhammad, 131.  
 Gleichen, 269.  
 Goldie, W. H., 391.  
 Gordon, E. M., 132.  
 Graham, S., 392.  
 Grierson, G. A., 133.  
 Griffiths, W. B., 272.  
 Gudgeon, W. E., 393-396.  
 Gunn, J., 364.  
 Gunther, R. T., 94.  
  
 Hahn, F., 134.  
 Hallam, W. H., 46.  
 Hanauer, J. E., 196.  
 Harding, C., 317.  
 Hardy, E. J., 225, 226.  
 Harland-Oxley, W. E., 47.  
 Harrison, J. T., 318.  
 Hayes, A. J., 273.  
 Hearn, G. K., 137.  
 Heath, J. K., 189.  
 Hemming, G. V., 95.  
 Hems, H., 48.  
 Henderson, G., 85.  
 Henning, P., 319.  
 Hill, G. F., 10.  
 Hill Tout, C., 340, 341.  
 Hodgson, M. L., 96.  
 Hole, H. M., 320.  
 Hollis, A. C., 274.  
 Holmes, G., 342.  
 Holmes, J. H., 356.  
 Hose, C., 357.  
 Hosie, A., 222.  
 Howard, E., 242.  
 Howe, W., 358.  
 Hughes, I. M., 227.  
 Huntington, E., 197.  
 Hutchinson, W., 11.  
 Hyde, O., 83.  
  
 Ingleby, H., 49.  
  
 Jackson, B., 228.  
 Jalla, A. S., 321.  
 Jamini, Modan Das, 139.  
 Janschul, Prof., 97.  
 Jennings, H. L. F., 50.  
 Jennings, J. W., 275.  
 Jennings-Bramley, W. E., 198.  
 Jessen, B. H., 276.  
 Jewitt, W. H., 12, 51.  
 Johnson, J., 277.  
 Jones, S., 52.  
 Jordan, L. H., 13.  
 Joyce, T. A., 278.  
  
 Keen, J. H., 343.  
 Kenley, G. W., 279.  
 King, C., 359.  
 King, G. L., 322.  
 King, W. H., 140.  
 Kirk, J. W. C., 280.  
 Krishnaswami Aiyangar, 141.  
 Krueger, G., 70.  
  
 Lacy, F. H., 281.  
 Lala Dina Nats, 142.  
 Lamb, R., 378.  
 Landon, P., 209.  
 Landor, A. H. S., 210.  
 Lang, A., 14, 15, 323, 365.  
 Lawrie, Sir A. C., 143.  
 Lea, A. E., 16.  
 Lees, G. R., 199.  
 Legge, F., 247.  
 Lett, H. W., 84.  
 Lewis, H. S., 17.  
 Lovett, E., 53.  
 Lloyd, A., 243.  
 Lucy, M., 54.  
 Lugard, Lady, 282.  
  
 Macalister, R. A. S., 200.  
 Macbain, A., 71.  
 McCracken, 98.  
 Macdonald, 144.  
 Macdonald, A., 73.  
 Macculough, J. A., 18, 72.  
 Macgregor, A. W., 324.  
 Mackenzie, W. C., 74.  
 MacLagan, R. C., 75, 76.  
 Macmichael, J. H., 55, 56, 77.  
 Madras, Bishop of, 153.  
 Mair, G., 400.  
 Major, A. F., 99.  
 Malcolm, N., 201.  
 Manifold, C. C., 230.  
 Manley, G. T., 154.  
 Marx, H., 211.  
 Massey, E. C., 397.  
 Masterman, E. W. G., 200.  
 Mathews, R. H., 366.  
 Meakin, A. M. B., 100.  
 Meakin, B., 248.  
 Melland, F. H., 325.  
 Merrick, G., 283, 284.  
 Monroe, 344.  
 Morice, A. G., 345.  
 Morpeth, W. T., 398.  
 Moses o'r Aipht, 101.  
 Mullen, B. H., 326.  
  
 Natesa Sastri, 156.

- Neve, E. F., 157.  
 Newman, A. K., 399.  
 Newcombe, A. C., 158.  
 Nightingale, A. E., 159.
- Oakley, E. S., 160.  
 O'Ferrall, W., 380.  
 Okuseinde, J., 285.  
 Oldham, C. F., 161.  
 Oldknow, A., 109.  
 O'Malley, L. S. S., 162.
- Page, J. T., 57.  
 Parker, K. L., 368.  
 Partridge, C., 286.  
 Paupa Rao Naidu, 164.  
 Peacock, M., 58, 109.  
 Pennell, T. L., 165.  
 Petrie, T., 369.  
 Petrie, W. M. F., 204.  
 Phillips, 287.  
 Piddington, J. G., 102.  
 Pope, 233.  
 Postgate, J. P., 92.  
 Powell, F. Y., 106.  
 Pratt, J., 288.  
 Pullen-Burry, 348.
- Ratcliffe, T., 59, 60.  
 Rawling, C. G., 212.  
 Reich, E., 19.  
 Reid, 289.  
 Richardson, R., 78.  
 Richter, A., 370.  
 Rose, H. A., 166, 167.  
 Roth, W. E., 371.  
 Rouse, W. H. D., 103.  
 Rozdu, B., 168.
- Sadleir, C. A., 349.  
 Salkeld, R. E., 327.  
 Sarat Chandra Das, 214.  
 Sarat Chandra Mitra, 169, 170, 171.  
 Sater Chandra Vidya Chusana, 213.  
 Saxby, J. M. E., 79.  
 Schetelig, H., 104.  
 Schmid, F. T., 350.  
 Scott-Moncrieff, P., 249.  
 Seligmann, C. G., 360.  
 Shams-ul-Ulma, 172, 202.  
 Shaw, A., 400.  
 Sharpe, C. J., 61, 62.  
 Shelford, R., 358, 361.  
 Sikes, E. E., 105.  
 Sirdar Arjan Singh, 173.  
 Smith, S. Percy, 381, 401, 402, 403.  
 Smith, S. R., 290.
- Sorabji, C., 174.  
 Speight, E. E., 99.  
 Spencer, B., 372.  
 Spire, F., 291.  
 Spitz, D. M., 382.  
 Squire, C., 63.  
 Stapleton, H. E., 203.  
 Stevenson, M., 176.  
 Stewart, W., 80.  
 Stout, E. A., 250.  
 Stow, G. W., 329.  
 Subramaiya Pantulu, 177, 178.
- Taberer, W. S., 330.  
 Tate, H. R., 331.  
 Taylor, J., 244.  
 Taylor, M. C., 251.  
 Temple, Sir R. C., 20.  
 Thomas, N. W., 21, 22, 370, 371.  
 Thomas, T. H., 64.  
 Thompson, R. C., 204.  
 Tisdall, W. St. C., 205.  
 Thomsett, M. S., 332.  
 Torrend, J., 333.  
 Tregarthen, E., 65.  
 Trivakama Rau, 179.  
 Tu-nui-a-rangi, 404.
- Una ni Ogain, 86.  
 Usborne, C. A., 180.
- Veigl, F., 351.  
 Venkataswami, M. N., 181, 182, 183.  
 Vigfusson, G., 106.  
 Villiers, E., 66.
- Wace, A. J. B., 107.  
 Waddell, L. A., 215.  
 Wagner, P., 184.  
 Wallis, C. B., 292, 293.  
 Watson, W. C. H., 234.  
 Werner, A., 334.  
 Westermarck, E., 252, 253.  
 Weston, J. L., 108.  
 Wherry, A., 109.  
 Wherry, B. A., 67.  
 White, F., 335.  
 Whitehouse, A. A., 294.  
 Whitney, C., 191.  
 Wolf, L., 21.  
 Wood, A., 185.  
 Wright, R. S., 336.
- Yi Chong Wun, 245, 246.  
 Yong on Tui, 192.  
 Yuzbashi, 296.

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Adoption, 111.  
 Age grades, 257.  
 Agriculture, 132, 278.  
 All Fool's Day, 56.  
 All Souls, 243.  
 Alphabet, Bavili, 307.  
 Altar, 317, 324.  
 Ammonite, 53.  
 Amulets, 94, 209. *See also* Charm.  
 Amusements, 215, 264.  
 Ancestor cult, 110, 117, 119, 219, 286, 322.  
 Ancestors' hair, 258.  
 Animals, 97, 179, 196, 306, 338, 349.  
     *See also* Ass, Eland, Sheep.  
 Animism, 317, 330.  
 Anthropology, value of, 20.  
 Apotheosis, 235.  
 Apple tree, 37.  
 Art motifs, 25.  
 Ascetic, 159, 160.  
 Ass, 95.  
 Astrology, 225.  
 Asylum, 199.  
 Atua, 391.  
 Babylonian cosmogony, 205.  
 Bachelors' hut, 303.  
 Baiame, 365, 368, 373.  
 Ballads, 60A.  
 Banshee, 67.  
 Beating a debtor, 152.  
 Bibliography, 13, 18, 54, 63, 99, 345.  
 Birds, sacred, 193.  
 Birth, 100, 140, 160, 199, 200, 225, 243, 304, 340, 341, 359, 391.  
 Birth, magical, 76.  
 Blood, 43.  
 Blood bond, 22, 314.  
 Blood custom, 207, 302.  
 Blood feud, 199, 200.  
 Blood money, 257.  
 Blood offering, 136.  
 Buddhism, 130.  
 Buffoon, 193.  
 Burial, 30, 67, 100, 104, 112, 117, 119, 122, 138, 140, 179, 185, 190, 206, 215, 225, 234, 243, 270, 277, 286, 288, 296, 297, 304, 310, 312, 313, 314, 317, 318, 320, 329, 342, 344, 345, 346, 349, 351, 352, 354, 359, 368, 370, 376, 378.  
 Bush soul, 286.  
 Cairn custom, 87.  
 Cakes, 162.  
 Calendar, 215.  
 Cannibalism, 18, 133, 159, 304, 310, 312, 313, 314, 316, 337, 342, 369, 376, 380, 400.  
 Caste, 111, 112, 117, 121, 127, 160, 162.  
 Celtic religion, 63.  
 Ceri, 98.  
 Charms, 37, 39, 40, 47, 53, 64, 67, 68, 81, 88, 92, 102, 151, 157, 170, 209, 213, 215, 222, 225, 248, 298, 302, 306, 332, 252, 361, 385, 399.  
 Chief, 257, 317, 328, 355, 376.  
 Child marriage, 173.  
 Christ, 10.  
 Christmas, 12, 48, 54.  
 Cimaruta, 94.  
 Circumcision, 286, 315, 331, 378.  
 Clans, 187, 257.  
 Classes, marriage, 15.  
 Classics and Greek folklore, 103.  
 Clubhouse, 356.  
 Colour, 196.  
 Contest, 111. *See also* Tug-of-war.  
 Corn maiden, 72.  
 Cosmogony, 395.  
 Council, 315.  
 Courtship, 191.  
 Creation myths, 119, 131, 270, 314, 352, 395.  
 Cremation, 129, 211.  
 Criminal tribes, 156, 164.  
 Cross, 87.  
 Cross roads, 111.  
 Crown, 267.

- Crystal gazing, 22.  
 Custom, force of, 315.  
 Customs, 274, 329.  
 Customary law, 166, 167.  
 Dagger, 135.  
 Dance, 87, 95, 119, 187, 210, 268, 279, 305, 316, 318, 319, 321, 341, 344, 355, 359, 364.  
 Dancing girls, 110.  
 Death, 70, 100, 160, 199, 339, 340, 341, 348. *See also* Burial.  
 Death, origin, 2, 376.  
 Debtor, 152.  
 Deceiving God, 154.  
 Deification, 235.  
 Deluge, 194, 346, 353, 395.  
 Demi-gods, 395.  
 Descent, 363.  
 Descent from fire, 141.  
 Devil dancing, 145, 211.  
 Devil huts, 303.  
 Disease, 228, 229, 381. *See also* Medical.  
 Divination, 22, 119, 129, 185, 225, 235, 251, 275, 281, 285, 288, 295, 311, 332.  
 Divine kings, 8, 90, 277.  
 Dog-eating, 187.  
 Doll, 301.  
 Dragon, 219, 230.  
 Drama, 201, 225.  
 Drum, 267.  
 Durga Pujah, 144.  
 Dwarfs, 107.  
 Earth raising, 119.  
 Easter customs, 24, 26, 29, 108.  
 Easter eggs, 96.  
 Eating, 286.  
 Eclipse, 131, 132, 181, 225, 352.  
 Effigy, burial in, 58.  
 Egbo, 264, 286.  
 Eland, 334.  
 Elephant, 188.  
 Eleusinia, 89.  
 Evil eye, 107, 199, 201, 253, 273, 275.  
 Evil spirits, 122, 124, 221, 224, 229, 313, 316, 352, 379.  
 Evils, expulsion of, 207.  
 Exogamy, 111, 139, 185, 359.  
 Exorcism, 124, 145, 151, 160, 169, 215, 248, 273, 391. *See also* Possession.  
 Fairies, 37, 40, 54, 65, 67, 72, 74, 383.  
 Fairy music, 69.  
 Fakir, 115, 159.  
 Family life, 193.  
 Feasts, 264, 356, 359.  
 Festivals, 112, 160, 218, 225, 254, 331.  
 Fetishes, 306. *See also* Nail.  
 Fetish house, 294.  
 Fetishism, 323, 326.  
 Finns, 74.  
 Fire customs, 252.  
 Fire making, 179.  
 Fire race, 141.  
 Fire walk, 137.  
 First fruits, 288.  
 Fishers' beliefs, 86.  
 Foetus, 170.  
 Folk songs, 42, 49, 61, 62, 182. *See also* Song.  
 Folktales, 16, 134, 177, 178, 183, 193, 198, 209, 263, 274, 280, 304, 306, 330, 333, 369, 376, 380. *See also* Incidents.  
 Folktales, origin of, 18.  
 Food tabus, 100, 193, 275, 290, 325.  
 Fools, feast of, 95.  
 "Foul breath" incident, 16.  
 Fox, 236, 242.  
 Frog, 169.  
 Future life, 140, 286, 349, 352, 376, 378, 382. *See also* River.  
 Game laws, 286.  
 Games, 46, 75, 77, 110, 112, 225, 279, 286, 368, 369.  
 Genius, 90.  
 Ghost, 33, 160, 331.  
 Giants, 72, 216, 224, 239.  
 Girls' hut, 305.  
 Goddess, 282.  
 God, irritating, 169.  
 God of war, 241.  
 Gods, 119, 122, 123, 185, 209, 221, 228, 232, 256, 270, 286, 288, 294, 295, 311, 331, 346, 347, 352, 378, 395, 399, 402.  
 Gods, marriage of, 8.  
 Gorgon myth, 6.  
 Government, 314, 359, 371.  
 Grotesque, 107.  
 Grotto, 38.  
 Group marriage, 14.  
 Groves, sacred, 119, 308, 309.  
 Hair, 171.  
 Hand, 34.  
 Hand pattern, 253.  
 Hand, votive, 93.  
 Hanhan, 394.  
 Harvest, 84, 119, 131.



- Head, 396.  
 Hell-broth, 170.  
 Heraldic marks, 393.  
 Heroes, 90.  
 Hlonipa, 315, 334.  
 Hobby horse, 41.  
 Holi festival, 132.  
 Holiness, 282.  
 Holy water, 165.  
 Holy well, 160.  
 Hook swinging, 111, 119.  
 Horse shoe, 57.  
 Hospitality, 193, 197, 198.  
 House spirit, 100.  
 Human sacrifice, 111, 128, 255, 261, 354, 384.  
 Hunter's charms, 298.  
 Hunting, 327.  
 Hunting customs, 359.  
 Hunting invocations, 186.  
  
 Idol, 144, 154, 169, 217, 223, 224, 228, 232, 325.  
 Idols, growing, 150.  
 Image, 213.  
 Incest, 270.  
 Incidents, folktale :  
     Fools, three, 246.  
     Foul breath, 16.  
     Hair, falling in love with, 171.  
     Obstacles, 133.  
     Sister and brother, 133.  
 Infancy, 338.  
 Infanticide, 113, 114, 115, 116, 256.  
 Inheritance, 117, 264, 270, 304, 328, 330.  
 Initiation, 159, 292, 312, 363, 368.  
     *See also* Magician.  
 Insanity, 391.  
 Insignia of royalty, 267.  
 Institutions, 35.  
 Intelligence, 362.  
  
 Jupiter, 90.  
 Justice, 257, 275, 293.  
  
 Kelpy, 72.  
 Kern song, 45.  
 King, 245, 287.  
 King, divine, 8, 90, 277.  
 Kingship, 8, 303.  
 Kinship terms, 359.  
  
 Land, 356, 359.  
 Land laws, 257.  
 Land tenure, 113, 114, 115, 116, 377.  
 Law, 198, 277, 328, 330.  
  
 Leechcraft, 198, 269, 385.  
 Legends, 100, 131, 160, 282.  
 Legends, origin of, 9.  
 Leopard society, 259.  
 Lingam, 111.  
 Lizard, 82, 391.  
 Locust, 168.  
 Love philtre, 358.  
 Lubare worship, 303, 332.  
 Luck, 57, 59, 318, 348.  
 Lycanthropy, 273, 275. *See also* Mermen.  
  
 Magic, 8, 18, 21, 110, 117, 190, 225, 235, 247, 252, 320, 337, 359, 360, 367, 369, 391, 395, 396, 404.  
 Magician, 131, 151, 235, 355.  
 Mahmal, 250.  
 Maimonides, 17.  
 Mana, 378, 387, 396.  
 Marriage, 11, 14, 15, 87, 100, 111, 117, 131, 132, 135, 156, 158, 160, 162, 167, 172, 175, 176, 179, 187, 199, 200, 201, 214, 220, 221, 225, 226, 231, 233, 234, 248, 264, 265, 270, 273, 275, 277, 304, 314, 315, 317, 318, 322, 327, 328, 330, 340, 341, 354, 356, 359, 380, 382.  
 Marriage of gods, 8.  
 Marriage season, 119.  
 Marae, 396.  
 Mask, 215, 346.  
 May dew, 36.  
 May songs, 41, 45.  
 Medical lore, 198, 385.  
 Medicine man, 293.  
 Medieval legends, 9, 10.  
 Mediumship, 330, 331, 351.  
 Melusine, 64, 271.  
 Menstruation, 386, 391.  
 Merlin, 9.  
 Mermen, 86, 87.  
 Midsummer customs, 252.  
 Midsummer men, 67.  
 Migration legend, 119, 312, 384.  
 Mind of primitive man, 4.  
 Missionaries, 373.  
 Mock burial, 66.  
 Mock mayor, 51.  
 Mohurum, 110.  
 Monster, 240, 403.  
 Moral tales, 192.  
 Mourning, 200, 225, 355, 369.  
 Music, 199, 330. *See also* Folk songs.  
 Mysteries, 89.  
 Mythical beings, 383, 394, 403.  
 Myths, 235, 340, 341.

Nagual, 22.  
 Nail fetish, 326.  
 Names, 71, 175, 219, 314, 341.  
 Name tabus, 334.  
 Nature deity, 235.  
 Necklace, sacred, 147.  
 New Year, 119, 207, 218, 225, 243.  
 Ngai, 257.  
 Niau Bibi, 142.  
 Nomad state, 197.  
 Nudity, 169.  
 Nyambe, 321.  
  
 Oak, 90.  
 Oak, royal, day, 60.  
 Oath, 293.  
 Obeah, 348.  
 Offerings, 119, 165, 244, 339.  
 Omen, 31, 32, 34, 43, 72, 131, 215, 218, 302, 338, 354, 357.  
 Oracle, 120, 215, 261.  
 Ordeal, 105, 224, 317.  
 Origin, legend of, 187, 270.  
 Oro mask, 260.  
  
 Pace-egging, 24, 26.  
 Personification, 235.  
 Petroglyphs, 207.  
 Petrographs, 335.  
 Phallic emblems, 2, 107, 320.  
 Phallic stones, 391.  
 Philosophy, African, 307.  
 Phratries, 15.  
 Pigmies, 74, 349.  
 Pin-image, 170.  
 Pisaca, 133.  
 Place names, 78.  
 Pleiades, 357.  
 Polyandry, 11, 117, 143, 209.  
 Porro, 259.  
 Possession, 124, 132, 145, 151, 160, 170, 215, 270, 302, 330, 376. *See also* Exorcism.  
 Prayer, 7, 356.  
 Prayer flag, 215.  
 Pregnancy, 391.  
 Priests, 119, 154, 215, 270, 395.  
 Procession, 216, 217, 224.  
 Promiscuity, 11.  
 Property, 276.  
 Property in land, 359.  
 Prophetess, 298.  
 Proverbs, 100, 127, 160, 180, 274, 283.  
 Psalms, 1.  
 Puberty, 340.  
 Purdah, 176.

Purification, 7, 129, 160, 391.  
 Purity, 235.  
 Python, 302.  
  
 Ragtree, 160, 196, 215.  
 Rainbow, 364.  
 Rainmaking, 111, 119, 169, 296, 312, 330.  
 Rank, 287.  
 Red, 364.  
 Regifugium, 90.  
 Reincarnation, 132.  
 Religion, 117, 118, 162, 276, 281, 304, 313, 314, 322, 323, 325, 341, 363, 374, 382.  
 Religion, African, 307, 308.  
 Religion, comparative, 7, 13.  
 Religion, origin of, 3.  
 Rex nemorensis, 90.  
 Riddles, 23, 105, 184, 237, 283.  
 Rimes, 5, 220.  
 River of death, 129.  
 Rope pulling, 27.  
  
 Sacrifice, 18, 104, 110, 111, 119, 146, 148, 153, 160, 261, 270, 272, 281, 302. *See also* Human.  
 Sagas, 85, 99, 106, 384, 388, 390, 392, 400.  
 Salutation, 193, 215, 281, 312, 321, 381.  
 Saturnalia, 8, 95, 119.  
 Scapegoat, 207.  
 Sceptre, 267.  
 Scoppio del Carro, 108.  
 Sea, 395.  
 Second sight, 68, 72.  
 Secret society, 257, 259, 260, 262, 264, 286, 292, 302, 378.  
 Semitic temple, 204.  
 Serpent, 132, 193, 196, 290, 302.  
 Serpent charming, 248.  
 Serpent worship, 110, 112, 117, 120, 125, 158, 161.  
 Sexual, 381, 386, 391.  
 Shape shifting, 245.  
 Sheep tabu, 299.  
 Shinto, 235.  
 Ship burial, 104.  
 Shrines, 160.  
 Shrove Tuesday, 27.  
 Sick, 385.  
 Silence, 176.  
 Silver water, 53.  
 Siva, 172.  
 Skull, 360.  
 Sky god, 90.

- Slaughtering, 193.  
 Slavery, 264, 265, 266.  
 Smallpox, 111.  
 Soma, 202.  
 Songs, 208, 210, 280. *See also* Folk songs.  
 Soul, 219, 395.  
 Soul catching, 220, 227, 375.  
 Soul of idol, 232.  
 Soul, separable, 18.  
 Sowig, 111.  
 Spell, 7.  
 Spirits, 187, 190, 191, 199, 225, 303, 304, 332, 359, 378, 380.  
 Spring, 131.  
 Spring custom, 108.  
 Still born, 391.  
 Stone, 81, 110, 131, 336.  
 Stone throwing, 160.  
 Stool, 272.  
 Story telling, 193, 248.  
 Succession, 166, 254, 257, 317.  
 Suicide, 128.  
*Sulia*, 341.  
 Sun, 380.  
 Sun and moon, 334.  
 Sun catching, 346.  
 Sunward turn, 72.  
 Sun worship, 161.  
 Survivals, 63.  
 Swastika, 209.  
 Swinging, 110.  
 Sword dance, 119.  
  
 Tabu, 18, 100, 193, 255, 261, 293, 299, 306, 330, 380, 385, 386, 391, 397. *See also* Food.  
 Tatu, 111, 132, 187, 258.  
 Temple, 225.  
 Tests of hero, 172.  
 Thief legend, 91.  
 Thirteen, 92.  
 Thunder, 181, 364.  
 Thunder god, 268.  
 Tiger, 191.  
 Titles, 166, 254, 287.  
 Toad, 52.  
 Tombs, carvings on, 163.  
 Tomb, worship at, 157.  
 Tooth, 31, 32, 52.  
 Tooth filing, 257.  
 Tooth out, 276.  
 Tops, 401.  
 Torture, ritual. *See* Hook swinging.  
 Totemism, 14, 15, 111, 139, 185, 330, 340, 343, 356, 359, 363, 368, 369, 372.  
 Totempost, 343, 351.  
 Towers, dancing, 109.  
 Trade superstitions, 43.  
 Trance, 275.  
 Transference, 170, 252.  
 Trasken, 133.  
 Tree, 72.  
 Tree worship, 110, 179, 189, 290, 383, 396, 398.  
 Tree of life, 333.  
 Tribal marks, 283, 284.  
 Tribal organisation, 356.  
 Tribe, 274.  
 Triple Jupiter, 90.  
 Trolls, 79, 87.  
 Tug-of-war, 27.  
 Tutelary spirit, 278.  
 Twin, 277, 286, 289, 304, 348.  
  
 Umbrella, 267.  
 Uncle, 377.  
 Uncleaness, 7, 211.  
 Ulungu, 336.  
 Unlucky hours, 124.  
  
 Village cults, 146.  
 Village gods, 111, 155.  
 Virgin Mary, 91.  
 Virgin's crowns, 28.  
  
 War, 395, 396.  
 War god, 241.  
 Water customs, 252.  
 Water of life, 18.  
 Water, silver, 53.  
 Wedding customs, 119.  
 Well, 72.  
 Werman, 170, 240. *See also* Lycanthropy.  
 Wheel of life, 215.  
 Whitsun, 51.  
 Widow, 174, 277, 355.  
 Wife purchase, 328.  
 Winter solstice, 133.  
 Witch, 50, 54, 72, 119, 181, 257, 269, 277, 300, 301, 311, 317, 376.  
 Women, 197, 200, 288, 328, 334.  
 Women, folklore of, 5.  
 Women of magic, 170.  
 Women's dance, 268.  
 Women's work, 314.  
 Worship, 264, 314.  
  
 Yam custom, 272.  
 Yam festival, 286.  
 Yea clan, 219.  
 Yule log, 55.

## LIST OF PERIODICALS.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Advocate of India, Bombay.</li> <li>2. Annual of the British School at Athens, London.</li> <li>3. Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society, London.</li> <li>4. Antiquary, London.</li> <li>5. Archæologia, London.</li> <li>6. Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archæological Journal, Reading.</li> <li>7. Byegones, Oswestry.</li> <li>8. Calcutta Review, Calcutta.</li> <li>9. Caledonian Medical Journal, Aberdeen.</li> <li>10. Celtic Review, Edinburgh.</li> <li>11. Chronicle of the London Missionary Society, London.</li> <li>12. Church Abroad, London.</li> <li>13. Church Missionary Gleaner, London.</li> <li>14. Church Missionary Intelligencer, London.</li> <li>15. Church Missionary Society, Extracts from Letters, London.</li> <li>15. Classical Review, London.</li> <li>16. Contemporary Review, London.</li> <li>17. East and the West, The, London.</li> <li>18. Echoes of Service, London.</li> <li>19. Empire Review, London.</li> <li>20. English Illustrated Magazine, London.</li> <li>21. Folklore, London.</li> <li>22. Foreign Mission Chronicle of the Episcopal Church, Edinburgh.</li> <li>23. Fortnightly Review, London.</li> <li>24. Geographical Journal, London.</li> <li>25. Gold Coast Leader, Cape Coast Castle.</li> <li>26. Harvest Field, Mysore.</li> <li>27. Indian Antiquary, Bombay.</li> <li>28. Jewish Quarterly Review, London.</li> <li>29. Journal of the African Society, London.</li> <li>30. Journal of the Anthropological Institute, London.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>31. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.</li> <li>32. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.</li> <li>33. Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</li> <li>34. Journal of the East India Association, London.</li> <li>35. Journal of the Folk-Song Society, London.</li> <li>36. Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington.</li> <li>37. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.</li> <li>38. Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore.</li> <li>39. Journal of the Tyneside Geographical Society, Newcastle.</li> <li>40. Kildare Archæological Society, Kildare.</li> <li>41. Korea Review, Seoul.</li> <li>42. Madras Weekly Mail, Madras.</li> <li>43. Man, London.</li> <li>44. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.</li> <li>45. Missionary Herald, London.</li> <li>46. Mission Field, London.</li> <li>47. Modern Language Review, London.</li> <li>48. Moravian Missions, London.</li> <li>49. New Ireland Review, Dublin.</li> <li>50. News from Barotsiland, London.</li> <li>51. Nineteenth Century and After, London.</li> <li>52. Notes and Queries, London.</li> <li>53. Our Missions—The World Field, Darlington.</li> <li>54. Periodical Accounts of the Moravian Missions, London.</li> <li>55. Proceedings of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.</li> <li>56. Proceedings of the Rhodesian Scientific Association, Bulawayo.</li> </ol> |
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| <p>57. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, London.</p> <p>58. Quarterly Review, London.</p> <p>59. Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London.</p> <p>60. Report of the Devonshire Association, Plymouth.</p> <p>61. Sagabook of the Viking Club, London.</p> <p>62. Scottish Geographical Magazine, Edinburgh.</p> <p>63. South American Missionary Magazine, London.</p> <p>64. Star in the East, Wantage.</p> <p>65. Sunday at Home, London.</p> | <p>66. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Yokohama.</p> <p>67. Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archæological Society, Hertford.</p> <p>68. Transactions of the Japan Society, London.</p> <p>69. Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, Wellington.</p> <p>70. West African Mail, London.</p> <p>71. Western Equatorial Africa, London.</p> <p>72. Women's Missionary Magazine, Edinburgh.</p> |
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## INDEX OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Ann. Brit. School, 2.</p> <p>Aust. Ass. Adv. Sci., 55.</p> <p>Ch. Miss. Gleaner, 13.</p> <p>Church Miss. Intell., 14.</p> <p>Church Miss. Soc. Report, 3.</p> <p>Class. Rev., 15.</p> <p>Eng. Illustr. Mag., 20.</p> <p>Fortn. Rev., 23.</p> <p>Geog. Jl., 24.</p> <p>Ind. Ant., 27.</p> <p>Jl. African Soc., 29.</p> <p>Jl. Anthropol. Inst., 30.</p> <p>Jl. Anthropol. Soc., 31.</p> <p>Jl. China Br., 33.</p> <p>Jl. East India Ass., 34.</p> <p>Jl. Polyn. Soc., 36.</p> <p>Jl. Roy. As. Soc., 37.</p> | <p>Jl. Straits Br., 38.</p> <p>Jo. As. Soc., 32.</p> <p>London Miss. Soc. Chron., 11.</p> <p>Mem. As. Soc. Bengal, 44.</p> <p>Mod. Lang. Rev., 47.</p> <p>Period. Accts., 54.</p> <p>Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 57.</p> <p>Qu. Stat. Pal. Expl. Fund, 59.</p> <p>Rep. Dev. Ass., 60.</p> <p>S. Amer. Miss. Mag., 63.</p> <p>Trans. As. Soc. Japan, 66.</p> <p>Trans. E. Herts. Arch. Soc., 67.</p> <p>Trans. Japan Soc., 68.</p> <p>Trans. N.Z. Inst., 69.</p> <p>Tyneside Geog. Soc., 39.</p> <p>W. Equat. Africa, 71.</p> |
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## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE
I.—(MARCH, 1906.)	
Minutes of Meeting : Wednesday, 15th November, 1905 . . .	1
Minutes of Meeting : Wednesday, 20th December, 1905 . . .	2
Minutes of Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting : Wednesday, 17th January, 1906 . . . . .	4
Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Council . . . . .	6
Annual Accounts and Balance-Sheet, 1905 . . . . .	10
Presidential Address. W. H. D. ROUSE . . . . .	12
The European Sky-God ; IV., The Celts. ARTHUR BERNARD Cook . . . . .	27
II. —(JUNE, 1906.)	
Minutes of Meeting : Wednesday, 21st February, 1906 . . .	129
Minutes of Meeting : Wednesday, 21st March, 1906 . . .	130
Back-footed Beings. A. T. CRAWFORD CREE . . . . .	131
The European Sky-God ; V., The Celts. ARTHUR BERNARD Cook . . . . .	141
The Native Tribes of South-East Australia. A. W. HOWITT . .	174
III.—(SEPTEMBER, 1906.)	
Minutes of Meeting : Wednesday, 25th April, 1906 . . .	257
The Scape-Goat in European Folklore. N. W. THOMAS . . .	258
Notes in Reply to Mr. Howitt and Mr. Jevons. A. LANG . . .	288
Dr. Howitt's Defence of Group-Marriage. N. W. THOMAS . . .	294
The European Sky-God ; VI., The Celts. ARTHUR BERNARD Cook . . . . .	308



	PAGE
IV.—(DECEMBER, 1906.)	
Minutes of Meeting : Wednesday, 16th May, 1906 . . .	385
Minutes of Meeting : Wednesday, 20th June, 1906 . . .	386
Custom and Belief in the Icelandic Sagas. L. WINIFRED FARADAY	387
The European Sky-God ; VII., The Celts. ARTHUR BERNARD COOK . . . . .	427

## COLLECTANEA :—

Cropping Animals' Ears. J. SMEATON CHASE . . .	72
Cat's Cradle. W. INNES POCKOCK . . .	73
Additions to <i>The Games of Argyleshire</i> , IV. R. C. MACLAGAN	93
Tree-Worship in China. A. R. WRIGHT . . .	190
Cairene Folklore, III. A. H. SAYCE . . .	191
The Cure of Elf-shooting in the North-west of Ireland. Father JOSEPH MEEHAN, E.C. . . . .	200
Additions to <i>The Games of Argyleshire</i> , V. R. C. MACLAGAN.	210
A Yorkshire Wassail-Box. E. WRIGHT . . .	349
Some English String-Tricks. W. INNES POCKOCK . . .	351
Notes on Spanish Amulets. W. L. HILDBURGH . . .	454
Spanish Votive Offerings. W. L. HILDBURGH . . .	471
Travel Notes in South Africa. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . .	472

## CORRESPONDENCE :—

The Native Tribes of South-East Australia. A. W. HOWITT .	107
"The Shade of the Balkans." M. EDITH DURHAM . . .	111
Does the Folklore Society Exist for the Study of Early Institutions? H. A. ROSE . . . . .	111
Hand-Impressions instead of Seals. W. G. ASTON . . .	113
Betrothing Custom. W. CROOKE . . . . .	114
Translations of Folklore Publications. G. LAURENCE GOMME .	230
The Legend of Merlin. JESSIE L. WESTON . . .	230
Mr. Clodd on Crystal-Gazing. ANDREW LANG . . .	231
Does the Folklore Society Exist for the Study of Early Institutions? CHARLOTTE S. BURNE . . . . .	233
Crystal-Gazing. EDWARD CLODD . . . . .	373
Two Queries. ANDREW LANG . . . . .	512

REVIEWS :—

K. Langloh Parker's <i>The Euahlayi Tribe</i> . E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . . . .	115
W. A. Reed's <i>The Negritos of Zambales</i> . W. CROOKE . . . . .	120
W. Barbrooke Grubb's <i>Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco</i> . E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . . . .	122
M. Mauss's <i>L'Origine des Pouvoirs Magiques dans les Sociétés Australiennes</i> . E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . . . .	125
K. Th. Preuss's <i>Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst</i> . R. R. MARETT . . . . .	126
Andrew Lang's <i>The Secret of the Totem</i> . F. B. JEVONS . . . . .	236
Rafael Karsten's <i>The Origin of Worship</i> . R. R. MARETT . . . . .	246
Matthew L. Hewat's <i>Bantu Folklore</i> . BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE . . . . .	248
<i>The Czech Ethnographical Review</i> . FRANCIS P. MARCHANT . . . . .	251
August Wünsche's <i>Der Sagenkreis der geprellten Teufel</i> . E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . . . .	253
Albert Dieterich und Richard Wunsch's <i>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</i> , I., II., III. . . . .	253
Jeannie Gunn's <i>The Little Black Princess</i> . . . . .	254
Edward Clodd's <i>Animism: the Seed of Religion</i> . R. R. MARETT. . . . .	254
<i>Anthropos</i> , Band I., Heft 1, 2. CHARLOTTE S. BURNE . . . . .	256
J. G. Frazer's <i>Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship</i> . F. POLLOCK . . . . .	375
Gunnar Landtman's <i>The Origin of Priesthood</i> . F. POLLOCK . . . . .	379
E. K. Chambers's <i>The Mediæval Stage</i> . OLIVER ELTON . . . . .	379
Arnold van Gennep's <i>Mythes et Légendes d'Australie</i> . E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . . . .	488
J. Rendel Harris's <i>The Cult of the Heavenly Twins</i> . Dom R. H. CONOLLY, O.S.B. . . . .	493
H. T. Francis's <i>The Jâtaka</i> , Vol. V. W. CROOKE . . . . .	498
A. E. Dracott's <i>Simla Village Tales</i> . W. CROOKE . . . . .	501
J. A. M'Culloch's <i>The Childhood of Fiction</i> . W. CROOKE. . . . .	503
<i>Mémoires du Congrès d'Orientalistes à Algiers</i> . J. B. ANDREWS . . . . .	505

LIST OF WORKS Dealing with the "Early Institutions" side of Folklore Studies. A. NUTT. . . . .	508
--	-----

INDEX . . . . .	513
-----------------	-----

## LIST OF PLATES:—

PAGE

I. Donkey with Cropped Ears (Moqui Indians)	<i>To face page</i>	72
II. Tree and Altar, Yung-ping-fu, China	. " "	190
III. Contents of a Wassail-Box	. . " "	349
IV. Spanish Amulets: 1	. . " "	456
V. Spanish Amulets: 2	. . " "	460
VI. Spanish Amulets: 3	. . " "	464
VII. Spanish Amulets: 4	. . " "	466
VIII. Spanish Amulets: 5	. . " "	468
IX. Spanish Votive Offerings	. . " "	471
X. Zulu Wedding at Henley: Processional Dance of the Amampumuza	. " "	472
XI. Zulu Wedding at Henley: Men's Dance	. " "	473
XII. Zulu Wedding at Henley: Men's Dance	. " "	474
XIII. Zulu Wedding at Henley: The Bride and her Companions	. . " "	475
XIV. Zulu Wedding at Henley: The Govern- ment Marriage Officer	. . " "	476
XV. Zulu Witch-doctor's Necklace	. . " "	483
XVI. Macharanga Village, near Umtali (Rhodesia), and Grain-Store in Macharanga Village	. . " "	486

## ERRATA.

- P. 3, l. 15, for *Llamas* read *lāmas*.  
 P. 3, l. 20, for *she-demons* read *Shē-demons*.  
 P. 61, l. 24, for *Dinnsenchus* read *Dinnsenchas*.  
 P. 93, l. 3, for *pestal* read *pestle*.  
 P. 131, l. 10, for *Erinyes* read *Erinyes*.  
 P. 251, l. 6, for *Cech* read *Czech*.  
 P. 290, *n.*, add bracket ] at end.  
 P. 395, l. 16, for *Balder* read *Baldr*.  
 P. 458, l. 7, for *VII* read *VI*.  
 P. 458, l. 11, for *VII* read *VI*.  
 P. 458, l. 13, for *VII* read *VI*.  
 P. 458, l. 15, for *VII* read *V*.  
 P. 460, l. 33, for *V* read *VIII*.

# Folk=Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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VOL. XVII.]

MARCH, 1906.

[No. I.

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**WEDNESDAY, 15th NOVEMBER, 1905.**

MR. M. LONGWORTH DAMES IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, Sir John P. Rodger, K.C.M.G., and Miss K. Raleigh as members of the Society, and the enrolment of the General Theological Seminary of New York, the Yale University of Newhaven, Connecticut, and the Kensington Public Library as Subscribers, were announced.

The death of the Rev. Dr. Bailey, and the resignations of Mrs. Scholten, Miss Carey, Sir James Bell, Mr. G. Barham, Mr. W. Ford, and the Rennes University Library were also announced.

Mr. J. Smeaton Chase exhibited and explained a number of photographs illustrating the Folklore of the Indian tribes of South-West North America, with special reference to the Snake and Flute dances of the Moqui Indians, [cf. p. 72].

Mr. A. Bernard Cook read a paper entitled "The King of the Wood on Celtic Soil," [p. 27] and in the discussion

which followed, Miss Hull, Mr. Thomas, and Miss Burne took part.

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Mr. Chase for exhibiting his photographs, and to Mr. Cook for his paper.

The following additions to the Library were announced, viz.:

The *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*. Vol. VII., No. 4, presented by the Society;

The *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon—North Central and Central Provinces—1890-1900*, presented by the Governor of Ceylon; and

*Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. XXIV., Part III., by exchange.

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**WEDNESDAY, 20th DECEMBER, 1905.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE) IN THE  
CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss E. B. Pitman, Mr. F. L. Bickley, and Mr. M. Mackey as members of the Society was announced. The resignations of Miss M. Wilson, the Rev. J. R. Olorenshaw, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. T. Thorp, and Mrs. Jessie Saxby were also announced.

Mr. C. J. Tabor exhibited a "Thor Cake" from Oldham, Lancashire.

Mr. A. T. Crawford Cree read a paper entitled "Back-footed Beings," and in the discussion which followed Mr. Kirby, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Tabor, Miss Burne, Mr. Major, Miss Eyre, Mr. Wright, and the Chairman took part.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited a Japanese War Charm

(*Sen-Masubi Hararneki*), and the following magical and religious objects from Tibet, viz.:—

1. Charms against British bullets taken from the dead bodies of Tibetan warriors.
2. Moulds for casting medicine-cakes.
3. A rosary of jade consisting of 111 beads.
4. A mitre worn by priest in the ceremony of giving life.
5. A vase of life.
6. Sacred pictures from Buddhist temples.
7. A mask used in mystery plays.
8. A pair of butter lamps.
9. A trumpet placed on steps of altar of Buddhist temple.
10. Two copper flageolets placed on steps of altar of Buddhist temple.
11. A thighbone trumpet cased in copper, and blown at funerals.
12. A case enclosing drum, with charmed streamers worn by Llamas, and struck to mark the breaks between the different parts of a religious service.
13. An astrologer's table.
14. Sorcerer's implements, viz. (i) dagger to smite demons, (ii) horn to cast consecrated pebbles at she-demons, and (iii) sash of carved human bones.
15. A small figure of Buddha.

At the conclusion of the Meeting votes of thanks were accorded to Mr. Crawford Cree for his paper, and to Mr. Wright for the exhibition of his interesting objects.

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## TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 17th JANUARY, 1906.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE) IN THE  
CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1905, were duly presented, and, upon the motion of Mr. Clodd, seconded by Mr. Nutt, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers having been distributed, Mr. Kirby and Mr. Major were nominated by the Chairman as scrutineers for the Ballot.

The Chairman having delivered his Presidential Address, announced the result of the ballot, and the following ladies and gentlemen were declared duly elected, viz. :—

### *President.*

W. H. D. Rouse, Esq., Litt.D.

### *Vice-Presidents.*

The Hon. John Abercromby.  
The Right Hon. Lord Avebury,  
D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.  
Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B.,  
F.S.A.  
Miss C. S. Burne.  
Edward Clodd.  
J. G. Frazer, M.A., LL.D.,  
Litt.D.  
G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.

A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., M.R.I.A.,  
F.Z.A.  
E. S. Hartland, F.S.A.  
Andrew Lang, M.A., LL.D.  
Alfred Nutt.  
Professor J. Rhys, M.A., LL.D.,  
F.S.A.  
The Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce,  
M.A., LL.D., D.D.  
Professor E. B. Tylor, LL.D.,  
F.R.S.

*Council.*

E. K. Chambers.  
W. Crooke, B.A.  
M. Longworth Dames.  
Miss Eyre.  
Miss M. C. Ffennell.  
Dr. Gaster.  
I. Gollancz, M.A.  
Miss E. Hull.  
E. Lovett.

A. F. Major.  
W. H. R. Rivers, M.D.  
H. A. Rose.  
C. G. Seligmann, M.B.  
Walter W. Skeat, M.A.  
C. J. Tabor.  
N. W. Thomas, M.A.  
H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A.  
A. R. Wright.

*Hon. Treasurer.*

Edward Clodd.

*Hon. Auditors.*

F. G. Green and N. W. Thomas.

*Secretary.*

F. A. Milne, M.A.

At the conclusion of the Meeting hearty votes of thanks were accorded to the President for his address, on the motion of Mr. Gomme, seconded by Mr. Nutt, and to the outgoing Members of Council—viz., Miss Lucy Broadwood, F. T. Elworthy, Esq.; J. G. Frazer, Esq., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D. (elected Vice-President); S. E. Bouverie Pusey, Esq., F.R.G.S.; T. Fairman Ordish, Esq., F.S.A.; Frau Hans Spoer (Miss Goodrich Freer)—on the motion of Mr. Clodd, seconded by Mr. Tabor.

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## THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

17TH JANUARY, 1906.

DURING the past year 10 Libraries have been enrolled as subscribers, and 18 new members have been elected, while death accounts for the loss of 5 old members, and 19 have resigned. There is therefore a balance to the good on the roll of the Society.

The Council observe with regret that not a few members allege as a reason for tendering their resignations, their inability to be present at the Society's meetings. They venture to point out that the value of the publications issued to members is an ample return for the subscription, and would strongly urge that this should be taken into consideration by any member contemplating resignation in the future.

At the last annual meeting Rule II. of the Society's rules was amended, and now reads as follows, viz. :—"The Society shall consist of (*a*) members and (*b*) libraries and other institutions being subscribers to its funds of one guinea annually." The Council propose that in future members and subscribing libraries shall be distinguished in the published lists.

The papers read during the year have been of exceptional interest, as will be seen from the following list :

- Jan.* 18. The President's Address. (*Folk-Lore*, March, 1905.)  
"Notes on the Huculs." Miss M. L. Hodgson.  
*Feb.* 15. "Note on the Carlingford Giant." Mrs. C. J. Dennis.  
"The Ragnarök and Valhalla Myths." Mr. A. F. Major.

- March 15.* "The Scoppio del Carro at Florence." Miss. Jessie L. Weston.  
"Notes on Processions of the Dancing Towers in Italy." Mrs. Wherry.  
"The Cimaruta." Mr. R. T. Günther.
- April 19.* "Some Notes from Southern Nigeria." Mr. R. E. Dennett.  
"Bavili Notes." Mr. R. E. Dennett.  
"Jerusalem Folk-Lore." Frau Hans Spoer (Miss Goodrich Freer).
- May 17.* "The Religious Ideas of the Arunta." Mr. N. W. Thomas.  
"Arunta Totemism and Marriage Laws." Mr. Andrew Lang.
- June 21.* "Notes on the Legend of Merlin." Dr. Gaster.
- Nov. 18.* "The King of the Wood on Celtic Soil." Mr. A. Bernard Cook.
- Dec. 20.* "Backfooted Beings." Mr. A. T. Crawford Cree.

The following is a list of the objects exhibited at the meetings, which is an unusually long and interesting one, viz. :

- (1) A collection of powder-horns, needle-cases, women's necklaces, and Easter eggs made and used by the Huculs. By Miss M. L. Hodgson.
- (2)\* A corn-baby from Ulster, locally known as a "churn." By the Rev. Canon Lett.
- (3) Photographs of a Phœnician sacred pillar in Melquart's Temple in Malta. By the Rev. E. Magri.
- (4)\* A bottle of quern-ground barley meal from the island of Fuda, in the Sound of Barra. By Dr. MacLagan.
- (5-10) A Whitby cake with the ammonite arms of the Town; ammonites from Whitby, to which false heads had been attached to resemble coiled snakes; a Whitby halfpenny, 1667, bearing the coiled snake arms, and an inscription, "Henry Smeaton, his halfpenny, 1667"; neolithic arrowheads of flint used in Co. Antrim to cure cows of "grup," about 1898; various holed stones used in Co. Antrim to protect cows from the pixies, etc., about 1898; a ladle of wood used at Beaulieu, N.B., in 1840, for sprinkling with water victims of the Evil Eye. By Mr. E. Lovett.
- (11) Two holed stones from Caithness. By Miss Barry.
- (12) Chinese and Japanese Charms. By Mr. A. R. Wright.
- (13) Photographs illustrating the Folk-Lore of the Indian tribes of the south-west of North America. By Mr. Chase.
- (14) A Thor cake from Oldham, Lancashire. By Mr. C. J. Tabor.
- (15) A Japanese war charm. By Mr. A. R. Wright.
- (16) A number of magical and religious objects from Tibet; also by Mr. A. R. Wright.
- (17) A silver charm necklace. By Miss B. Wherry. And
- (18) Specimens and drawings of the Cimaruta. By R. T. Günther.

The objects marked with an asterisk (\*) have been presented to the Society, and will in due course be placed in the Society's case at the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

The Council are glad to think that the number of objects exhibited continues to be so well maintained. There can be no doubt that the exhibition of objects contributes very largely to the success of the meetings.

The Society has issued during the year the 16th volume of *Folk-Lore*. The Council have once more to place on record the debt of gratitude they owe to Miss Burne for editing the journal, a task which, it need hardly be said, involves an immense amount of time, trouble, and correspondence. The Council feel themselves fortunate in having had Miss Burne's help for so long a period. They beg to express their thanks also to Mr. Thomas for his help during Miss Burne's absence, and to Mr. A. R. Wright for preparing the index to this volume. The Council congratulate the Society on the year's volume of *Folk-Lore*, which contains articles which are a serious contribution to knowledge. The policy of illustrating freely has been extended with excellent results.

The Council have decided to issue as the additional volume for 1904, a collection of Jamaican Folk-Lore, entitled *Jamaican Song and Story*, by Mr. Walter Jekyll, a resident in the island, with a preface by Miss Alice Werner. This volume is now in the press; but it will probably be some few months before it is in the hands of members, as the sheets have to be sent out to Mr. Jekyll in Jamaica for correction.

The additional volume for 1905 will be a collection of *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, by Mr. M. Longworth Dames, which will very shortly be in the hands of the printers, and will, it is hoped, be issued to members in the course of the year. The Council of the Royal Asiatic

Society are co-operating with the Council in the publication of this volume.

A considerable number of books and pamphlets have been added to the Library during the year. The books are at present in the Secretary's rooms at Lincoln's Inn, but they will in due course be forwarded to the rooms of the Anthropological Institute at 3 Hanover Square, W.

The Council have, at the request of Mr. H. M. Bower, the author of *The Ceri of Gubbio*, consented to the translation of the book into Italian upon certain terms submitted by Mr. Bower, one of which is that mention shall be secured in a suitable form in the Italian Edition of the fact of the Society having been the medium of publication of the original. So far as the Council are aware, this is the first occasion on which any of the Society's publications has been translated into a foreign language.

The Society was represented at the meeting of the British Association in South Africa by Mr. E. Sidney Hartland and Dr. Haddon.

The Council submit herewith the annual accounts and balance sheet duly audited, which shows the satisfactory balance of £86 6s. 10d. to our credit. The balloting list for the Council and officers for the ensuing year is sent also.

By order of the Council.

W. H. D. ROUSE,  
*President.*

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# TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1905.

## RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance carried forward from 1904 :—			
Petty cash in hands of Secretary	£0	9	10
On Current Account at Bank ...	196	5	0
	196	14	10
„ Subscriptions, 1906 (7) ...	£7	7	0
„ „ 1905 (366) ...	384	7	0
„ „ 1904 (14) ...	14	14	0
„ „ Earlier years (17) ...	17	17	0
	424	5	0
„ Sale of Publications, per Messrs. Nutt :—			
First and Second Quarters, 1904 ...	£85	8	3
Third and Fourth Quarters, 1904 ...	37	2	9
First and Second Quarters, 1905 ...	66	11	2
	189	2	2

## PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
By Printing Account (Publications) :—			
Messrs. Nichols & Sons.			
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xv., 2, 3, 4 ...	154	16	0
Completing Callaway's <i>Amazulu</i> ...	10	9	6
Messrs. R. MacLehose & Co.			
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xvi., 1, 2, 3 ...	128	15	5
Completing <i>Folk-Lore Journal</i> , Vol. v. ...	9	1	5
Miscellaneous Printing (May, 1904—October, 1905) ...	29	2	9
„ Engraving Blocks, &c., for Illustrations in <i>Folk-Lore</i> ...	12	14	9
„ Advertising, Messrs. Nutt, July, 1904—July, 1905 ...	9	13	0
„ Postages, Despatch of Volumes, &c. (Messrs. Nutt, July, 1904—July, 1905) ...	48	1	2
„ Binding Account (Simpson & Co.) ...	46	6	4
„ Hire of Meeting Room ...	8	8	0
„ Expenses of Meetings :—			
Advertising ...	£2	18	0
Refreshments ...	4	4	0
	7	2	0
„ 400 copies Index of Archaeological Papers (A. Constable & Co.) ...	2	10	0
„ Secretary's Salary and Poundage ...	57	5	0
„ Carriage of Books from S. Africa (Callaway's <i>Amazulu</i> ) ...	1	14	0
„ Insurance of MSS. and Books in Library ...	0	5	6
„ Petty Cash Expenses, Secretary	£6	9	7
Bank and other Discounts ...	1	13	8
	8	3	3

" Balance in hands of Secretary ...	£3 7 3
" Balance in Bank on Current Account ...	272 6 8
	<u>275 13 11</u>

£810 2 0

Examined with Pass Book and Vouchers and found correct.

NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS, } *Auditors.*  
F. G. GREEN,

January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1906.

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*

# BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31<sup>st</sup>, 1905.

## LIABILITIES.

Printing of Publications:—

<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xvi., Part 4 (say) ...	50 0 0
<i>Jamaican Song and Story</i> , Mr. W. Jekyll ...	91 8 3
<i>Popular Poetry of the Baloches</i> , Mr. M. Longworth Dames (say) ...	100 0 0
Secretary's Poundage ...	23 18 0
Messrs. Nutt (Postages, despatch of volumes, &c., July—December, 1905) ...	14 5 0
Balance to credit of the Society ...	86 6 10
	<u>£365 18 1</u>

## ASSETS.

Subscriptions for 1905 and earlier years outstanding ..	£42 0 0
Less paid in advance for 1906 ...	7 7 0
	<u>34 13 0</u>
Messrs. Nutt (Sale of Publications, July—December, 1905) ...	25 11 2
Royal Asiatic Society (contribution towards printing <i>Popular Poetry of the Baloches</i> )... ..	30 0 0
Petty cash in hands of the Secretary ...	3 7 3
Balance on Current Account at the Bank ...	272 6 8
	<u>£365 18 1</u>

In addition to the above the Society has a stock of Publications consisting of over 10,000 volumes.

NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS, } *Auditors.*  
F. G. GREEN,

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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THE past year has shown signs of activity in many departments of Folklore. First we may notice, as breaking new ground, that the American Department of the Interior has established a branch of the Ethnological Survey in the Philippines, from which have issued already two volumes: *The Negritos of Zambales* (1904) and *The Bontoc Igorot*, by A. E. Jenks (Manila, 1905). These books deal chiefly with physical and ethnological questions, but it is to be hoped that questions of custom and folklore may in time find record. These important islands, with their numerous tribes, have been hitherto very little known, and they offer a promising field for research. The volumes mentioned are illustrated by a great number of plates, chiefly human types, but including a few pictures of festal groups or of the daily occupations of the natives. From the American Smithsonian Institution come two volumes. The Report for 1904 is *The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony*, by A. C. Fletcher. This huge volume is filled with a complete and most minute record of the ceremony, including songs and music, gestures and dances, everything, as by cinematograph. It may be doubted whether records on so minute a scale are necessary, but at least the fault is on the right side. It is easy not to use what we do not want; our difficulty is generally to find what we do want. The Institution has also published a volume

on *Mexican and Central American Antiquities, Calendar Systems, and History*: a collection of 24 papers by leading German authorities, translated into English. A reprint may also be mentioned of the *Expedition of Lewis and Clark*, published in 1814 (Nutt). They crossed America to the Pacific, and they are rich in early observations of the Indians, especially the Missouri Indians. Turning now to Africa, we have the *Native Races of South Africa*, by G. W. Stow (Swan Sonnenschein). This work is chiefly historical, and describes the invasion of South Africa by the Bantu peoples from the North, and the gradual destruction of Bushmen and Hottentots. The part relating to the Bushmen, however, is valuable for our purposes. In the European sphere we may mention *Origines Islandicæ*, a collection of the more important Sagas and other native writings relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland, edited and translated by Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell, published by the Clarendon Press, which also issues Mr. N. Annandale's book on *The Faroes and Iceland* (Clarendon Press). This book, by a rising scholar, deals with the whole life of these islands. Lastly, from the Asiatic department, we have the fifth volume of the *Jataka Book*, translated by H. E. Francis (Cambridge University Press). Our members know the importance of this work, one of the oldest collections of folktales, although it must be admitted that the folktales are sophisticated and made to point morals in the most unblushing way. It is more than ten years since the first volume of the translation appeared; and the fifth has been delayed by the premature death of one of the band of friends who have collaborated in the work, Mr. R. A. Neil. The veteran master of that band, Prof. Cowell, was also brought low by death before he could complete the sixth volume, which had been committed to his charge. This volume has been entrusted to me for



completion; and I am glad to be able to tell you that the printing has already been begun. I hope it will be out this year.

So much for the collection and publication of materials. When we come to books which deal with those already published, theories and systems, we find a considerable variety. First let us take Germany, in order that we may not have a surprise visit from the Kaiser at our next meeting, to propose an international conference. Adolph Erman has published a summary of ancient Egyptian religion, *Die Ägyptische Religion* (Berlin, Reimer): a good book in a difficult and obscure department, where students have hitherto been obliged to grope amidst darkness. H. Hirt gives us the first volume of *Die Indogermanen, ihre Verbreitung, Urheimat, und Kultur* (Strassburg, Trübner). This is a highly speculative subject, but it is interesting for more than a play of wits; and as Schrader hitherto holds the field, many will be glad to have independent light thrown upon it. Ch. Dieterich has a book on *Mutter Erde, ein Versuch über Volksreligion* (Teubner), and a kindred article in the *Archiv f. Rel.-Wiss.* on *Sommertag*. Another volume of W. Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*, dealing with Myth and Religion, has also appeared (Leipzig, Engelmann). In the country which would naturally take precedence, but which courteously makes its claims subordinate to the comity of nations, the indefatigable Salomon Reinach has reprinted a number of his scattered papers on *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions* (I. Paris, Leroux). Russia unhappily has more serious matters to think of, and her excellent folklore magazine (*Zhivaya Starina*) has not reached me for many months; but it is interesting to see that Finland now has leisure to live the higher life. Two pamphlets have been published in Finland, both written in English by Finnish scholars, one on the *Origin of Worship* (Wasa), by R. Karsten, and one on

the *Origin of Priesthood* (E. Kendes), by G. Landtmann. These pamphlets are not of first-rate importance, but they are surely to be welcomed as a hopeful sign, England has the best show, however, in this department. although we have done little in the way of original research. We have first of all a leaf of the new *Golden Bough*, in Mr. Frazer's lectures on the *Origin of Kingship*. His general view is already well known, and it is here supported by new evidence. Whilst some critics have been inclined to think that the superstructure was rather too large for the base, all are agreed as to the interest of the matter and the charm of the style; and in these lectures readers will enjoy almost as much as the hearers did his dry humour. Then, again, we have another brilliant display from Professor Ridgeway, *On the Thoroughbred Horse*. A superficial reader might imagine this book to be better suited for notice in the *Sporting Times* than in *Folk-Lore*; but the learned author has other objects in view than sport. He traces the history of the horse in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, disentangles its breeds, and discusses the effects of various kinds of crossing. The result of the arguing is, to place the origin of the first breed of horses, the Arab, in Libya, whence it spread to Arabia, Barbary, and Europe, and in its journeys exercised a deep influence on history. The question of the origin of the horse bears on the origin of Poseidon Hippios; and many interesting sidelights are thrown on difficult questions by this essay.<sup>1</sup>

But now we come to the most important question

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Mr. Frazer and Mr. Major for help kindly given in this brief survey.

It is not out of place to note one book which in the guise of a child's tale gives a vivid picture of the life of the Australian blackfellows, *The Little Black Princess*, by Jeannie Gunn (Moring). There are twenty four-plates: some depict groups of natives, posed so as to illustrate the story; others show native implements, weapons, paintings, and the like.

raised in the last year: the origin and meaning of totemism, coupled with the names of Mr. Frazer and Mr. Lang. As we all remember, the great works of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen threw new light on totemism. For many years totemism has been in the melting-pot, but nothing came out. The hypotheses which seemed fairly adequate when Mr. Frazer wrote his monograph on the subject have been necessarily modified by the discovery of new facts; and nothing very satisfactory had been suggested in their place, although some attempts have been made by scholars, including Mr. Frazer himself. Last autumn, however, Mr. Frazer published two articles in the *Fortnightly Review* (July and September) offering a new solution with full confidence; not long after Mr. Lang published *The Secret of the Totem* (Longmans), in which he with equal confidence propounds another solution. Both are extremely interesting, both are based on simple principles; and both set out from the manners and customs of the Arunta tribe of Australia. These happy savages have lived and moved and had their being from time immemorial in the most quiet and obscure way: now, by no fault of their own, they have become famous. Around the Arunta fierce battles rage. They have no national debt, no navy, no political parties, not even a fiscal question—none of the marks of civilisation. Yet keen wits, in the most civilised country, are exercised over the question, Are the Arunta primitive? Our society has already heard Mr. Lang's argument on this point.

The word *primitive* must of course be used relatively. For example, female kinship is generally accepted as a primitive mark; yet a state of things is conceivable in which no man or woman would be interested in questions of kinship. If there were no property and no rights to transmit, no religion, why should any primeval

savage trouble his head about kinship at all? Only suckling babes would be interested, and their connection with their mother would cease long before they were in a position to think of kinship in the abstract. Exogamy is a mark of the relatively primitive; but it is mere assumption to suppose that no form of marriage precedes that. So with group marriage, if that be assumed. The regulation of marriage by totem is often alluded to as primitive, and as compared with matrimonial classes of a more artificial type it may be; but that it is really primitive is another assumption. When we examine the marks usually assumed as primitive, we are forced to the conclusion that very often a general consensus of opinion is accepted in place of proof. It may be that female kinship preceded male kinship; there are very good reasons for thinking that it usually did. But a safer criterion, if the word safe may be used of such slippery hypotheses, is to be found in the range of knowledge or of ignorance in matters which can easily be tested.

Now, the Arunta tribe is a veritable puzzle. Like the human soul, it is a strange mixture of discordant elements. Hence it is that we find one set of doctors describing them as primitive, and another set denying it with equal distinctness. The fact is, the Arunta tribe is both. The system of matrimonial classes which it contains is admitted to be of a late type. We need not contest this point; both parties, I believe, grant it. But their view of totems is their own. Spencer and Gillen, and Howitt, and I believe all those who really know the Australian tribes at first hand, believe this to be the most primitive form of totemism hitherto found. Mr. Frazer follows them; Mr. Lang denies it, regarding this view as a "sport" or "freak" rather than a primitive thing. I may remark, before passing on, that his argument on this point is not admissible; it is only reason-

ing *a priori*. The assumption also which lies behind the argument, namely, that the culture of a tribe must be all on one level, that if part of it be primitive so is the rest, is demonstrably false. To Mr. Lang the practice looks like a freak; to others, it looks like something primitive; and if it be a freak, one is permitted to ask where it came from.

But it is time to ask what this freak is.<sup>1</sup> In the Arunta and Kaitish tribes, in the very heart of the Australian continent, the totem is not derived either from the mother (as often in other parts of the world) or from the father (as amongst the coastal tribes of Australia). All over the country are scattered what the discoverers call totem centres, haunted by the spirits of the dead that await reincarnation. Each centre is haunted by the spirits of one totem only. When a woman first feels herself to be quickened with child, she thinks that a spirit from the nearest totem centre has entered into her; and this becomes the totem of the child, whatever may be the totems of father and mother. The totems are associated with certain oddly marked stones, which need not concern us further now, because they have no bearing on the essence of the belief. The belief, as Mr. Frazer points out, implies ignorance of the means by which the human race is propagated; it ignores the tie of blood, not only on the father's side but the mother's also, thus taking us to a mental condition which precedes the recognition of female kinship. A freak it may be; but this belief seems to imply that those who held it originally had no idea of paternity or maternity at all. Moreover, this form of totemism could not have been derived from hereditary totemism. On the other hand, hereditary totemism can be derived from this; and in fact we see one of the intermediate stages in certain other Australian tribes, the Umbaia and Gnanji. "These

<sup>1</sup> *Fortnightly Review*, Sep., 1905, p. 453.

tribes, with the Arunta and Kaitish, believe that conception is caused by the entrance into a woman of a spirit who has lived in its disembodied state, along with others of the same totem, at any one of a number of totem centres scattered over the country; but, unlike the Arunta and Kaitish, they almost always assign the father's totem to the child, even though the infant may have given the first sign of life at a place haunted by spirits of a different totem. . . . The theory by which they reconcile these apparently inconsistent beliefs is that a spirit of the husband's totem follows the wife, and enters into her whenever an opportunity offers, whereas spirits of other totems would not think of doing so." Thus we see a step in the transition to paternal descent of the totem; and the same origin might explain maternal descent of the totem, if we suppose the woman to be followed about by a spirit of her own totem, instead of her husband's. Thus the Arunta totemism is conceivable as the source of both male and female descent, whereas, given either of these, the Arunta cannot be explained: it becomes only a freak. Freaks are possible, of course; but it is not reasonable to assume them if a *vera causa* can be suggested.

If any one thinks that the ignorance of natural facts, which is here assumed, is impossible, he is mistaken. It is actually believed and directly said by certain native tribes, that the intercourse of the sexes has nothing to do with the birth of children. They are in the same mental condition as our fairy tales, where the stork on the chimney-pot brings the new baby into the house. I need not show in detail why the Arunta belief is reasonable, given his premisses; that has been quite clearly done in Mr. Frazer's article, where the belief is used to throw light on several collateral points. It helps to show, for example, why so many totems are edible objects; why a man so often identifies himself with his

totem; why a man thinks himself to have some special influence over his totem, so that, by magical ceremonies, he may increase or diminish the totem. These magical ceremonies, it will be remembered, were accepted as the origin of totemism by Mr. Frazer in 1899;<sup>1</sup> he has now recanted this belief. Many of the special peculiarities of totemism can be plausibly explained, or at least can be made comprehensible, by this new hypothesis, or by the one step further back which Mr. Frazer takes. True, it is not easy or always possible to see why the various steps were taken; but we are enabled to see why they could be taken.

What, now, has Mr. Lang to say to this hypothesis?

Mr. Lang, in his book on the *Secret of the Totem*, attacks the belief that the Arunta tribes are primitive. For this purpose he cites their marriage regulations, showing that these have marks of later development. The Arunta, he says,<sup>2</sup> is "a tribe so advanced that it has forgotten its phratry names, has male kinship, eight matrimonial classes, and local totem groups, with headmen hereditary in the male line, and so cannot possibly be called primitive as regards organisation. If, then, the tribe possesses a peculiar institution, contravening what is universally practised"—Mr. Lang means elsewhere, rather than universally—"the natural inference is that the Arunta institution, being absolutely isolated and unique, as far as its non-exogamy goes, in an advanced tribe, is a local freak or sport, like many others which exist. This inference seems to be corroborated when we discover, as we do at a glance, the peculiar conditions without which the Arunta organisation is physically impossible," which are:

"1. Male reckoning of descent. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1899, p. 275 ff., *Fortnightly Review*, April and May, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> *Secret of the Totem*, p. 64 ff.

- "2. Local totem groups, which are a result of male reckoning of descent. . . .
- "3. The belief that the spirits of the primal ancestors of the dream-time . . . are constantly reincarnated in new-born children. . . .
- "4. The Arunta and Kaitish . . . believe that spirits desiring reincarnation, all of one totem in each case, reside at certain definite spots. So do the Urabunna believe, but at each of these spots, in Urabunna land, there may be spirits *of several different totems*. Amongst the Urabunna, as everywhere, totems are exogamous. None of these four conditions, nor all of them, can produce the Arunta totemic non-exogamy.
- "Finally (5). The Arunta and Kaitish, and they alone, believe not only that the spirits desiring reincarnation reside at certain definite spots, and not only that the spirits there are in each case *all of one totem* (which is essential), but also that these spirits are most closely associated with objects of stone, inscribed with archaic markings, which the spirits have dropt in these places—the scenes where the ancestors died. These stone objects, and this belief in their connexion with ancestral spirits, are found in the Arunta region alone, and are the determining cause, or inseparable accident at least, of the non-exogamy of Arunta totemism."

After destructive criticism applied to the various theories of his predecessors on the subject of totemism, Mr. Lang proceeds to develop his own. He assumes as the primitive state of man something analogous to a barnyard, or the hareem of the Grand Turk. Promiscuity, and group marriage, are dismissed as improbable, because they imply the absence of jealousy or the pride



of possession in primitive man. Jealousy is the mark of the male in many kinds of animals, and is so in developed man; Mr. Lang assumes it for primitive man. The primitive group will then be a male, with a flock of attendant females. Each sultan would get and keep as many females as he could, the number depending upon his strength and his power to feed them; as the children grew up the young males would be forcibly ejected by the sultan until someone should be found strong enough to conquer the old sultan and take his property. The young males, ranging about at large, could only obtain mates by capturing them from some strange group. Hence marriage by capture would be the rule; and here Mr. Lang sees the origin of the practice of exogamy, by custom growing into right. So far there are no totems; but the origin of the totem is explained as follows: We must imagine the countryside filled with similar groups, around which, like satellites, revolved the young predatory males seeking to found a family. It will be useful, and perhaps necessary, to distinguish these groups by names. Not that any one group feels the want of a name: each sultan is a world unto himself, and only asks the others, his cousins, to leave him alone. But he may probably want names for the other groups. He therefore invents names for them. Here Mr. Lang gives instances in which one group of persons gives a name to another, a subject already dealt with in *Social Origins*. He shows that in England, France, and other parts of the world, villagers are known by nicknames, such as Cows, Lizards, Pigeons, Frogs, Dogs, Starlings, Oysters, Crabs, Seals, Cod. Names of ancient Hebrew villages, as recorded in the *Book of Judges*, were Lions, Jackals, Hornets, Stags, Gazelles, Scorpions, and so forth. Others, again, are called Eaters of this, or Not-Eaters of that, or they are named by the word they use for Yes or No: you will probably

think of Langued'oc. The next step is for the groups to accept their neighbours' nicknames. They do not accept them to-day, but we know the Christians did, and so did the Whigs and Tories; Mr. Lang also thinks that savages would not resent such nicknames, as English villagers do, because they thought differently of nature. The English villager resents the nickname of Mouse, because he does not think nobly of mice; but "the savage does think nobly of all animals,"<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, would not resent it. He in fact thinks that he is identified with the subject of his name, and under the protection of Mouse, Scorpion, or what not. Mr. Lang further adds that the commonness of animal or plant names may be accounted for by the fact that they are readily acted in pantomime; and the totem is often indicated by strangers meeting, in pantomime.

Let us admit that this at least is a *vera causa*; it has its uncertainties, true: for why should one nickname stick, when by the hypothesis each group would be likely to invent its own names for all the other groups? If we were dealing with clans, tribes, or nations, we might assume only two to exist; but it is absurd to assume only two sultans and two hareems. In case of any marked peculiarity, of course, the case is different; our own surnames often come from this source, as the Roman surnames often did, and I can add another instance from my own knowledge. Years ago, there lived in the island of Cos an old man, who was continually using the phrase *καὶ πόκα*, 'however.' It became his nickname, and his son has inherited it, for he now bears the name of Thomas Kepókas (*Καιπόκας*). But there are a great number of totem names which are difficult or impossible to explain on this hypothesis. However, let us assume it for the present. Mr. Lang now makes a jump from the sultans to more fully

<sup>1</sup> *Secret of the Totem*, p. 131.

organised groups. He assumes that two or more neighbouring groups (which he calls phratries) hit on the idea that wives might be got as well by exchange as by robbery, and with less trouble. They then make a treaty of peace on the basis of exchange. Examining the tribal systems of Australia, he finds everywhere traces of two great phratries, Eagle Hawk and Crow, and these he seems to regard as the original parties to the compact which lies at the basis of the Australian social system. Thus there would be originally two classes only, and totem class (if it then existed) would be the same thing as phratry or marriage class; but as other less important groups came to join the dual alliance, a number of new and different totems came to exist in each phratry. Then on the one hand, the old phratry had within it a totem-class of the same name; or perhaps a synonymous name, the old name surviving as the title of the whole group, or gradually being forgotten altogether: on the other hand, wherever in the natural course of things the same totem name came to be found in both phratries, the balance was redressed by migration from one phratry to the other. Otherwise there would be some persons debarred altogether from marriage; because by custom they could neither marry into their own totem (which was by hypothesis identical in name with the whole opposite phratry) or into any part of the phratry with which they lived. Here two ideas came into conflict, local attachment and totemic belief: but the weaker of the two, local attachment, gave way before the paramount necessity of marrying someone. In the end, phratry names often died out, leaving matrimonial classes which have no name.

I hope that I have given a fair summary of Mr. Lang's constructive hypothesis: if not, I am ready to correct it, for I am far from wishing to do injustice to it. The hypothesis is ingenious in a high degree; and it is advocated with the persuasive eloquence which we all

know. If there are questionable points here and there, so there are in all other views. We have to assume a good deal on Mr. Frazer's hypothesis, as on Mr. Lang's. It does in fact cause a qualm of misgiving, when we perceive how the same facts are used by so many students to support hypotheses diametrically opposed. Here in Mr. Lang's argument, I confess to another qualm at the thought of those young persons, who migrated from one phratry to another to avoid compulsory celibacy. Did that really satisfy their consciences? How was it that none made a firm stand against their fate? No stories, so far as I am aware, describe the stolen loves of an aboriginal Abelard and Héloïse, or passive resistance to the death of such unnatural laws. If the elders of the tribes met in conclave, and played at chess with their pawns, did not they strike a blow at the root of all belief in right or wrong? Then again, man may be jealous now, but so also I believe is woman; and if we may assume a dozen or a hundred happy wives in a domestic establishment, we assume an absence of jealousy almost as great as that of group-marriage. Not all animals are jealous: bulls may be so, but not so apparently dogs and cats. What of female infanticide? What of the problems caused by scarcity of food? Again, granting the jealousy, granting the sultan and his harem, it is a long step from these harem-groups to any sort of social or tribal organisation. I very much doubt also if one sultan, without janissaries, could keep his harem from running away. The sultans cannot have all been highly lovable, nor could they have been everywhere at once. But the most awful shock of all is to see, that the harem hypothesis gives the deathblow to the hypothesis of female kinship on which it is built. How can the paternity of a child be in doubt (supposing the savages to have any idea of paternity) if there is only one sultan? There is much more likelihood of the babies all getting

mixed up when their mothers are earning an honest living for the sultan, so that if anything the father is more certain than the mother. And we saw that male kinship is one of the essential conditions of Arunta totemism, according to Mr. Lang; so that on this argument, assuming that the hareem-group is primitive, and that male kinship is natural in the hareem-group, the Arunta totemism so far is more primitive than the other examples which Mr. Lang cites. But I will not follow Mr. Lang's example, and accept a hypothesis on trust. Looking at the practices of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes, I cannot but agree with Mr. Frazer, that whatever be the case with their social system, the state of mind which is ignorant of the means by which life is propagated seems to be more primitive than that which understands more of animal physiology. That one fact seems to emerge from a cloud of obscurities: for there are difficulties and obscurities in plenty on both hypotheses.

And so we must leave the Totem for the present still in difficulties. Perhaps it may be allowed us to suggest that scholars are still a little too apt, like Mr. Casaubon, to seek one key to all the mythologies. In examining, for instance, what was the organisation of the original human group, we must not leave out of account the food supply, which must have modified that organisation. Female infanticide depends on the food supply, and the laws of marriage are influenced by female infanticide. Then again, who is to say that the breeds of men do not differ in their aptitude for social organisation? We see this difference strongly marked in the world now, not only between races, as in comparing the white man with the negro, but between families, as in comparing Greek with Latin, German with Celt. It is very hard to believe that all these came from one original stock. But after making all allowances, we may congratulate ourselves on some further light in this dark subject.

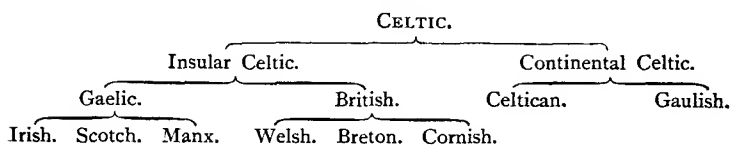
W. H. D. ROUSE.

## THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

### IV. THE CELTS (p. 1).

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

IN dealing with the sky-god as he appears in the Celtic area it will be convenient to follow the distinction usually drawn between Insular and Continental Celts. It should of course be borne in mind that this distinction is not one of race<sup>1</sup> at all, but is primarily one of language and secondarily one of culture. That, however, does not affect our conclusions, since religion normally varies with language and with the other elements that go to make up the complex of civilisation rather than with race in the strictly anthropological sense of the term. From a linguistic point of view, then, the following divisions and subdivisions of the Celts are made<sup>2</sup>:



I shall consider the case of the Insular Celts before that of the Continental Celts, because the evidence

<sup>1</sup>The most convenient summary of the Celtic question in its relation to race will be found in W. Z. Ripley *The Races of Europe* New York 1899 pp. 124-128. See also J. Deniker *The Races of Man* London 1900 p. 347 f., A. H. Keane *Ethnology* Cambridge 1896 pp. 378 f., 397, 405 f., *Man Past and Present* Cambridge 1900 pp. 463, 523 ff.

<sup>2</sup>K. Brugmann *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 12 f. This is the grouping commonly adopted

relating to the former is, thanks to their still extant literature, far more certain and complete than the evidence relating to the latter.

*The Insular Celts.*

A position partly analogous to that of Zeus in Greek mythology is occupied by a god called Nuada in Irish mythology.<sup>1</sup> As Zeus was king of the Olympian gods, so Nuada was king of the Tuatha Dé Danann or 'Tribes of the goddess Danu'—a name given to the Irish gods collectively as descendants of the goddess Danu. Again, as Zeus had to fight the Giants and Titans, so Nuada had to fight first the Fir Bolg, or 'Bag Men,' and then the Fomore, monstrous gods of darkness and death.<sup>2</sup> The comparison can be pressed further. For, though Zeus was at first successful in his struggle with Typhon, owing to his thunderbolts and his adamantine sickle, yet in the end Typhon wrested the said sickle from him and, having cut out the sinews of his hands and feet, carried off the god on his shoulders to the Corycian cave: here Zeus was guarded by the snake Delphyne till Hermes and Aegipan contrived to steal the divine sinews, which Typhon had wrapped in a bear's skin for

by philologists. I have extended it by including the suggestion of Prof. J. Rhys (*Celtae and Galli* p. 55 ff., extr. from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. 2) that 'Celtican' should be distinguished from 'Gaulish': a similar cleavage between a *qu*- and a *p*-dialect is recognised by H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 167 f.

<sup>1</sup>The analogy is pointed out by Prof. J. Rhys *The Hibbert Lectures 1886* 'On the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom' ed. 3 1898 p. 119 ff., Prof. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville *Les Celtes* Paris 1904 p. 33 f.

<sup>2</sup>The Fir Bolg were human and quasi-historical foes; the Fomore were divine and mythical. The legend of the second battle of Mag-Tured, that against the Fomore, appears to be much more ancient than the legend of the first battle of Mag-Tured, that against the Fir Bolg: see D'Arbois *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 p. 156 ff., C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 p. 75 ff.

safety's sake, and so restored the ruler of Olympus to strength and victory once more.<sup>1</sup> In much the same way Nuada at the first battle of Mag-Tured engaged in single fight with a Fir Bolg champion called Sreng, the 'Strong,' who shore off his right fore-arm and half his shield. Since, according to Irish notions, the king must not be in any way halt or maimed,<sup>2</sup> Nuada had perforce to retire from his kingship, which passed to Bres a chief of the Fomore. But Bres in the course of the next seven years proved himself so churlish and illiberal that Cairpré, son of Ogma, satirised his lack of hospitality. This satire caused great red blotches to break out over the face of Bres, who thus in his turn received a blemish that unfitted him for the post of king. Meantime the injured Nuada had got made for himself by Dian-Cecht, the leech of the gods, and by Creidné, their worker in bronze, an artificially jointed hand of silver. The metallic hand caused his wrist to fester—a mischief cured by Miach, son of Dian-Cecht, who dug up Nuada's original hand and united it to the stump by means of the incantation: 'Sinew to sinew and nerve to nerve be joined!' Thus renovated Nuada resumed his throne, being known thenceforward as Nuada Argat-lám or Nuada 'of the Silver Hand.'<sup>3</sup> As such he reigned another twenty years till the second battle of Mag-Tured, at which he was killed by Balar Balcbéimnech, 'of the Mighty Blows,' with a flash of his evil eye.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodor. i. 6. 3, cp. Nonn. *Dionys.* i. 362 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Senchus Mór* i. 73 cited by Rhys *Celtic Britain* London 1884 p. 63, n. 1. E. O'Curry *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* Dublin 1861 p. 48, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* Dublin 1873 iii. 197 f., tells how Cormac mac Airt had to quit the office of king on losing his eye. Cp. P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* London 1903 i. 43, 311. For Greek and Italian parallels see *Folk-lore* xv. 374 ff., xvi. 328.

<sup>3</sup> The episode of Miach and the hand of flesh is apparently later than that of Dian-Cecht and the hand of silver: see D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 394 f.



What was the original character and significance of Nuada? The Tuatha Dé Danann, over whom he ruled, are said to have come to Ireland enveloped in clouds or borne on the wings of the wind; and, according to the oldest version of the tale, it was from the sky that they descended upon the favoured land.<sup>1</sup> On this showing Nuada was a sky-god of some sort. Further, they reached Ireland on May 1, the feast of Beltaine, the first day of the Celtic summer; and the battle in which Nuada was slain began on November 1, the feast of Samain, the first day of the Celtic winter.<sup>2</sup> This suggests that Nuada was a god of the summer sky. Lastly, the ritual of Beltaine, when the druids of Erin made two fires and drove cattle between them as a safeguard against the diseases of the year,<sup>3</sup> and the ritual of Samain, at which all the hearths in Ireland were supplied with fresh fire from a common centre at Tlachtga,<sup>4</sup> are almost certainly solar,<sup>5</sup> and support Professor Rhys' contention that Nuada was somehow connected with the sun.<sup>6</sup>

Among the Greeks Zeus the sky-god became Zeus the storm-god and so passed by easy transitions into a god of rivers and even of the sea.<sup>7</sup> Similarly among the Italians Jupiter was sky-god, storm-god, river-god, sea-god.<sup>8</sup> Possibly the Irish Nuada underwent the same successive changes. His powers as a storm-god are perhaps attested by the tradition of his invincible sword,<sup>9</sup> which, like the sword of Zeus Chrysaorios, Zeus

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* pp. 141 f., 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* pp. 158, 180.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 520.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 515, W. G. Wood-Martin *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* London 1902 i. 280 f.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. Frazer *The Golden Bough* ed. 2 1900 iii. 300 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 124 'a divinity of the sun and of light.'

<sup>7</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 265 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* xvi. 260 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *The Battle of Mag Tured* 5 in D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique en Irlande* Paris 1892 i. 403.

Labrandeus,<sup>1</sup> etc., may have symbolised the lightning. More certain is the conception of him as a river-god or sea-god; for the Boyne was called the fore-arm of Nuada's wife,<sup>2</sup> Nuada being thus regarded as the husband of the river.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the Boyne was said to have burst forth from a sacred well once owned by a mythical being named Nechta or Nechtan.<sup>4</sup> This name is related to the Irish *nigim* 'I wash,' *negar* 'he washes,' and other kindred forms such as the Anglo-Saxon *nicor*, 'a water-monster' or 'crocodile,' and the German *Nix*, 'a sea-beast' or 'sea-spirit.'<sup>5</sup> When, therefore, a monarch Nuada Necht is mentioned as an ancestor of the kings of Leinster in 110 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> it becomes highly probable that Nuada the sky-god was identified with Nechta the water-spirit from whose well issued the Boyne.

Zeus and Jupiter were not only sky-gods and water-gods, but earth-gods as well.<sup>7</sup> I do not know of any evidence to show that Nuada was ever specialised as an earth-god. But the world of waters in Celtic mythology largely corresponds to the chthonian realm of the Greeks and Romans<sup>8</sup>; and, if Nuada was a god of the waters,

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Review* xvii. 417.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. Celtic Britain* p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. Hibbert Lectures* p. 122 f., Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 284, who state that the well, now called Trinity Well, is at the foot of Side Nechtain (Carbury Hill) in county Kildare.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 123 n. 2, Whitley Stokes *Goidelica* p. 133, A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. Nect-a(g)nos, F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* s.v. Nix.

<sup>6</sup> O'Curry *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* p. 706, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 53, Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 122. In the *Cóir Anmann* 188 (Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 368 f.) Nuada Necht is derived 'from *nix*, because Nuada Necht was as white as snow' or 'from *nox*... for Nuada was the first to plunder by night in Erin.' But the derivations propounded in the *Cóir Anmann* are frequently absurd (Stokes *ib.* p. 285).

<sup>7</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 274 ff., xvi. 273.

<sup>8</sup> Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* pp. 48, 261, 270.

he was *ipso facto* subterranean in character. It should be noted in this connexion that Nuada, when slain by Balar, was buried in a tumulus called Grianan Aileach or the 'Sun-bower<sup>1</sup> of Aileach,' which is still to be seen on the base of the Inishowen Peninsula between Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle.<sup>2</sup> Tradition has it 'that a thousand armed men sit resting there on their swords, and bound by magic sleep till they are to be called forth to take their part in the struggle for the restoration of Erin's freedom. At intervals they awake, it is said, and looking up from their trance they ask in tones which solemnly resound through the many chambers of the Grianan: "Is the time come?" A loud voice, that of the spiritual caretaker, is heard to reply: "The time is not yet." They resume their former posture and sink into their sleep again.'<sup>3</sup>

I have already shown that in early days Greek kings were treated as embodiments of Zeus,<sup>4</sup> Latin kings as embodiments of Jupiter.<sup>5</sup> By parity of reasoning we might expect to find that Irish kings were regarded as embodiments of Nuada. And this seems actually to have been the case. Observe, in the first place, that Nuada is described not merely as king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, but also as king of Ireland. As such he reigned at Tara for twenty years,<sup>6</sup> being reputed the son of Echtach mac Edarlamh.<sup>7</sup> Even more circumstantial is what the *Cóir Anmann* or treatise on 'Fitness of Names' says of Irél Fáith: 'He was a prophet (fáith),

<sup>1</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* pp. 122, 157.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* ii. 481 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 299 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* xvi. 285 ff.

<sup>6</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 418 ff., *Cycle mythologique* p. 172 ff.

<sup>7</sup> S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* London 1892 ii. 476, 522, from the *Book of Ballymote*. G. Keating *The History of Ireland* i. 12 (trans. by D. Comyn in *Irish Texts Society* London 1902 iv. 221) carries his genealogy back for eleven generations.

he was a champion, and he was king of Ireland afterwards. And 'tis he that was the Nuada *Airgetlám* ('Silverhand') of the sons of Míl.<sup>1</sup> This remarkable statement presumably means that the Milesian king Irel was deemed an incarnation of the god Nuada.

Írél Fáith was not the only king that bore the name of Nuada. Nuada Finn fáil, 'of the White Wall,' is said to have reigned over Ireland in 962 B.C., nine centuries after the landing of Nuada Argat-lám.<sup>2</sup> Nuada Fullon, 'the Beautiful,' was king of Leinster about 600 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Nuada Necht was the last king of Ireland before the Christian era.<sup>4</sup> 'Old Nuada the Sage' was king of Leinster in the seventh century A.D.<sup>5</sup> The same name Nuada was borne by a whole series of distinguished persons, royal or druidical, in Irish legend. Nuada was a famous warrior of Ulster, whose shield hung in the Castle of Diverse Hues.<sup>6</sup> Nuada was the chief druid of Cathair the Great, supreme king of Ireland in the second century A.D., and in that capacity built himself a castle at Almu in Leinster, covering it with alum (*alamu*) till it was white all over.<sup>7</sup> Nuada Deg-lámh,

<sup>1</sup> *Cóir Anmann* 79 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 326 f.

<sup>2</sup> O'Curry *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* p. 83. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 122 treats Nuada Finn fáil as a doublet of Nuada Argat-lám, since in both cases a king called Nuada was succeeded by a king bearing the unusual name of Bres.

<sup>3</sup> O'Curry *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 204. Cp. *Cóir Anmann* 183 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 366 f.

<sup>4</sup> Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 68 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 7, 96, 225.

<sup>6</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* i. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Id. ib.* i. 379 ff. See further D'Arbois *Introduction à l'étude de la littérature celtique* Paris 1883 p. 196, *id. La civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'épopée homérique* Paris 1899 p. 106 f., Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 88, ii. 63. Is the correspondence between the name of Nuada Finn fáil and this action of Nuada the Druid merely accidental? Nuada Necht was said to be 'as white as snow' (*supra* p. 31 n. 6). Among the Gauls, the priest cutting mistletoe wore a white robe, the plant was caught in a white cloth, and the ceremony was accompanied by the sacrifice

'the Good-handed,'<sup>1</sup> bore a name that recalls Nuada 'the Silver-handed': he had a son Anbechtach, of whom we are told that he was called Glas because 'blue (*glas*) were his face and his countenance usually.'<sup>2</sup> Glais, the son of Nuadat-fail, *alias* Glachs, the son of Noethach-fail, was an early ancestor of the Scottish kings.<sup>3</sup> Nuada Derg, 'the Red,' was nephew of Loegaire king of Ireland and attempted the life of St. Patrick.<sup>4</sup> Nuada Find Feimin was reared at Findmag Feimin and bore the divine<sup>5</sup> or princely name of Ailill Oll-cháin.<sup>6</sup> Nuada Sálfota or 'Long-Heel' was a famous rath-builder, who had the strength of a hundred and could eat the fill of fifty.<sup>7</sup> Nuadha O'Lomthuilé was a poet, who described the battle of Almhain in 718 A.D.<sup>8</sup> A poem by Mac Fírbis of Lecan mentions a certain O'Nuadan of Calraighe Laithim near Sligo.<sup>9</sup> Finally, to come down to modern times, Dr. O'Donovan remarks that the family Mac Nowd or Gnoud is descended from an ancestor named Nuada.<sup>10</sup>

How comes it that all these kings and quasi-kings, bore the name of Nuada the sky-god and water-god?

of two white bulls (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 250 f.); the herb *selago* too must be plucked by one wearing a white robe (Plin. *ib.* 24. 103). Irish druids likewise sacrificed white bulls (D'Arbois *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* Paris 1906 p. 100); and the whitened walls of their houses may have had some sacred significance.

<sup>1</sup> *Cóir Anmann* 7 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 290 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 8.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Skene *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* Edinburgh 1867 pp. 134, 144.

<sup>4</sup> D'Arbois *Introduction à la littérature celtique* pp. 271 f., 315.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 138.

<sup>6</sup> *Cóir Anmann* 82 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 326 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Cóir Anmann* 36-40 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 300 ff.

<sup>8</sup> O'Curry *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 391.

<sup>9</sup> J. O'Donovan *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* Dublin 1844 p. 276.

<sup>10</sup> O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dict.* with a Supplement by J. O'Donovan p. 683 s. v. 'Nuada.'

Simply because the king or quasi-king was regarded as Nuada incarnate. Moreover, there is reason to think that this was no exceptional or fortuitous honour. For the name of Nuada was sometimes used as a common substantive to denote 'king'. In the early Gaelic saga entitled 'The Feast of Bricriu' (*Fled Bricrend*) the word occurs in the genitive case *nuadat* glossed by *in rîg*, that is, 'of the king'.<sup>1</sup> Such a linguistic usage points back to a primitive period in which any and every Irish king might claim to be a man-god and style himself Nuada.

Professor Rhys was at one time disposed to regard a whole succession of early Irish kings—Cormac, Conaire, Conchobar, etc.—as so many different forms of the Celtic Zeus.<sup>2</sup> Since then, as he kindly informs me by letter,<sup>3</sup> he has been to a large extent persuaded that he had treated as mythological many characters, which now seem to him to have been historical. I would venture to suggest that they were *both*—I mean, that such personages were traditional or even historical kings, who, in accordance with the beliefs of their day, posed as embodiments of the Irish sky-god. They would thus be brought into line with the early Greek kings, who claimed to be Zeus, and the early Italian kings, who were dubbed Jupiter.

The Irish Nuada corresponds to the Welsh Nudd,<sup>4</sup> of whom little is known except that he was the father of Gwynn, Edern, and Owein.<sup>5</sup> Nudd, however, like Nuada, gave his name to sundry mortal monarchs. A Welsh manuscript,<sup>6</sup> which purports to contain the 'Descent

<sup>1</sup> G. Henderson *Fled Bricrend* (*Irish Texts Society* vol. ii) pp. 88, 177.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 133 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Dated Nov. 30, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 125, *Celtic Britain* p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> J. Loth *Les Mabinogion* Paris 1889 ii. 381 Index.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Hengwrt 536 in W. F. Skene *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* Edinburgh 1868 ii. 455, cp. i. 168, 355.

of the Men of the North,' records—'Gwendoleu and Nud and Cof, sons of Keidyaw son of Arthwys son of Mar son of Keneu son of Coel.' According to the Venedotian code of the old Welsh laws,<sup>1</sup> the chiefs of the Men of the North, who came to avenge the death of Elidyr Muhenvaur, were Clyddno Eiddin, Nudd Hael, son of Senyllt, Mordaf Hael, son of Seruari, and Rydderch Hael, son of Tudwal Tudglyd. A Welsh Triad<sup>2</sup> mentions this same Nudd Hael, son of Senullt, along with his comrades Rydderch Hael, son of Tutwal Tutclyt, and Mordav Hael, son of Serwan as the 'three Generous Men of the Isle of Britain.' Another Triad<sup>3</sup> states that Nudd Hael, son of Senullt, had a herd of 20,001 cows, kept for him by Llawfrodedd Varvawc. An inscription found at Warrior's Rest, near Yarrow in Selkirkshire, and first accurately copied by Professor Rhys,<sup>4</sup> runs as follows:

HIC MEMORIAE ET	
[BE]LLO INIGNIFIMI PRINCI	Here Nudos' princely offspring rest,
PES. NVdl.	Dear to fame, in battle brave,
dVMNOGENI. HIC IACENT	Two sons of a Bounteous sire,
IN TYMVLO ·dVO FILII	Dumnonians, in their grave.
LIBERALIF	

While some details of this inscription are debateable, it is clear that it commemorates two sons of a certain

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* i. 174, cp. i. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Loth *Mabinogion* ii. 235 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 296. Prof. Rhys has kindly sent me the following translation of the Triad: 'Three clan herdsmen of the Island of Prydain: Bennren herdsman in Gorwennydd, that kept the herd of Caradawc son of Bran and his clan, and in that herd the number of milch cows was 20,001; second, Gwydion son of Don, that kept the clan herd of Gwynedd above (= west of) the Conwy, and of that herd the number was 20,001 milch cows; third, Llawfrodedd the Bearded that herded the cattle of Nudd the Bounteous (Nudd Hael) son of Senyllt, and of that herd the number was 20,001 milch cows'.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys in *Y Cymmrodor* 1905 xviii. 5 ff. argues that the inscription contains two accentual hexameters and dates from the latter part of the sixth century A.D. I quote his metrical rendering.

Nudos Liberalis, king of the Northern Dumnonii. Professor Rhys<sup>1</sup> shows that *Nudos Liberalis* is nothing but a late Latin translation of *Nudd Hael*, 'Nudd the Generous,' and points out that Dyvnwal, one of the ancestors of Nudd Hael,<sup>2</sup> represents an earlier \**Dumnoval* and so squares with the remaining name *Dumno-genus*. He very justly infers that *Hael* or *Liberalis* was a standing epithet or surname in Nudd's family, and argues that Nudd's generosity is doubtless to be added to the attributes of the god whose name he bore. I would further remark that in a religious or quasi-religious poem entitled 'The Pleasant Things of Taliessin' we read :

'Pleasant is Nud, the superior wolf-lord ;  
Also pleasant the Generous one of the feast of *Golystaf*.'<sup>3</sup>

The juxtaposition of 'Nud' and 'Generous' can hardly be accidental ; and the couplet assures us that the generosity of the god was especially manifested at some festival or other.

For our purpose the material fact is that Welsh kings of Northern extraction bore the name and shared the attributes of the god Nudd. They are thus strictly analogous to the Irish kings that were named after the god Nuada. To complete the parallel, it should be shown that Nudd, like Nuada, was at once a sky-god connected with the sun and a water-god connected with a river. Fortunately on this point too there is evidence available.

To M. Gaidoz<sup>4</sup> belongs the credit of first identifying

<sup>1</sup> Rhys in *The Academy* 1891 pt. 2 p. 180 f., *Celtic Folklore* ii. 447 f., *Hibbert Lectures* p. 128. Dr. Whitley Stokes in Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. 'Nudus,' accepts the equation *Nudus* = *Nudd*.

<sup>2</sup> Skene *Four Ancient Books* i. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Skene *ib.* i. 550 translates the second line 'Also pleasant, a generous one at Candlemas tide.' But Prof. Rhys informs me that the name of the feast is obscure to him, and would render 'Also pleasant a (or the) generous one of the feast of —.'

<sup>4</sup> See D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 155 n. 2.



with *Nuada* a god whose name occurs in Roman inscriptions from Gloucestershire and Carmarthen under the forms *Nodonti*, *Nodenti*, *Nudente*, *Nu[d]inti*. A sanctuary of this deity is still to be seen in Lydney Park some eight miles east of Chepstow. Excavations begun here by the Right Hon. C. Bathurst in 1805 brought to light a precinct bounded by a solid wall and enclosing the foundations of (a) a temple and (b) a large villa or palace built in two wings, apparently of different dates, with a paved court between them. The excavator<sup>1</sup> rightly recognised the former as the temple of Nodons or Nodens by means of three inscribed votive tablets found within it;<sup>2</sup> and conjectured that the latter was the residence of the principal military commander of the district.

The first thing that strikes us in considering this complex of buildings is their unusual, not to say unique, arrangement. A divine temple and a royal house side by side within a single enclosure! It is only when we remember *Nuada* the god and *Nuada* the king, or *Nudd* the God and *Nudd Hael* the king, that the combination becomes intelligible. *Nodons*, a Gaelic deity corresponding to *Nuada* and *Nudd*, was presumably represented on the spot by a priestly king, whose wealthy residence was a standing proof of the god's generosity.

Closer inspection of the buildings and of sundry monuments found in them deepens our conviction that

<sup>1</sup> *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, being a posthumous work of the Rev. W. H. Bathurst, with notes by C. W. King. London 1879 pp. 5, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Lydney Park* pl. 20, 1 a bronze plate *pointillé* D · M · NODONTI | FL · BLANDINVS | ARMATVRA | V · S · L · M (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* vii. no. 138). Pl. 20, 2 a bronze plate bearing the figure of a wolf (or perhaps a dog) and inscribed PECTILLVS | VOTVM QVOD | PROMISSIT | DEO NVDENTE | M · DEDIT (*C.I.L.* vii. 139). Pl. 20, 3 a sheet of lead scratched DEVO | NODENTI SILVLANVS | ANILVM PERDEDIT | DEMEDIAM PARTEM | DONAVIT NODENTI | INTER QVIBVS NOMEN | SENICIANI NOLLIS | PETMITTAS SANITA | TEM DONEC PERFERA | USQVE TEMPLVM NO | DENTIS (*C.I.L.* vii. 140).

Nodons was the counterpart of Nuada or Nudd, and that he too had his human viceroy. The temple has a *cella* divided, like that of the Capitoline Jupiter at Rome, into three *cellae*. This may be taken to imply that Nodons was the Jupiter Optimus Maximus of the locality—a suggestion borne out by one of the votive inscriptions mentioned above:

D • M • NODONTI  
d(eo) m(agno) Nodonti

and by the inscription worked into the mosaic pavement of the *cella*, which seems to have begun with the letters, now damaged:

D M N  
d(eo) m(agno) N(odonti).<sup>1</sup>

This mosaic was dedicated to the god by Flavius Senilis, an officer in command of the fleet stationed at the mouth of the Severn.<sup>2</sup> It is framed in an elaborate border representing in red, blue, and white two water-monsters with intertwined necks and a number of salmon.<sup>3</sup> The water-monsters recall Nuada's association with the Boyne and with Nechta the water-spirit from whose well it burst forth.<sup>4</sup> Nor are the salmon less significant: for not only was Nechta's well inhabited by divine and omniscient salmon,<sup>5</sup> but also Eogan Táidlech, 'the Splendid,' who wore a shining mantle made of the

<sup>1</sup> I follow the readings of E. Hübner as given in his article 'Das Heiligtum des Nodon' in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* Bonn 1879 Heft lxvi. pp. 29-46, which corrects and supplements the account that he had published six years earlier in the *C.I.L.* vii. p. 42 f. Mr. C. W. King in *Lydney Park* p. 46 takes the letter M, perhaps rightly, to denote m(aximo), a yet closer approximation to the title of Jupiter.

<sup>2</sup> He describes himself in his inscription as PR RLL, which Mommsen, relying on Orelli-Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* 6872 *praepositi reliquationis class. praet. Misenat*, deciphered as *praepositus reliquationis*.

<sup>3</sup> *Lydney Park* pl. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 553 ff. well compares with them the sapient salmon of Llyn Llyw, connected with the Severn by the story of *Kilhwch and Olwen*.

woollen covering of a particoloured salmon, was known as *Mog Nuadat* or 'Nuada's Slave.'<sup>1</sup> In fact, Nodons, like Nuada, was a Jupiter and a Neptune rolled into one. Possibly he was a Pluto too: for right in the middle of Flavius' inscription space is left for a circular hole or funnel 9 inches wide, surrounded by concentric bands of red, blue, and white *tesserae*; it leads downwards directly into the earth, and at the bottom of it was found a bronze dog, the legs of which were joined together with lead.<sup>2</sup> The find is noteworthy, since in and around the temple a whole series of wolves or dogs came to light, seven in bronze, six at least in a coarse freestone.<sup>3</sup> The dog was probably a surrogate for the wolf; and both alike remind us of Taliessin's description of Nudd as 'the superior wolf-lord.' His further reference to 'the Generous one' may likewise have been applicable to Nodons: for a stone statuette of Fortuna, seated, with a cornucopia in her left hand, was among the very few pieces of sculpture found at Lydney.<sup>4</sup> In short it appears that Nodons, so far as his character can be determined from the remains of his temple, bore a decided resemblance both to Nuada and to Nudd.

That he, like them, was represented by a priestly king is no less probable. For the most important clue to the cult at Lydney is a crown or diadem of thin beaten bronze, made with five points and adorned with figures characteristic of the god.<sup>5</sup> In the centre stands a beard-

<sup>1</sup> *Cóir Anmann* 36-40 in Stokes and Windisch *Irische Texte* iii. 300 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Lydney Park*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> C. W. King *Lydney Park* p. 46 thinks that two of the series are undoubtedly wolves (*ib.* pl. 20, 2 and pl. 27, 10) and two dogs (*ib.* pl. 27, 3 and pl. 30, 3). The Rev. W. H. Bathurst classed them all as 'dogs' (*ib.* p. 14). Hübner (*op. cit.* p. 34) says: 'Ob das Thier ein Hund oder ein Wolf ist, wird sich schwer entscheiden lassen.'

<sup>4</sup> Hübner *op. cit.* p. 44: King *Lydney Park* p. 43, pl. 19, erroneously makes it a statuette of Ceres.

<sup>5</sup> *Lydney Park* pl. 13.

less god facing us as he drives a four-horse chariot: he is clad in *tunica* and *chlamys*, with a four-spiked or rayed crown on his head and a club (?)<sup>1</sup> in his right hand. The whole figure is obviously borrowed from the conventional representations of the sun-god. To right and left of him hover a couple of winged boys holding the end of a fluttering *chlamys* in one hand, a leaf-shaped fan and a conch-shell respectively in the other: they are probably intended for the Winds, possibly for the Seasons. Again to right and left of these come two fish-tailed Tritons, one of whom grasps a couple of paddles, the other an anchor and a shell-trumpet:<sup>2</sup> these Tritons have the forefeet of horses. A second and smaller piece of a similar diadem, or perhaps the back-piece of the same, shows a fish-tailed Triton with horse's forelegs, grasping an anchor in his right hand, while with his left he brandishes a club, or else winds a blast on his conch-shell. Close to him sits a fisherman with a pointed cap, in the act of hooking a magnificent salmon. Now this diadem in all probability belonged either to the god or to his officiating priest; and it may well have marked the latter as a kingly representative of the former—a visible embodiment of Nodons, who was at once sky-god and water-god, if not earth-god also.

Over what area Nodons and his name-sake priest were recognised, can hardly be determined. Professor Rhys<sup>3</sup> draws attention to an old inscribed stone at Cynwyl Gaeo in Carmarthenshire, which gives us a Latin genitive

<sup>1</sup> According to King (*ib.* p. 40), a sceptre: Hübner (*op. cit.* p. 45) suggests a shell-trumpet, or a whip.

<sup>2</sup> So King (*loc. cit.*): Hübner (*loc. cit.*) suggests that the paddles may be double-axes with crescentic blades.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys *Studies in Early Irish History* p. 16 n., extr. from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. 1. Professor Rhys had previously published the inscription in his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* ed. 2 London 1879 p. 391 as follows—*Regin:: Filius Nu[v]inti*—adding: 'The first name is now incomplete, but so much of it as can be read corresponds to the later name Regin, Rein.' May we infer a royal line claiming descent from Nodons?

NV~~III~~INTI, i.e. NV[D]INTI. With this he compares the Breton name *Nodent* attested several times in De Courson's *Cartulaire de Redon*.<sup>1</sup> The inference is that among the Bretons, as well as among the Welsh, persons of local importance bore a name that had come down to them from the cult of the god Nodons. Equally remarkable is the fact that a Bishop of Llandaff in the ninth century A.D. was called Nud.<sup>2</sup>

So far we have obtained evidence of Nuada and his eponymous vicegerent from all the principal sections of the Insular Celts with one exception, viz. Cornwall. It is *à priori* improbable that here alone Nuada divine and Nuada human were entirely wanting. On the contrary, it might reasonably be supposed that, as the Northern Dumnonii had their Nudos Liberalis, a king who personated the god, so the Southern Dumnonii, occupying Cornwall, Devon, and part of Somerset, could boast a priestly king of like repute. I incline to believe that behind St. Neot, the chief Cornish saint, lurks a man-god corresponding to Nuada. The name *Neot* may be merely the Anglo-Saxon spelling of an older Cornish form; for at St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, whither the body of the saint was transferred from Cornwall, it is pronounced *Neede*<sup>3</sup> or *Need*<sup>4</sup>—a pronunciation that points to an

<sup>1</sup> *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne* publié par M. Aurélien de Courson Paris 1863 pp. 14, 99, 129. *Nodent* appears among the names of witnesses to documents dating circ. 834, Apr. 1 821, and 797 to 814 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Stevenson *Asser's Life of King Alfred* Oxford 1904 p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> W. Camden *Britannia* ed. R. Gough London 1789 ii. 153.

<sup>4</sup> G. C. Gorham *The History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire; and of St. Neot's in the County of Cornwall* London 1820 p. 340 cites an inscription found over the cenotaph of St. Neot in the Cornish church by some workmen in Oct. 1795: the inscription says of the town in Huntingdonshire—

'The vulgar call it now ST. NEED'S.'

Tokens struck for the town in the reign of Charles II have the following spellings of its name: S<sup>r</sup> NEOTS, S<sup>r</sup> NEOTES, SAINT NEOTTS, SAINT NEEDS (Gorham *ib.* p. 144 ff.).

original *d* as in *Nuada*, *Nudd*, *Nodons*. Apart from the question of names, there are other points of resemblance between these deities incarnate and the legends of St. Neot. Nuada and Nodons were both river-gods located within easy distance of the sea and intimately associated with certain sacred salmon. The Cornish town of St. Neot is situated on a small stream called St. Neot's River, which rises in Dosmerry Pool, joins the Fowey, and so flows into the Channel. Near the site of St. Neot's hermitage is still to be seen a beautiful spring of clear water, which fills a reservoir about four feet square and is said to have witnessed more than one strange miracle.<sup>1</sup> St. Neot was accustomed to repeat the whole psalter once a day, standing the while in his fountain. In it lived three fish, of which he had divine permission to take one, and only one, for his daily meal: so long as this condition was observed, he was assured that the supply should never be diminished. On one occasion, when the saint was ill, his disciple Barius caught two fish for him, boiled one, broiled the other, and tried to tempt his appetite. St. Neot, much alarmed, bade him restore them to the pool, and prostrated himself in prayer till Barius returned with the welcome tidings that both fish were disporting as usual in the water. Hereupon Barius was sent back to the well and caught one fish. The hermit had no sooner tasted it than he was restored to perfect health. The part played by the sacred spring and the sacred fish in the legends of St. Neot is certainly suggestive of a Cornish counterpart to Nuada and Nodons.

Again, the dates of St. Neot's festivals deserve consideration. It is said that St. Neot died on July 31; and that day was the festival of St. Neot observed at the Priory in Huntingdonshire and also at the Abbey of Bec Hellouin in Normandy.<sup>2</sup> On the same day and the

<sup>1</sup> Gorham *ib.* p. 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gorham *ib.* pp. 44 n., 143.

two following days a fair used to be held at St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire by charter of Henry I: in 1820 A.D. this fair, called Lammas, was still kept up on August 1, though it was then dropping into desuetude.<sup>1</sup> The date of St. Neot's festival is, however, given by Chambers<sup>2</sup> as October 28. Now July 31 is the eve of the Celtic feast Lughnassad; and October 28 is the eve of the seven-day feast of Samain. Is it merely fortuitous that St. Neot is thus connected with two out of the three chief events in the Celtic year? Yet another festival of St. Neot was celebrated at St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire; for the same charter of Henry I recognised an annual fair on the festival of St. Neot, its eve, and the succeeding day, *i.e.* on December 6-8. Later this fair was held on December 6, which was said to be the eve of the arrival of the saint's body from Cornwall, and was called St. Nicholas' fair—a name that it still bears, though with the alteration of the calendar it has come to be held on December 17.<sup>3</sup> St. Nicholas was commonly known as St. Nicholas of *Bari*,<sup>4</sup> which may account for the tradition that St. Neot's disciple was named *Barius*: as a patron of fishermen<sup>5</sup> St. Nicholas of Bari would be appropriately connected with St. Neot. Further, the 'boy-bishop' of St. Nicholas' day<sup>6</sup> may stand in some relation to the belief that St. Neot was very diminutive in stature, too short in fact to reach the lock on the door of Glastonbury Abbey, which must needs by a special miracle descend for his benefit.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gorham *ib.* p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> R. Chambers *The Book of Days* London 1864 ii. 506.

<sup>3</sup> Gorham *ib.* p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 458 Index.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 114 f.

<sup>6</sup> T. F. Thiselton Dyer *British Popular Customs Present and Past* London 1900 p. 432 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Gorham *ib.* p. 31 f.

Lastly, St. Neot was not only a sacred, but also a royal, personage. The monkish chroniclers regarded him as the son of king Æthelwulf and the brother (or at least near kinsman) of king Ælfred.<sup>1</sup> Ælfred—it was said—visited his retreat in Cornwall for the cure of a dangerous malady,<sup>2</sup> was rebuked by him for tyrannical behaviour, and at various crises of his life saw the saint in a consolatory vision: on one such occasion the phantom of the dead St. Neot undertook to lead the king's army to victory against the Danes.<sup>3</sup> A fine stained-glass window in the parish church at St. Neot, Cornwall, represents the saint crowned in allusion to his supposed royal descent.<sup>4</sup>

It appears, then, that several features in the life and legends of St. Neot bear out the suggestion that he is the Christianised form of a priestly king corresponding to Nuada, Nudd, and Nodons. I do not mean to imply that St. Neot himself was not a historical character, but rather that he inherited the name, the myths, and the festivals of a Cornish divine king.

It would be interesting to know how far the name of these quasi-divinities corresponded to their nature. One point that stands out clearly in their story is the connexion with a river and sacred fish (Nuada, Nodons, Neot). Another, not quite so obvious, is their relation to cattle and other horned beasts. Nuada was husband of the Boyne, whose name *Bou-uinda* signifies 'White Cow.'<sup>5</sup> On May 1, the day of his arrival in Ireland, cattle were driven by the druids between two fires.<sup>6</sup> And Bres, the successor of Nuada, by means of a crafty trick obtained

<sup>1</sup> Gorham *ib.* p. 21 ff., Asser's *Life of King Alfred* ed. W. H. Stevenson Oxford 1904 p. 256 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Asser's *Life of King Alfred* ed. Stevenson p. 55 f., cp. p. 296 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of St. Neot's* in Stevenson's ed. of Asser's *Life of King Alfred* p. 137 f.

<sup>4</sup> Gorham *ib.* p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> D'Arbois *Les Celtes* p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 30.



the milk of all the cows of the Tuatha Dé Danann : he at first demanded the produce of any cows that happened to be brown and hairless ; but, when this was granted, he wanted to pass all the cattle in Munster between two fires, and then claim the milk of all the singed beasts.<sup>1</sup> The contemplated action of Bres can hardly be dissociated from the ritual of May 1, and points to the belief that the divine king owned or protected all the cattle of the land. Again, at the second battle of Mag-Tured the Tuatha Dé Danann spared the life of Bres, when he guaranteed that their cows should be always in milk, promised them a wheat-harvest every month, and finally disclosed to them the secret that Tuesday was the right day for ploughing, sowing and reaping.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Nudd Hael, son of Senullt, had a herd of 20,001 cows.<sup>3</sup> And of St. Neot it is told that, when the oxen of his Monastery in Cornwall were stolen by night, many stags from the neighbouring woodlands tamely offered their necks to the yoke, and ever afterwards showed a white mark where they had been pressed by the collar<sup>4</sup> : also that a trembling doe, flying from a huntsman, found shelter at the feet of the saint, who was chanting as usual in his fountain.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the idea of liberality, so prominent in the case of Nudos Liberalis and Nudd Hael, probably attached to the other divine kings of the Celtic area. Evidence of this will be shortly forthcoming : for the moment note that the Tuatha Dé Danann deposed Bres after a seven years' reign precisely because he was illiberal and ungenerous.<sup>6</sup> In short

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 169 f., *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 442 ff., *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 115 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Gorham *op. cit.* p. 36 f.

<sup>5</sup> Gorham *ib.* p. 35 f.

<sup>6</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 413 ff., *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 79 ff.

Nuada and his homonyms were connected (a) with *fishing*, (b) with *cattle and other horned animals*, (c) with *liberality*.

Next let us turn to the commonly accepted derivation of their name. Professors Rhys<sup>1</sup> and Thurneysen<sup>2</sup> refer it to a root NEUD appearing in—

Gothic	<i>niutan</i> ('to enjoy, get benefit from'), <i>nuta</i> ('catcher, fisher')
Icelandic	<i>naut</i> ('a head of cattle, a horned beast')
Swedish	<i>nöt</i> ('cattle')
Danish	<i>nöd</i> ('cattle')
Anglo-Saxon	<i>nēotan</i> ('to use, employ'), <i>nēat</i> ('cattle')
Old High German	<i>niozan</i> ('to make use of')
Middle High German	<i>nōz</i> ('cattle')
Modern German	<i>ge-niessen</i> ('to eat, drink, enjoy, have the use of')
Lithuanian	<i>naudà</i> ('use, profit, proceeds, harvest, possessions').

These Germanic and Lithuanian congeners do not enable us to determine the precise meaning of the names *Nuada*, *Nudd*, *Nodons*, *Neot*; but they certainly point to a god who had within his gift the fish, the cattle, and the crops. Such an one could be rightly represented only by a king who was liberal in like manner.

Here our knowledge of Nuada would have come to an abrupt end, were it not for a brilliant suggestion made by Professor Rhys and accepted by all Celtic scholars. Professor Rhys<sup>3</sup> proposed to identify—

Nuada *Arget-lám* ('argentea manu') }  
 Lludd *Llaw-ereint* ('manu argentea') }

<sup>1</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 128 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Thurneysen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* xxxii. 562 ff., cp. De Jubainville in the *Revue celtique* xiii. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 125, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 447 f.

and remarked that *Nudd* might have passed into *Ludd* under the influence of alliteration. The name of Lydney, the cult-centre of Nodons, bears witness, as he pointed out,<sup>1</sup> to this change of initial. It follows that Nudd gave his name not only to the great Welsh king Lludd Llawereint, 'of the Silver Hand,' better known in English as king Lud, but also to Loth or Lot of the Arthurian romances.<sup>2</sup>

Lludd of the Silver Hand was the father of Creiddylad, who was betrothed to Gwythyr son of Greidawl. But, before she became his bride, Gwyn son of Nudd came and carried her away by force. The upshot was a great contest in which Gwyn beat Gwythyr. King Arthur made peace between them on the following terms: 'that the maiden should remain in her father's house, without advantage to either of them, and that Gwyn son of Nudd and Gwythyr son of Greidawl should fight for her every first of May from thenceforth until the day of doom, and that whichever of them should then be conqueror should have the maiden.'<sup>3</sup> This singular recital probably hangs together with another passage in the *Mabinogion*<sup>4</sup>: 'The second plague was a shriek which came on every May-eve over every hearth in the Island of Britain. And this went through people's hearts, and so scared them that the men lost their hue and their strength, and the women their children, and the young men and the maidens lost their senses, and all the animals and trees and the earth and the waters were left barren.' Lludd king of Britain, at the advice of his brother Llevelys king of France, put an end to

<sup>1</sup> Rhys *Celtic Folklore* ii. 448.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* pp. 125, 128 f., *Celtic Folklore* ii. 448, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891, pp. 11, 239.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Charlotte Guest *The Mabinogion* London 1904 p. 138 f. See Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 561 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Lady Guest *ib.* p. 93 f.

this plague by the following means. He 'caused the island to be measured in its length and in its breadth. And in Oxford he found the central point, and in that place he caused the earth to be dug, and in that pit a cauldron to be set, full of the best mead that could be made, and a covering of satin over the face of it. And he himself watched that night. And while he was there, he beheld the dragons fighting (*i.e.* a British dragon and a foreign dragon). And when they were weary they fell, and came down upon the top of the satin, and drew it with them to the bottom of the cauldron. And when they had drunk the mead they slept. And in their sleep, Lludd folded the covering around them, and in the securest place he had in Snowdon, he hid them in a kistvaen. Now after that this spot was called Dinas Emreis,<sup>1</sup> but before that Dinas Ffaraon. And thus the fierce outcry ceased in his dominions.' One of the Welsh Triads<sup>2</sup> mentions 'the dragons hidden by Lludd, son of Beli, in Dinas Emreis'; and another<sup>3</sup> says—'Three oppressions came into this isle and disappeared; the oppression of March Malaen, which is called the oppression of the first of May; the oppression of the dragon of Britain; the oppression of the magician.' *March* means 'Horse'; and a Welsh proverb speaks of any good thing wasted as 'gone on the Horse of Malaen.'<sup>4</sup> Putting together these somewhat enigmatical allusions, we gather that the first of May was a critical time for king Lludd. The same belief comes out in connexion with Gwalchmei (Walgan) and Medrawt (Modred), the two sons of king Loth (Lot).<sup>5</sup> The name

<sup>1</sup> Dinas Emreis, the 'City of Ambrosius,' was a little hill near Beddgelert. Cp. Nennius *History of the Britons* 42 (Ambrosius and the two fighting dragons) in J. A. Giles *Old English Chronicles* London 1901 p. 402 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Loth *Mabinogion* ii. 218.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 278.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 278 n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *British History* 9. 9 in Giles *Old English Chronicles* p. 238.

*Gwalchmei* means 'the Hawk or Falcon of May'<sup>1</sup>; and with it should be compared the tradition that the eagles of Llyn Llumonwy, or Loch Lomond, used to congregate on the eve of the Calends of May to give the inhabitants auguries for the year then commencing.<sup>2</sup> As to Modred, Merlin in Malory's *Morte Darthur*<sup>3</sup> warns king Arthur that he will be destroyed by one born on May-day: hereupon the king collects all the children so born to his lords and ladies, and sends them to sea in a ship: of their number is Mordred, *i.e.* Modred, who escapes and ultimately slays king Arthur. Equally momentous is the first of May in the tale of *Pwyll Prince of Dyved*,<sup>4</sup> and in that of Gwyddneu Garanhir and the weir at Aberdovey.<sup>5</sup> Why May-day was such a crisis for the Celtic king, is a question to which we shall have to return. Meantime we are concerned with Lludd, Loth, or Lot.

As Nodons was a river-god in Gloucestershire, so, it would seem, was Lud in Leicestershire. For the town of '*Lud*, alias *Louth*,' as Leland<sup>6</sup> called it, derives its name from the little river Lud or Ludd, in the neighbourhood of which are the hamlets Ludborough, Ludford, and Ludney.<sup>7</sup> Again, Professor Rhys conjectures that, as the god Nodons had a sanctuary beside the Severn at Lydney, so the god Lud had a sanctuary by the Thames on or near the site of St. Paul's Cathedral.<sup>8</sup> Here he was represented by the British king Lud, of

<sup>1</sup> Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 238 f.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Malory *Le Morte Darthur* ed. Sir E. Strachey London 1904 p. 48 f.

<sup>4</sup> Lady Guest *Mabinogion* p. 21, Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 497 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 545, *Arthurian Legend* p. 316 f.

<sup>6</sup> Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough ii. 274.

<sup>7</sup> S. Lewis *Topographical Dictionary of England* London 1842 s.vv.

<sup>8</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 129, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 448.

whom we read<sup>1</sup> that his capital 'was afterwards called *Kaerlud*' and that 'his body was buried by the gate which to this time is called in the British tongue after his name, *Parthlud*, and in the Saxon, *Ludesgata*,' i.e. Ludgate. King Nudd, it will be remembered, was 'Generous' and 'Liberal' (*Hael, Liberalis*). Similarly the *Story of Ludd and Llevelys* makes Lludd 'generous and liberal in giving meat and drink to all that sought them,'<sup>2</sup> and tells how he guarded a great banquet all night against the depredations of a gigantic warrior.<sup>3</sup> According to Geoffrey of Monmouth too, king Lud was 'very magnificent in his feasts and public entertainments':<sup>4</sup> he was succeeded by his brother Cassibellaun, who, as soon as he was crowned, 'began to display his generosity and magnificence to such a degree, that his fame reached to distant kingdoms; which was the reason that the monarchy of the whole kingdom came to be invested in him.'<sup>5</sup>

'Lot of Londonesia' is treated by Geoffrey as quite a different personage. He was a valiant man of royal blood, who married Anna, the sister of Arthur, and was by Arthur established as king of Norway.<sup>6</sup> '*Londonesia*' is a corruption<sup>7</sup> of *Loudonesia* or *Lodoneis*, better known as Lothian; for Loth or Lot is the eponym of that district.<sup>8</sup> In the *Morte Darthur* Lot figures as king of Lothian and of Orkney, who has married Arthur's sister, dame Morgawse, but, because of the wrong done to him by Arthur, fights against him and is slain by Sir

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *British History* 3. 20 in Giles *Old English Chronicles* p. 136 f.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Guest *Mabinogion* p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Ead. ib.* p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *British History* 3. 20 in Giles *Old English Chronicles* p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.*

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* 8. 21, 9. 9, 9. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Geoffrey's derivation of *Caer-london* from *Kaer-lud* (*id. ib.* 3. 20).

<sup>8</sup> Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 11.

Pellinore.<sup>1</sup> Thus mythology passes, on the one hand into pseudo-history, on the other hand into romance. But neither the would-be historian nor the romance-writer can help weaving into his narrative some threads of genuine antiquity. Lot, whether conceived as king of Norway, or as king of Lothian and Orkney, has a dominion across the waters, and therein preserves a faint trace<sup>2</sup> of the water-god, whom his predecessors were believed to embody.

Let us gather up our results. It appears that Nuada, Nudd, Lludd and Loth were kings, bearing the name, and sharing the nature, of a Celtic sky-god, who was also a water-god and perchance an earth-god too. This divinity had control over the fish, the cattle, and the crops. His human representative in like manner was expected to bless all animal and vegetable produce. The ideal king, who fed his people aright, was deemed 'Generous' and 'Liberal.' The usurper, on the contrary, according to Irish notions, finds his footsteps dogged by the displeasure of heaven; 'for the land in his time yields no corn, the trees no fruit, the rivers no fish, the cows no milk.'<sup>3</sup> So too a Welsh couplet from the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (s. xii) runs:—

'We shall have years and long days  
With false kings (and) failing fruit-crops.'<sup>4</sup>

In short, the Celtic king, like the Greek<sup>5</sup> or Italian<sup>6</sup> king, was responsible for the fertility of animal and vegetable nature.

Now the Greek and Italian kings, who personated

<sup>1</sup> *Le Morte Darthur* ed. Strachey pp. 27, 31, 56, 139, *alib.*

<sup>2</sup> If Prof. Rhys is right in identifying Lot's wife with Arthur's sister, *Morgan le Fay* (Welsh *Morgen*, 'sea-born'; Irish *Muirgen*, a name of the aquatic lady Liban), the case is strengthened. See Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 22 f.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys *Celtic Britain* p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 308 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 312 ff., 392 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Folk-lore* xvi. 316 ff.

Zeus and Jupiter, were normally associated with the oak of the sky-god or with some surrogate of the same. Can any analogous connexion be made out in the case of Celtic kings?

To begin with, I shall endeavour to show that among the Insular Celts, as among the Greeks and Italians, the oak was regarded as the sky-god's tree. The well-known assertion of Maximus Tyrius—'The Celts worship Zeus, and the Celtic image of Zeus is a lofty oak'<sup>1</sup>—refers presumably to the Continental, not to the Insular, Celts. But an ancient glossary, the *Duil Laithne*, in the handwriting of Duaid Mac Fírbis, gives among other early Irish names for God the word *Daur*, glossed by *Dia*, i.e. 'God.'<sup>2</sup> This word *Daur* is neither more nor less than *daur*, the early Irish for 'oak.'<sup>3</sup> In fact, we have here, and that from a trustworthy native source, a striking confirmation of the statement of Maximus Tyrius. May we not infer that in Ireland, as on the Continent, the divinised oak-tree stood for the sky-god?

Lydney, the cult-centre of Nodons, was first explored by Major Hayman Rooke in 1777 A.D.; and one of the few facts noted by him is that on the adjoining bank of the Severn are 'the remains of a number of oak trees, visible at low water, all laying one way, that is with their roots to the North-East; the soil on which they grew having, as is imagined, been washed away by the encroachment of the tide.'<sup>4</sup> Lydney was indeed situated in the famous forest of Dean, where there were some

<sup>1</sup> Max. Tyr. *dissert.* 8. 8 Κεῖνοι σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ἐψηλὴ δρῦς.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes in the *Revue celtique* i. 259. Dr. Stokes there comments on *Daur* = *Dia* as follows: 'Daur is possibly, as Siegfried thought, borrowed from the Old-Norse *Thórr*. But I should prefer to regard it as a derivative from the root DHAR, whence Skr. *dharāṇa*, 'preserving,' *dhartṛi*, *dharitrī*, 'supporter.'

<sup>3</sup> Cp. D'Arbois *Introd. à l'étude de la littérature celtique* p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Major Rooke in *Archæologia* London 1779 v. 207 ff.



30,000 acres thick-set with oak-trees. So useful was this oak-timber for ship-building, that it is said to have been part of the instructions of the Spanish Armada to destroy it.<sup>1</sup> One storm alone, that of February 18, 1662, prostrated over 1000 oaks and as many beech-trees in this forest. A survey made the same year showed that the forest contained 25,929 oaks and 4,204 beeches. In 1783 the numbers had grown to 90,382 oaks and 17,982 beeches.<sup>2</sup> Enormous oak-trees, such as 'Jack of the Yat,' 'the Newland Oak,' and one near York Lodge, are still the pride of the forest.<sup>3</sup> Mr. C. W. King remarks that the pillars and entablature of Nodons' temple must have been constructed of oak, since no architectural fragments have been found.<sup>4</sup> In the adjoining county of Monmouthshire it is still believed that fairies dance 'under the female oak, called Brenhin-bren.'<sup>5</sup> But in the forest of Dean sanctity attaches nowadays rather to the holly. At least, it is noteworthy that the free miners of the forest, who form a peculiar community with its own court of justice, are sworn by means of a special oath, in which they touch the Gospels with a stick of holly.<sup>6</sup> The choice of a red-berried substitute for the oak is not without significance, as the sequel will show.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis trans. by T. Wright London 1905 p. 371 n. 4. cp. Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough i. 267, where 'oats' is a clerical error for 'oaks.'

<sup>2</sup> H. G. Nicholls *The Forest of Dean* London 1858 pp. 39, 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 207 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Lydney Park* p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Wirt Sikes *British Goblins* London 1880 p. 105 f.

<sup>6</sup> Nicholls *The Forest of Dean* p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide* my next article. The resemblance of the holly (*ilex aquifolium* L.) to the holly oak or holm oak (*quercus ilex* L.) can hardly have been a determining cause, since the latter tree appears to have been introduced into this country only about the middle of the sixteenth century (E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* London 1905 p. 18). R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 376 supposes that Christmas holly is a surrogate for boughs of oak.

As the cult of Nodons was carried on in a great forest of oaks, so St. Neot, the Cornish representative of Nodons, chose for his hermitage a spot surrounded by trees.<sup>1</sup> Gorham, writing in 1820, says of St. Neot's spring: 'It is yet to be seen at the foot of a hill . . . some years since clothed with forest trees . . . About 60 years since, a venerable oak, bending forward from the bank above, spread its branches like a fan over this sainted well.'<sup>2</sup>

Lot, the northern counterpart of Nodons, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth,<sup>3</sup> married Anna. Professor Rhys speaks of her as 'the Celtic Anna . . . wife of Loth, that is to say of Lludd or Nudd, originally the Zeus of the Celts.'<sup>4</sup> Anna is elsewhere described as wife of Beli the Great.<sup>5</sup> Now Professor Rhys regards Beli as a 'chthonian divinity,'<sup>6</sup> 'the god of death and darkness,'<sup>7</sup> 'the death-god,'<sup>8</sup> 'the dark god,'<sup>9</sup> 'the Dis of the ancient Celts.'<sup>10</sup> And Professor D'Arbois de Jubainville finds in \**Belios* 'the god of death, the Celtic god whom Caesar called *Dis pater*.'<sup>11</sup> It appears probable, therefore, that Anna was the partner of the Celtic Zeus in his dark or chthonian character. If so, we may have a survival of her in Black Anna, who still haunts a cave about a mile from Leicester. 'Black Anna was said to be in the habit of crouching among the branches of the old pollard oak (the last remnant of the forest) which grew in the cleft of the rock over the mouth of her cave or "bower," ever ready to spring like a wild beast on any stray children passing below.'<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gorham *Eynesbury and St. Neot's* p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 33 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 336 f., cp. pp. 22, 169.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 336.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. Hibbert Lectures* p. 168.

<sup>7</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 274.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 377, cp. p. 643.

<sup>9</sup> *Id. Arthurian Legend* p. 337.

<sup>10</sup> *Id. Hibbert Lectures* p. 644.

<sup>11</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 225 f.

<sup>12</sup> *County Folk-lore* vol. i. Leicestershire and Rutland p. 8.

Lud, the southern equivalent of Lot, had a sanctuary on the site of St. Paul's Cathedral,<sup>1</sup> where he too, for aught we know to the contrary, may have had a sacred tree. Is there an allusion to such a tree in the familiar nursery rhyme?—

Upon Paul's steeple stands a tree  
As full of apples as may be.  
The little boys of London town  
They run with hooks to pull them down :  
And then they run from hedge to hedge  
Until they come to London Bridge.

Geoffrey of Monmouth<sup>2</sup> cites as part of Merlin's prophecy the following remarkable words: 'After this shall be produced a tree upon the Tower of London, which, having no more than three branches, shall overshadow the surface of the whole island with the breadth of its leaves.' This unmistakable reference to Yggdrasill's Tree<sup>3</sup> suggests that the odd conceit of an apple-tree growing on the steeple of Old St. Paul's originated in a similar belief and is, in fact, evidence of a British sky-tree on the hill where Lludd the sky-god was represented by king Lud. Further evidence may perhaps be found in the ancient Cornish drama *de origine mundi* edited and translated by Edwin Norris in 1859; for it describes<sup>4</sup> the apple-tree of Paradise in terms that certainly recall the Scandinavian world-tree:—

In it there is a tree,  
High with many boughs ;  
But they are all bare, without leaves.  
And around it, bark  
There was none, from the stem to the head.  
All its boughs are bare.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth *British History* 7. 3 in Giles *Old English Chronicles* p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 292.

<sup>4</sup> E. Norris *The Ancient Cornish Drama* Oxford 1859 i. 59.

And at the bottom, when I looked,  
 I saw its roots  
 Even into hell descending,  
 In midst of great darkness.  
  
 And its branches growing up,  
 Even to heaven high in light;  
 And it was without bark altogether,  
 Both the head and the boughs.

This religious or mythological transition from oak-tree to apple-tree corresponds to an actual advance in pre-historic civilization. Tribes that were once content to subsist upon acorns and wild fruits in general learnt gradually the art of cultivating the more edible varieties of the latter, and so came in the course of many centuries to keep well-stocked orchards. Here and there this important advance has left a trace of itself upon language. The apple in particular, the oldest cultivated fruit-tree in Europe,<sup>1</sup> is felt to be the equivalent of the oak; and words denoting the one are used freely of the other. Thus, in the *Völsungasaga* the oak-tree that grows in the hall of king Völsungr is also spoken of as *apaldr*, 'an apple-tree.'<sup>2</sup> The Irish *omne*, meaning 'oak,' is the Latin *pomum*, meaning 'apple or other fruit.' The Slavonic *ži-ru*, 'means of living' (cp. Old Slavonic *ži-ti*, 'to live'), denotes 'acorns' in the South-Slavonic dialects, 'beech-nuts' in Slovenic, and 'orchard fruit' among the Croats of Istria. Nay, the English *acorn* itself appears in the Cornish *acran* as 'plum,' in the Irish *áirne* as 'sloe,' and in the Welsh *acron* as 'fruit' without restriction.<sup>3</sup>

We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that, whereas Nodons dwelt in an oak-wood, Lud may be

<sup>1</sup> On the earliest cultivation of fruit-trees in Europe see J. Hoops *Wald-bäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* Strassburg 1905 pp. 299, 334 ff., 338, 475 ff., 572 ff., 603 ff., 647 f.

<sup>2</sup> E. Wilken *Die Prosaische Edda* p. 151 f.

<sup>3</sup> O. Schrader *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* Strassburg 1901 p. 583.

connected rather with an apple-tree, and Nuada perhaps both with apples and with nuts.

Nuada, god of the summer-sky, was slain by Balar at Samain, the beginning of the Celtic winter.<sup>1</sup> Allhallow Even, the night before Samain, was indeed a critical time, when the powers of the sky-god or sun-god needed to be replenished. Hence the various sun-charms that are still kept up in Ireland on the eve of November 1. The evening is known as Snap-apple Night or Nut-crack Night. My friend Mr. W. M. Coates, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, tells me that as a boy in Ireland he used to celebrate Snap-apple Night in the following way. Crossed sticks bearing an apple and a lighted candle at opposite ends were hung by a cord and set spinning: those who took part in the fun had to snap at the apple as it passed, with a chance of getting a mouthful of candle. The crossed sticks in this pastime were doubtless originally one form of the solar wheel: the apple may have symbolised the sun itself. Nuts too are often burnt by the Irish on Nut-crack Night, and love-omens drawn from the way in which they crack or jump.<sup>2</sup>

In the self-same battle Lug slew Balar, the slayer of Nuada, struck off his head, and hung it in the fork of a hazel-tree. The tree split, and the leaves fell from it by reason of the poison that dripped from the head. For fifty years that tree was a dwelling-place of crows and ravens. Then Manannán mac Lir passed by and bade his men to dig it up. They did so, though thrice nine of them were killed or blinded by the poisonous mist that rose up from its roots. Luchtaine the carpenter made a shield of the hazel-wood for Manannán, who gave it, and a set of chessmen along with it, to Tadg,

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 29 f.

<sup>2</sup> J. Brand *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* enlarged by Sir H. Ellis London 1849 i. 377 ff.

son of the druid Nuada; and from him it came to his grandson Finn, son of Murni and Cumall.<sup>1</sup>

In the foregoing tale it is Balar, not Nuada, who is associated with the hazel-tree. But that makes little difference. For *Balar* (= \*Belar) is etymologically one with *Beli*,<sup>2</sup> the Celtic Zeus in his dark or chthonian character.<sup>3</sup> Thus both the bright sky-god Nuada and his dark counterpart Balar were connected with the hazel, just as the bright sky-god Jupiter and his dark counterpart Vediovis were alike connected with the oak.<sup>4</sup>

The root BEL, which underlies both *Beli* and *Balar*, appears in yet another name *Bile* (= \*Belios), borne by the forefather of the Gaels and ancestor of the Milesian kings. *Bile* too, therefore, has been identified with the Celtic god of darkness and death.<sup>5</sup> This squares with the statement of Caesar, that all the Gauls claimed to be descended from *Dis pater*.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, it is interesting to find that Irél Fáith, one of the Milesian kings claiming descent from *Bile*, was actually called Nuada Airgetlám,<sup>7</sup> just as the Julian gens, which had an ancestral cult of *Vediovis pater*,<sup>8</sup> bore a name that meant literally 'young Jupiter.'<sup>9</sup> In short, it would appear that Nuada the bright sky-god had as his dark counterpart, not only Balar, but also *Bile*.

But, on this showing, *Bile*, like *Balar*, should be connected with a tree sacred to the sky-god—perhaps an

<sup>1</sup> Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* London 1904 p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xvi. 280.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 91, D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 225 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Caes. de bell. Gall.* 6. 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 33. We remember too that Lot and *Beli* were alternative husbands of Anna (*supra* p. 55), while Lludd Llawereint was regarded as the youngest son of *Beli* (Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 643). In both cases the association of the bright with the dark divinity deserves notice.

<sup>8</sup> H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* Berlin 1902 no. 2988, cp. *Classical Review* xviii. 363.

<sup>9</sup> *Folk-lore* xvi. 286 f.

oak, perhaps an apple, perhaps a hazel. Our expectation is amply fulfilled. The Irish word *bile*, denoting 'any ancient tree growing over a holy well or in a fort,' is identical with the name *Bile*.<sup>1</sup> It follows that *Bile*, the national forefather, was simply a divinised tree. In fact, just as the Italian Aborigines boasted their descent from 'trunks and heart of oak,' on the acorns of which they fed,<sup>2</sup> so the ancient Gaels were children of a deity, who resided in a tree and supplied them with its fruit.

The conclusion just arrived at is sufficiently remarkable. But can we go further and identify any particular tree as a *bile* of the sky-god, dark or bright? Fortunately the *Dinnsenchus*, an important work in Middle Irish, which gives the legendary history of numerous hills, caves, lakes, islands, etc., specifies no less than five trees under the name of *bile*.

One such tree was a gigantic evergreen oak growing on the plain of Mugna beside the river Barrow in the east of Leinster. We are told: 'equally broad were its tops and the plain (in which it stood).'<sup>3</sup> And again: 'thirty cubits was its girth, and its height was three hundred cubits, and its leaves were on it always.'<sup>4</sup> Also: 'it was for a long while hidden until the birth of Conn of the Hundred Battles (when it was revealed). Ninine

<sup>1</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 678, where the equation of *bile* with *Bile* is tentatively suggested, but without discussion of its consequences.

<sup>2</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8. 315 ff. See further *Classical Review* xviii. 371 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindŋenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xv. 420. *Id.* 'The Edinburgh *Dinnshenchas*' in *Folk-lore* iv. 485 cites the scrap of folk-song: "Mughna's oak-tree without blemish, | Whereon were mast and fruit, | Its top was as broad precisely | As the great plain without . . ." This is somewhat inconsequently subjoined to the statement: 'Woods, great oak-trees grew there, so that their tops were as broad as the plain.' But folk-song deserves more attention than a rationalising explanation.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* *Revue celtique* xv. 420, *Folk-lore* iv. 485 f.

the Poet cast it down in the time of Domnall son of Murchad King of Ireland, who had refused (?) a demand of Ninine's. . . . Or it may have been in the time of the sons of Aed Sláne that this tree and the *Bile Tortan* fell together.<sup>1</sup> Conn came to the throne in 177 A.D., Domnall in 743 A.D., the sons of Aed Sláne in 656 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> so that the tree was some 500 years old. Further, we read in another passage: 'Now the tree of Mugna is an oak, and it fell due southward, over Mag n-Ailbe, as far as the Pillar of the Living Tree.'<sup>3</sup> This suggests that, as in ancient Crete,<sup>4</sup> so in ancient Ireland a baetylic column stood in close relation to the sacred tree. But the most wonderful feature of the Mugna oak has still to be told: 'nine hundred bushels was its crop of acorns, and three crops it bore every year, to wit, apples goodly, marvellous, and nuts round, blood-red, and acorns brown, ridgy.'<sup>5</sup> Here we have a most definite statement to the effect that the sacred oak-tree bore not only acorns, but apples and nuts as well. In fact, it united in itself the merits of precisely the three trees that we have so far seen reason to associate with the sky-god of the Insular Celts. I conceive that the oak of Mugna was the sky-god's tree; and that this is the meaning of the phrase in the Rennes *Dinnsenchus*: 'Berries to the berries the strong (guiding?) Upholder put upon his tree.'<sup>6</sup> I would further support this conception by pointing out that the

<sup>1</sup> *Id. Revue celtique* xv. 420, cp. *ib.* xv. 445, *Folk-lore* iv. 485.

<sup>2</sup> Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 70 f.

<sup>3</sup> Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

<sup>4</sup> See A. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1901 xxi. 99 ff. Dr. Evans remarks (*ib.* p. 106): 'In the Druidical worship of the West, the tree divinity and the Menhir or stone pillar are associated in a very similar manner, and lingering traditions of their relationship are still traceable in modern folklore.' This is a point which I shall have occasion to illustrate at a later stage of my argument.

<sup>5</sup> Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* xv. 420.



word *mugna* denoted 'salmon,'<sup>1</sup> a fish that we have already found to be intimately connected with both Nuada and Nodons.<sup>2</sup>

At one time Ireland must have been well-nigh covered with oak-woods—witness the amazing number of Irish place-names derived from the oak. Dr. Joyce<sup>3</sup> says: 'Over 1300 names begin with the word in its various forms, and there are innumerable places whose names contain it as a termination.' The oak was in early days the most plentiful of all Irish trees, and its timber continued for many ages to be exported to England.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless parts of Ireland were more famous for their ash-trees, for instance Funshin, Funshinagh, Funshog, Funshoge, Unshinagh, Inshinagh, Unshog, Hinchoge, all of which mean places producing ash-trees, Funcheon the ash-producing river, Ballynafunshin the town of the ash, Cloonnafunchin the ash-tree meadow, Corrinshigo or Corrinshigagh the hill of the ash-trees, Drumminshin or Drumnahunshin the ridge of the ash, Lisnafunchin the fort of the ash-trees.<sup>5</sup> Naturally enough, therefore, the ash sometimes replaces the oak as the tree of the sky-god. I have already<sup>6</sup> had occasion to remark that the part played by the oak as the sky-tree of central and

<sup>1</sup>Whitley Stokes *Three Irish Glossaries* London 1862 p. 107 cites from O'Davoren's Glossary the word *mugna* glossed by 'salmon': *Mughna*. i. bradan. ut est ni blaisi mughna mana fir foltach. f. i. ni tuga blas mogha in ena in uisci do in b[r]adan. In the *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* ii. 421 no. 1266 Dr. Stokes prints: *Mughna*. i. bradan, ut est ni blaisi mughna mana fir foltach. f. i. ni tuga blas mogha in ena in uisci do in bratan. He adds: 'Quotation and gloss are obscure to me.'

<sup>2</sup>*Supra* p. 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup>P. W. Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 Dublin 1870 p. 487. See also *ib.* p. 484 ff. and index, *ib.* (Second Series) Dublin 1875 index, *eund.* *Irish Local Names Explained* index.

<sup>4</sup>*Id.* *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* p. 484.

<sup>5</sup>*Id.* *ib.* p. 488 f. and index, *ib.* (Second Series) p. 36 and index, *Irish Local Names Explained* p. 49.

<sup>6</sup>*Folk-lore* xv. 292 f.

southern Europe is in more northern latitudes played by the ash. The winged oak of Zas is paralleled by the ash of Yggdrasil. It would seem that this north-European connexion of ideas holds good, at least in part, of Ireland also.<sup>1</sup> For of the five *bile* mentioned in the *Dinnsenchus* no less than three are ashes, namely 'the Ancient tree of Dathe and the Branching Tree of Uisnech and the Ancient Tree of Tortu.'<sup>2</sup>

Of the Tree of Dathe we read: 'Now the Branchy Tree of Belach Dathi is an ash, and 'tis it that killed the poet Dathen, and it fell upwards as far as Carn Uachtair Bile, and from it the Fir Bile are named.'<sup>3</sup> The epithet 'Ancient' is at first sight surprising; for, as Mr. Step<sup>4</sup> informs us, 'The Ash is not one of the long-lived trees, its natural span being about two hundred years.' Still, some specimens are certainly older. The ash at Carnock, which was planted about 1596, was in full vigour and beauty in 1825, being then 90 feet in height and 31 feet in circumference at the ground-level.<sup>5</sup> Ireland could boast sacred ashes of equal magnitude. The Big Bell Tree near Borrisokane, county Tipperary, had a trunk at least 30 feet in girth: 'Bell' is a corruption of *bile*; and tradition said that any house, in which even the smallest fragment of this ash-tree was burned, would itself also be ultimately burned.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dictionary* p. 386 has '*nuon* the ash tree . . . a cloud; Heaven, the expanse or firmament.' Is this a confusion of two similar words, or may we infer that the Irish had a cosmic ash corresponding to Yggdrasil's tree?

<sup>2</sup> Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 278.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* xvi. 279.

<sup>4</sup> Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. Strutt *Sylva Scotica* p. 8, pl. 8. *Id. Sylva Britannica* p. 22 f., pl. 22, describes the great ash at Woburn as 90 feet high and 23½ feet in girth at the ground-level.

<sup>6</sup> W. G. Wood-Martin *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* London 1902 ii. 159, with a wood-cut (fig. 46) of the Big Bell Tree as it appeared in the year 1833, reproduced from the *Dublin Penny Journal*.

Another sacred ash, the *Crann a hulla*, in the parish of Clenor, county Cork, has been estimated at something over three centuries old, but is probably a seedling or off-shoot from the parent tree, which it has replaced: its sanctity may be judged from the fact that, though fuel is exceedingly scarce in the locality, it has never had a branch lopped off.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless the Ancient Tree of Dathe was comparable to these veterans. The fact that the Fir Bile were named after it recalls the tradition that *Bile* was the forefather of the Gaels.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Stokes observes that the Fir Bile inhabited what is now the barony of Farbill in the county of Westmeath.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the Tree of Uisnech we are told: 'Due northward fell the Ash of Usnech, as far as Granard in Cairbre, in the time of the sons of Aed Sláne.'<sup>4</sup> Uisnech, according to Dr. Stokes, is now Usnagh Hill in the county of Westmeath,<sup>5</sup> and Granard in Cairbre is now Granard in the county of Longford.<sup>6</sup> Usnagh Hill, once called the Hill of Balar,<sup>7</sup> was the spot where Tuathal the Acceptable, king of Ireland in the first century, instituted the festival of Beltaine; and it was consequently regarded as the chief centre of the Druidic fires kindled on May 1.<sup>8</sup> We shall not be far wrong, if we suppose that the solar fires of Beltaine were the ritual of the sky-god connected with the Ash of Uisnech. For fires used to be kindled under these

<sup>1</sup> Wood-Martin *ib.* ii. 158 f., with a photographic block (fig. 45), reproduced from the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* 'The Bodleian *Dinnshenchas*' in *Folk-lore* iii. 476.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

<sup>7</sup> Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* pp. 69, 324. See also Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 192 f.

<sup>8</sup> Joyce *Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 193.

sacred trees, as is clear from the numerous localities named Billatinny, that is 'the *bile* of the fire.'<sup>1</sup> Irish custom in this respect was identical with that of the Greeks<sup>2</sup> and Italians.<sup>3</sup> A further inference seems legitimate. The name *Billatinny*, or rather *Beltany* as Dr. Joyce<sup>4</sup> spells it, gives us, if I am not mistaken, the much needed clue to the meaning of the term *Beltene*, i.e. Beltaine. The second element of this compound, as has long been known, is pre-Irish \**tenia*- (according to Dr. Stokes, for \**tepnia*-) a collateral form of \**tenet*- (*tene*, *teine*), 'fire.' I would suggest that the first element is \**belo*- a collateral form of \**belio*- (*bile*), 'tree.' The word would thus denote 'the fire of the *bile*,' or perhaps rather 'the fire of *Bile*.' The connexion of the Beltaine fires with the Hill of Balar would then be clear; for *Balar*<sup>5</sup> is but another form of *Bile*, the divinised tree.

'The Tree of Tortu was an ash, and due south-eastward it fell as far as Cell Íchtair Thíre.'<sup>6</sup> Tortu was a place near Ardracran in county Meath.<sup>7</sup> Its famous Tree was first seen in the time of the sons of Ugaire (circ. 594 B.C.), therein resembling the Tree of Mugna and the Tree of Dathe<sup>8</sup>; and it fell in the time of the sons of Aed Sláine together with the Tree of Mugna<sup>9</sup> and the Tree of Uisnech.<sup>10</sup> The Ancient Tree of Tortu was thus believed to synchronise with the oak of Mugna, which, as we have seen, attained the age of some 500 years. In the *Annals of Tighernac* for the year 621 A.D. the

<sup>1</sup> Wood-Martin *Elder Faiths of Ireland* ii. 157 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 306 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Classical Review* xviii. 370, with fig. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Joyce *Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 193 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Whitley Stokes 'The Rennes *Dindsenchas*' in the *Revue celtique* xvi. 279.

<sup>7</sup> *Id. ib.*, citing *Chron. Scot.* pp. 46, 76, 190.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* xv. 445.

<sup>9</sup> *Id. ib.* xv. 420.

<sup>10</sup> *Id. ib.* xvi. 279.

drowning of Conaing, son of Aidan, is thus commemorated by Bimudine, a poet apparently resident at Bili Tortan—

‘The resplendent billows of the sea,  
The sun that raised them,  
My grief, the pale storms  
Against Conang with his army;  
The woman of the fair locks  
Was in the curach with Conang:  
Lamentation for mirth with us  
This day at Bili Tortan.’<sup>1</sup>

The remaining *bile* of the *Dinnsenchus* is in some respects the most interesting of the series. Like the oak of Mugna and the ashes of Dathe and Tortu, it was first seen in the time of the sons of Ugaine.<sup>2</sup> We read of it: ‘The Tree of Ross is a yew. North-east as far as Druim Bairr it fell, as Druim Suithe (a poet named ‘The Ridge of Science’) sang—

	Tree of Ross,		beauty’s honour,
	a king’s wheel,		a mind’s lord,
	a prince’s right,	20	diadem of angels,
	a wave’s noise,		shout of the world,
5	best of creatures,		Banba’s renown,
	a straight firm tree,		might of victory,
	a firm-strong god,		judgment of origin,
	door (?) of heaven,	25	judicial doom,
	strength of a building,		faggot (?) of sages,
10	the good of a crew,		noblest of trees,
	a word-pure man,		glory of Leinster,
	full-great bounty,		dearest of bushes,
	the Trinity’s mighty one,	30	a bear’s (?) defence,
	a measure’s house (?),		vigour of life,
15	a mother’s good,		spell of knowledge,
	Mary’s Son,		Tree of Ross !’
	a fruitful sea,		

Dr. Stokes says that this remarkable rhapsody ‘seems a string of kennings, which in Irish, as in Scandinavian, poetry, took the place of similes. It once perhaps had

<sup>1</sup> Skene *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Whitley Stokes ‘The Rennes *Dindsenchas*’ in the *Revue celtique* xv. 445.

some meaning, now not easily discoverable.’<sup>1</sup> I venture to believe that some at least of these kennings are intelligible enough as descriptions of a sacred tree. It was ‘*a straight firm tree, | a firm-strong god*,’ the yew being here identified with the god (*dia*) precisely as *Daur*, an ‘Oak’ was glossed by *Dia*, ‘God.’<sup>2</sup> The *bile*, in fact, was *Bile*. In Christian times the oak of Mugna seems to have been connected with Christ<sup>3</sup>: similarly the yew of Ross came to be regarded as a figure of Christ—hence ‘*the Trinity’s mighty one, . . . Mary’s Son*.’ But in pagan days it was, like the oak of Dodona, an oracular tree: ‘*a word-pure man . . . judgment of origin | judicial doom . . . spell of knowledge*.’ With this must be put the fact that for purposes of divination Irish druids often used rods of yew with ogham words cut upon them.<sup>4</sup> For example, when Etáin, the queen of king Eochaid Airem, is carried off by the fairy king Midir, the druid Dalán, to find out where she is, ‘made four rods of yew, and he writes an ogham thereon; and by his keys of knowledge, and by his ogham, it is revealed to him that Etáin is in the Fairy Mound of Breg Leith, having been carried into it by Midir.’ Dr. Stokes<sup>5</sup> compares the practice at Praeneste, where oracles were drawn from slips of oak engraved with ancient characters.

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* xvi. 278 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> ‘The Rennes *Dindsenchas*’ in the *Revue celtique* xv. 420 has: ‘Or Mugna from *moo-gnia*, that is, greatest of sister’s sons, because *gnia* means a sister’s son, as is said in the *Bretha Nemed* (“Judgments of the Notables”) *gnia sethar*, that is a sister’s son. He was indeed a son.’ On which Dr. Stokes comments: ‘Christ apparently is referred to. His Virgin mother is called “our sister” in the Féilire, Dec. 14, and in Cormac’s Glossary, s.vv. *niae* and *sethor*.’ K. Meyer *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* Halle 1906 i. 216 s.v. ‘bile’ cites the following usage ‘of Christ: a bile an betha! Hib. Min. 43, 10.’

<sup>4</sup> Joyce *Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 230, cp. *ib.* 248, 397 f.

<sup>5</sup> Whitley Stokes in the *Revue celtique* xii. 440 f. The foregoing extract is cited by him from Egerton 1782, fo. 118<sup>a</sup> 2.

The yew of Ross was also the '*faggot (?) of sages*'; and in the Irish tale entitled the *Adventures of the Lad of the Ferule*<sup>1</sup> the hero can always boil a cauldron by means of three magical billets of yew, which he carries with him.

If, as I have urged, these sacred trees (*bile*) were the visible symbols of the sky-god in his darker aspect (*Balar, Beli, Bile*), we should expect to find them connected with priestly kings; for the sky-god, whether bright or dark, must needs have his human representative. In point of fact the one thing stated of all five *bile* is just this connexion with a king or kings:—

The oak of Mugna	}	according to one account were hid-
The ash of Dathe		den until the birth of Conn of
The ash of Tortu		the Hundred Battles:
The yew of Ross		
		according to another account were
		first seen in the time of the sons
		of Ugaine.
The oak of Mugna	}	according to one account fell to-
The ash of Uisnech		gether in the time of the sons
The ash of Tortu		of Aed Sláne.
		According to another account the
		oak of Mugna fell in the time of
		Domnall son of Murchad.

The naming of these kings is no mere method of dating. Such a phrase as 'it was for a long while hidden until the birth of Conn' implies a sympathy between the tree and the king, of which we shall see other examples. Bile and Beli, who bore the name of the sacred tree, were respectively king of Spain and king of Britain. Moreover, there was, we may be sure, a meaning in the metaphor by which the term *bile* was applied to a prince.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Douglas Hyde in *Irish Texts Society* London 1899 i. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> K. Meyer *Contrib. to Irish Lex.* i. 216 s.v. 'bile,' 'metaph. of a prince: bili torten bfer mBrefni, H. 3. 18, p. 769. in bile búada, LL. 307b39.'

## *The European Sky-God.*

Again, the allusion to a poet in four cases out of five is not without significance :—

The oak of Mugna was cast down by Ninine the poet.	}
The ash of Dathe killed the poet Dathen.	
The ash of Tortu seems to have been the residence of the poet Bimudine.	
The yew of Ross was hymned at length by the poet Druim Suithe.	

Remembering the very close connexion between the poets (*fileadh*) and the druids of ancient Ireland,<sup>1</sup> we may fairly infer that these sacred trees were so many centres of a definitely organised cult.

Further, some explanation must be provided of the fact that the word *bile* came to mean 'a champion.' The latest Irish-English Dictionary, that by the Rev. P. S. Dinneen,<sup>2</sup> attributes the following senses to the word: 'a mast; a tree, *esp.* in a fort or beside a holy well; a large tree; a scion, a progenitor, a champion.' The full force of this signification we are not yet in a position to explain. But in the meantime I would observe that the wood of the sacred tree was sometimes at least used for the fabrication of a hero's shield or spear. From the wood of Balar's hazel a shield was made for Manannán, from whom it came to Tadg, and ultimately to Finn.<sup>3</sup> A poem by Dallan Forgaill 'Upon the arms of Duach Dubh, king of Oirgiall' states that the shaft of Duach's spear was formed of the yew of Ross.<sup>4</sup> Another poem by the same author 'Upon the shield of Hugh, king of Oirgiall' informs us further that Hugh, son of Duach,

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 48 ff. Prof. O'Curry states (*ib.* p. 48) that 'it very often happened that these two characters (*sc.* poet and druid) were united in the same person.'

<sup>2</sup> P. S. Dinneen *An Irish-English Dictionary* London 1904 s.v. 'bile.'

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 58 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1857* Dublin 1860 v. 12 f.



had a shield made for him by Eohy the druid out of the same tree.<sup>1</sup> There is extant also an Irish narrative, which tells how eager the king of Brefney was to secure the famous shield: it was known as Duv-Gilla ('the Black Attendant'), and the possession of it conferred victory in war, since before it all became as feeble as old women.<sup>2</sup> A similar belief may underlie the words in which, according to the *Fate of the Children of Tuirenn*,<sup>3</sup> Brian praised the magic spear of the king of Persia—

‘A yew-tree, the finest of the wood,  
It is called King without opposition.  
May that splendid shaft drive on  
Yon crowd into their wounds of death.’

This spear was destined to play an important part in Irish tradition, being known successively as the *Luin Cheltchair*, that is the ‘Spear of Celtchair,’ a champion of Ulster in the time of king Concobar mac Nessa, as the *Crimall*, or ‘Blood-spotted’ Spear, of king Cormac mac Airt, and as the *Gai Buafneach*, or ‘Venomed Spear’ of Aengus, the champion who with it put out king Cormac’s eye.<sup>4</sup>

Lastly, *bile* means ‘progenitor’—which brings us round to our starting point once more. I have but a word to add. With *Bile* the forefather of the Gaels and *Beli* the forefather of the Britons should be compared the names *Bile*, *Bili*, and *Beli*, which occur repeatedly in the lists of the early Pictish kings.<sup>5</sup>

We are left, then, face to face with the following

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1857* Dublin 1860 v. 153, 258 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* v. 2 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 101. Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 41 renders: ‘A yew, the most beautiful of the wood, it is called a king, it is not bulky. May the spear drive on the whole crowd to their wounds of death.’

<sup>4</sup> See for details O’Curry *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* ii. 325 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Skene Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* pp. xcv, cxii, 15, 74, 123, 134, 145, 355.

facts. The Celtic sky-god in his darker aspect, from whom the Insular, like the Continental, Celts traced their descent, was somehow related to a king, a sacred tree, and a champion, all alike bearing his name. The precise nature of that relation should not be obscure to those who have followed my previous papers. It will, I hope, be clearly demonstrated in the sequel.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### CROPPING ANIMALS' EARS.

(*Ante*, p. 1, and Vols. xi. pp. 380, 456, xii. pp. 97, 208.)

PLATE I. represents a group of Moqui (otherwise Hopi) Indians of Arizona, U.S.A. This tribe inhabits some five or more *pueblos* (villages), built at some few miles' distance from one another, upon *mesas* (table-lands) elevated above the flat and arid deserts. They are descended from the ancient cliff-dwellers of the same and surrounding region, and their practice of selecting sites always on elevated ground, as also of building in stone (unlike the other tribes contiguous to them), may be supposed to reflect the habits of those ancestors as the famous ruins of the cliff-dwellings there reveal them.

The particular point of the photograph lies in the donkey, or *burro*, whose ears, it will be seen, have been cut off. In regions where nature rears her savage children in spite (as one may almost say) of themselves and of her, the domestic animals are often taken into the human family circle, whose lot, indeed, can hardly be said to be greatly different from theirs as regards bed and board. The dog of the Esquimau, the horse or camel of the wandering Arab, come at once to mind. So with the Moqui Indian, the *burro* is very much one of the family, and is credited with moral intelligence, in addition to the well-known traits we recognise in the donkey. When, therefore, the Moqui *burro*, fulfilling his destiny, commits a depredation upon a tempting corn-patch, or otherwise becomes lawless and heinous, he is brought before the heads of the *pueblo*, formally tried, convicted I suppose, and condemned. The penalty takes the form of cropping a piece of his ear, serving the double purpose of



DONKEY WITH CROPPED EARS (MOQUI INDIANS).



punishment and of a brand whereby the community may be aware of his evil propensity. The *burro* in the picture must be an incorrigible, for his ears are entirely gone.

The photograph from which the plate is reproduced was exhibited by me at the meeting of the Society on November 15th, 1905. It was made in 1901 by my friend and neighbour, Mr. C. C. Pierce, of Los Angeles, California, at the village of Oraibi, which is one of the *pueblos* inhabited by the Moqui.

J. SMEATON CHASE.

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#### CAT'S CRADLE.

No apology seems to be needed for an attempt to describe at some length the English game of Cat's Cradle, though the manner of its execution may leave much to desire. Within the past few years the researches of anthropologists have given the subject of string tricks and string figures a status they never before possessed; while on the other hand those that are still unrecorded lead a precarious existence in the memories of people who are either unaware of their interest or without the leisure and inclination to perpetuate them. In the following notes I have given all that I have been able to collect from my own experience or that of others known to me. More might have been added, because the game has possibilities not generally known; but it seemed better to confine my notes to figures and movements which I have actually seen or know to have been played: and I have departed from this rule in one or two instances only.

When I began to investigate and analyse the game I soon found that the complexity of the strings was much more apparent than real, and that blind faith in the efficacy of certain movements might be usefully supplemented by a general knowledge of the construction of the several figures and of the

consequent effect of such movements upon them. Accordingly I have added to the account of the methods of arriving at the different figures in many cases descriptions of the figures themselves, in the hope that by directing attention to the construction a better insight into the nature of the game might be obtained. These might have been more detailed and accurate, but my purpose was rather to show the possibility of being familiar with the string positions in every figure, and I feared to exceed the limits of patience.

I have used throughout the Haddon-Rivers nomenclature familiar to readers of *Man* (Oct. 1902, No. 109), but as sparingly as possible, bearing in mind that some of the terms which it employs are caviare to the general, and apt to increase the tediousness of descriptions; whereas there are some, like myself, who hold that the subject might with advantage be popularised so as to create in it an interest sufficient to bring to light what remains of such pastimes and to save them from being lost.

I have assumed that readers are familiar with the string figures published up to the present in *Man* (Aug. 1903, No. 66; Oct. 1903, No. 85). Of other printed matter I have made reference to Gomme (*Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, A. B. Gomme, 1894. Nutt, Strand, London) and to *Kinderspel en Kinderlust in Zuid Nederland*, (door A. De Cock en Is. Teirlinck. A. Siffer, Gent, 1903.)

I have to thank Dr. Haddon, who kindly placed at my disposal his material comprising correspondence relating to the game, and Miss A. Hingston, who did me the service of reading the first draft of a large part of these notes and made some suggestions as to the methods of description employed, which I found it well to follow.

## CAT'S CRADLE.

### I. OPENING FIGURE. THE CRADLE.

*First Player.* Place the loop over the hands held upright palm towards palm, the radial string between indices and thumbs, the ulnar just below the little finger. Turn the right

hand palm towards you, bend it over outside the radial string and up into the loop. Draw tight, making a right palm string. A similar move with the left hand makes a left palm string. Take up the left palm string on the back of the right middle finger—draw tight. Take up the right palm string on the back of the left mid-finger—draw tight. Fig. 1.

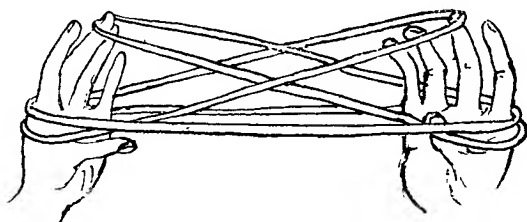


FIG. 1.

This opening figure, most perfectly arranged, consists of two base strings, one radial and one ulnar, which pass from hand to hand, round the backs of the hands or wrists, cross each other, and continue as two slant loops held up by the middle fingers. The strings of these loops crossing make a figure of X on either side of the central space.

The radial base string crosses outside the ulnar and the left mid-finger loop passes inside the right. I believe this arrangement to be general or universal. It is a pure convention, and has no effect on the play, though its influence may be traced in the succeeding figure by its giving origin there to similar preferences of one string over another.

## II. SOLDIER'S BED, DOLLY'S BED, OR CHURCH WINDOW.

*Second Player.* Approach a hand from the radial and ulnar sides to the crossing X strings of the figure and grasp the Xs with thumbs and indices in the angles which open towards the first player's palms. Draw the hands apart, lower them, and pass them up between the side strings which connect the first player's hands. Push thumbs and indices well up, separate the hands, taking these side strings with them and lifting the whole figure from the first player's hands. Fig. 2.



The figure thus formed is a diamond in the middle, formed by the crossing of two pairs of parallel strings, each pair running slant from the thumb of one hand to the index of

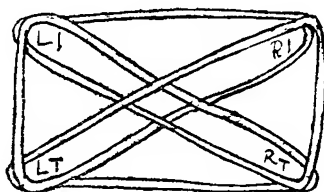


FIG. 2.

the other. They pass round thumbs and indices and continue as short end strings connecting either thumb with its index, and long side strings connecting the two hands. The end strings lie distal, the side strings proximal.

### III. POUND OF CANDLES, CANDLES, RUSHLIGHTS, BOWLING GREEN.

*First Player.* Grasp the X strings at the side angles of the diamond in the last figure by putting thumbs and indices from above into the opposite angles which open towards the second player's hands. Separate the hands upward and transfer the held strings to the under side of the figure. Push thumbs

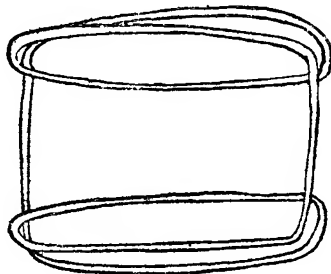


FIG. 3.

and indices well up between the side strings, separate the hands and extend, lifting the figure off the second player's hands. Fig. 3.

Two pairs of side strings, continuing as two short-end strings connecting each thumb with its index, and also as two parallel middle strings connecting respectively the ulnar sides of the thumbs and the radial sides of the indices.

This figure is only an extension sideways of the opening figure before the palmar strings are taken up. Its real nature may be seen by raising the end strings slightly. The side strings will then exhibit Xs formed by the crossing of slant strings.

*Variation.* Grasp the strings of Fig. 2 as before and separate the hands, pressing the palmar aspects of thumbs and indices against the side strings. Extend, detaching the figure from the second player's hands. The resulting figure is the obverse

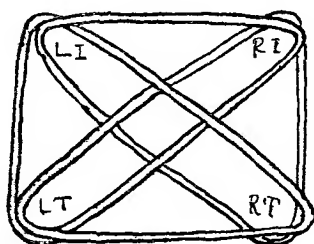


FIG. 4.

of Fig. 2. That is to say, the short end strings will be under, the side strings upper. These strings will still be distal and proximal as before, because the hands are held down instead of up. Fig. 4.

#### IV. MANGER, OR CRADLE.

*Second Player.* Put a little finger from above into the middle space of Fig. 3, take up one of the inner parallel strings and pull it across above the other inner string and the side strings. Pull the other inner string the opposite way with the other little finger. Dip thumbs and indices into the triangles formed by the little finger loops, outside the figure, with the side strings, and take up these strings on (not between) the thumbs and indices. Turn them upward

and lift the figure off. The resulting figure is the obverse of the opening figure. Fig. 5.

(Left little finger loop taken up first)

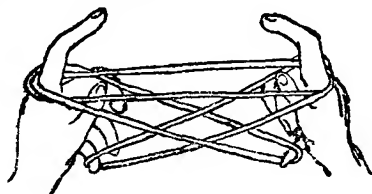


FIG. 5.

*Variation.* Shift the short end strings a little in a distal direction on the first player's hands, so as to make crossing strings at the sides. Grasp the Xs with thumbs and indices placed in the angles which open towards the first player's hands. Place right thumb and index holding their strings under the middle string furthest from them, and lift it across the other middle string, and to that side. With the left thumb and index lift the other middle string similarly across in the opposite direction. Detach the figure and extend. It will be found identical with that previously held by the second player. Fig. 2.

*Variation 2.* If the short end strings be shifted in a proximal direction and the movement of the first variation carried out, the figure is unchanged. Fig. 3.

I learned these variations from Miss Kathleen Haddon.

#### V. DIAMOND, OR SOLDIER'S BED.

*First Player.* Approach the hands to the manger (Fig. 5) in the same manner as in taking off the opening figure, and take hold of the X strings similarly. Carry them over the basal strings (which lie above, in this figure), and thrusting thumbs and indices well down in the middle, separate the hands, pressing thumbs and indices against the basal strings from inside the figure. Detach the strings. They present Fig. 4 or the obverse of Fig. 2 held on the turned down hands.

## VI. CAT'S EYES.

*Second Player.* Take hold of the X strings exactly as was done in taking off the obverse figure and make the same movement, pushing the thumbs and indices well up before making the sideways extension which lifts the figure off the first player's hands.

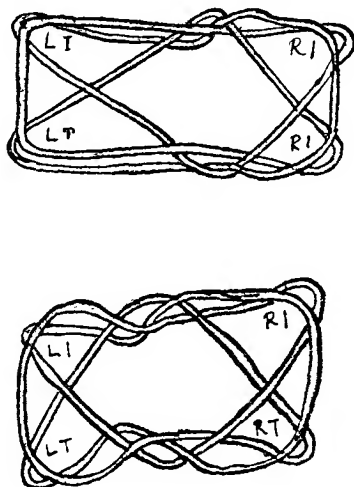


FIG. 6.

The resulting figure (Fig. 6) consists of a pair of loops on either thumb and index lying proximal, the inner strings of each pair crossing in the middle of the figure and hitching with the middles of two pairs of side strings. The proximal side strings at this mid-point become distal and continue as distal end strings. The distal side strings become proximal at the mid-point and form the outer strings of the loops aforesaid. Each of the strings which cross in the middle passes between the side strings, distal and proximal to one and proximal and then distal to the other.

*Variation.* By executing a move similar to that by which the obverse of the church window figure was produced from it (Fig. 2, Fig. 4), the obverse can be again converted into

the<sup>3</sup> church window figure or soldier's bed. It will be held on the downturned hands. Fig. 7.

The first diamond figure (church window) held with the upper side proximate

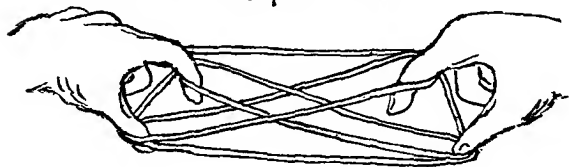


FIG. 7.

#### VII. FISH IN THE NET, OR FISH IN THE DISH, OR NOSES.

*First Player.* Put thumbs and indices on either side from above into the side loops of the last figure (Fig. 6), outside the strings which make the large central diamond. Push the thumbs and indices well down and turn them up so as to catch on their backs the sides of the diamond. Lift the strings off and extend (Fig. 8).

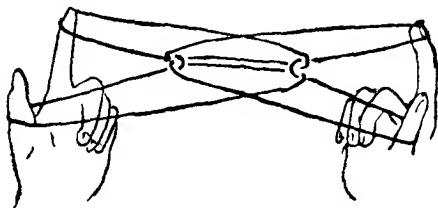


FIG. 8.

The description of the figure is as follows: Two end strings held on the thumbs and indices, which cross as side strings, and passing distally over the middle of the end strings turn into the middle of the figure as two strings lying proximal side by side lengthways with the figure.

*Note to VII., Fig. 8.* Care must be taken to distinguish the mid-strings which form the "fish." They are apt to overlap, crossing at both ends so that the ulnar string appears

to be radial; the radial, ulnar. If the fact is borne in mind, this position (Fig. 9) facilitates the following transformations:

*Showing middle strings overlapping.*

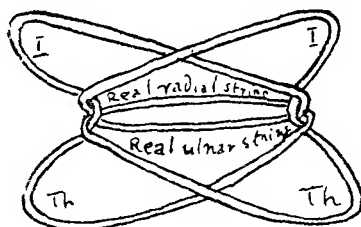


FIG. 9.

### VIII. SCRAGGLY.

Put a little finger from above into the central space of the last figure, take up the radial mid-string and draw it across the ulnar middle and side strings: and with the other little finger make a like movement with the ulnar mid-string. With thumbs and indices grasp the X strings at the sides, from above, in the usual way. Extend sideways, turning the thumbs and indices up so as to carry the inner strings of the Xs on their dorsa. The Xs when grasped must be within the angles formed by the little finger loops. Figs. 10 and 11.

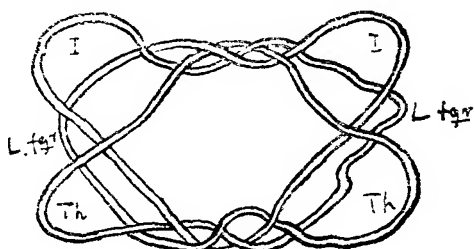


FIG. 10.

The diagrams show the arrangement of the strings when the figure is laid down—one is symmetrical, the other not.

The above figure was communicated to Dr. Haddon by Mr. R. Livett of Fulbourn, Cambs., and I must take this opportunity of expressing my obligation to him. Mr. Livett had it from his aunt, Miss Livett, and Miss Livett again from her mother. It thus has a tradition as respectable as can be found (probably) for any of the figures. Nevertheless I never heard of it before, nor had I till recently met any one who knew it: Mrs. W. Farren, of Cambridge, however, tells me she is quite familiar with it; but, so far as I know, it is not alluded to in any printed work. It is of unusual interest, however, because Dr. H. H. Weir reports a similar

(Fig 10 ['Scraggly'] spread out)

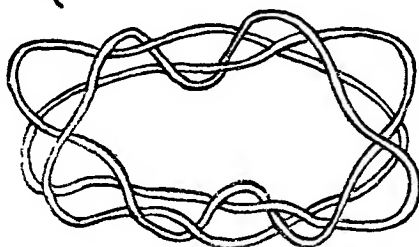


FIG. 11.

figure from Korea. Premising that the Koreans make the first six figures as in England, Dr. Weir describes the transformation of the Cat's Eyes figure (Fig. 6) as follows:

"Place hands outside and distal to figure. Pass little fingers proximal to dorsal strings and take them up with palmar surface. Pass index fingers through thumb loops, and thumbs through index finger loops from distal side, and return through central lozenge, at same time taking off strings and crooking little fingers." Fig. 12.

There is, I think, no reasonable doubt that these figures are variants one of the other. This is confirmed by the further development. I again give Dr. Weir's description:

"At the points where three strings meet, pass, from outside,

index fingers and thumbs proximal to thumb string and index finger string, and distal to little finger string, and turn points distalwards, taking off string. Fig. 3 is reproduced. Process is then repeated through 4, 5, 6, 7, 3, indefinitely."

Dr. Weir's Fig. 3 is the same as diagram 3 above. Mr. Livett gives the same method of transforming the "Scraggly" figure, with the same result. He adds, as a variation, that the thumbs and indices may be turned down before extending, when the loop runs out clear, thus bringing the play to a close. The like move and result can be made with the Korean figure.

### The Korean figure

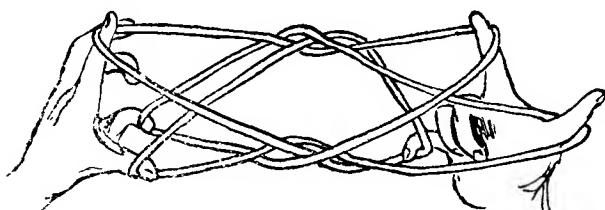


FIG. 12.

It may be noted here that the Scraggly figure may be arrived at by the Korean method, by taking up on the dorsa of thumbs and indices the strings which form the outer angles of the central lozenge, that is to say, those angles which open towards either palm, instead of the sides of the lozenge, as is done in Korea.

It will be observed that the English figure is less simple, and that its title suggests a forgotten name. On the other hand, the Korean is open to the graver charge that it is not playing the game. It is true we have no rule to prohibit the process used—and such names for the play as "Faden abheben" in Germany, "Afpakken" in Flanders, do not hint of any—still the unwritten law is evident. It is the more curious because the Korean figure can be obtained immediately



from "Fish in the Dish." The following is the method: Put thumbs and indices into the thumb and index loops of "Fish in the Dish," from the proximal side, and grasp the X strings. Pull the radial and ulnar mid-strings with the little fingers, each to its wrong side, and extend. Fig. 12 (p. 83).

Assuming that this method was ever practised, it may be asked how it came to be lost. I can only suggest that the approaching of the hands first from the proximal side, does not occur in the remaining play; and further, that the method of arriving at "Fish in the Net" is not obvious from the preceding play. If the former figure were lost, so would be the latter; and if the latter, the former might be discontinued as useless, when some village genius had invented the present way of transforming "Cat's Eyes" into the final figure. I cannot otherwise account for the Korean players forgetting a figure—if they have forgotten it.

It may be pointed out that "Fish in the Net" is the only figure which is supported on two loops for either hand, all the others having three. Thus it may possibly be a final or dissolving figure. If taken off by those loops and extended crossways by the usual method, it resolves into a double crown figure, the crown being the obverse of the well-known truncheon head of the "Pound of Candles" game. This simple construction might almost be said to be the basis of "Cat's Cradle," for most, if not all, of the figures can be set up from it. It is also obtained directly from the Korean figure by dropping the little finger strings and further extending. But I know of no instance of its being played. On the other hand, there is another crown figure, found in Cambridge, which I give here.

Pull the radial and ulnar middle strings of "Fish in the Net" over to the ulnar and radial sides respectively distal to and beyond the side strings, letting them hang over as free loops. Grasp the X strings from above with thumbs and indices, turn them up, catching the inner strings of the X's on their dorsa; extend. Fig. 13 (see next page).

With a long loop, the figure is apt to tangle during extension, and needs a little adjusting. If the outer instead of the inner strings of the X's be pulled out, the figure does

not tangle, but there is an additional twist in the strings which form the crown.

This figure was communicated to me by Miss A. Hingston, who saw children in Cambridge playing it.

It is an interesting fact that, while the theoretical crown figure referred to above derives from the Korean finale by slipping the little finger strings, the Cambridge "Two Royal Crowns" is come at by the same move from the Fulbourn figure.

Two Royal Crowns

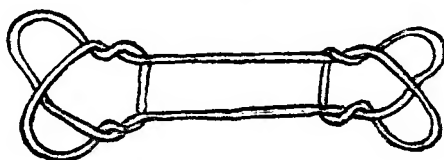


FIG. 13.

#### VIII. *b*. OTHER FISH-IN-THE-DISH TRANSFORMATIONS.

I now return to the ordinary transformations of "Fish in the Dish," which sufficed those who did not know the eighth figure.

It will be remembered that the seventh figure is held by the first player.

*Second Player.* Catch hold of the side X strings in the usual way from above. Bring them to the centre and dip thumbs and indices between the middle strings, which must be overlapping (Fig. 9). Thrust thumbs and indices well down and extend sideways. The resulting figure is the second of the series (Fig. 2), but held on the downturned hands as in Fig. 7.

*Variation.* Take up the radial middle string with one little finger, approaching the hand from the ulnar side, and draw it out across the ulnar strings. Take up the ulnar mid-string and draw out similarly with the other little finger. Dip thumbs and indices into the angles formed outside the outer strings by the little finger loops, and take up the X crossing strings on their dorsa. Extend. The result is the manger figure. Fig. 5.

*Variation 2.* If, in the first method of transforming the fish in the net, the thumbs and indices be thrust upward through the overlapping middle strings (Fig. 9), the resulting figure is "Cat's Eyes."

I picked up this variation from a child of six or seven years old, some ten miles south of Trondhjem, Norway.

Thus the first transformation of "Fish in the Net" starts the play again, omitting the opening figure, while that of "Scraggly" omits the first two figures, the play re-starting at "Rushlights" (Fig. 3). It must be remembered, however, that the figures thus omitted are only obverse to the fourth and fifth figures (Figs. 5 and 4 in the diagrams), so that the round in a sense is complete.

Gomme, who is followed in this by De Cock and Teirlinck, speaks of the play re-commencing at the first or opening figure. This is quite easy to do: but I have never seen it. The method is as follows: Put the hands from the under side up into the central lozenge of "Fish in the Net," either hand between the middle strings and the crossing side strings, so that these latter can be caught on the backs of the hands or wrists. Pick up the middle strings with the second fingers, pulling either to its adverse side. Extend. The left hand may take the place of the right in making this transfer, but this is immaterial, as there is no distinction made between the hands in the subsequent changes.

"Fish in the Net" or its obverse may easily be set up by a couple of simple moves from "Opening A." It stands, as I may possibly show elsewhere, in close relation to some of the string figures of Australia and the Western Pacific; but it is enough to mention the fact here.

The other figures may all be set up independently from "Opening A" or from "Position I," but as these notes are concerned with the game of Cat's Cradle, and more particularly European Cat's Cradle, it is not necessary to go into the subject.

As further illustrating the connection of the European and Melanesian opening figures the following transformation is of interest:

*To Turn Opening A into the European Opening.*

Make the first move of the "Leash," *i.e.* dip the hands into the thumb loop and shift its radial string to the ulnar side of the hands and the backs of the wrists. Shift the ulnar string of the little finger loops similarly to the radial side of the thumbs. Put the little fingers inside the strings which connect the ulnar aspects of ring fingers and indices, and take the index loops on the middle fingers. Fig. 1.

I got this transformation from Miss A. Hingston, whose invention it was.

In re-translating the openings care must be taken to hold the lower parts of the slant middle finger loops fast between thumbs and indices on the radial side, and between ring and little fingers on the ulnar side, and to shift the ulnar base string first.

## IX. SAWING FIGURES.

The following figure was shown me by a New York boy of twelve, born in London, who was my travelling companion a year ago :

*First Player.* Set up the Cat's Cradle. Fig. 1.

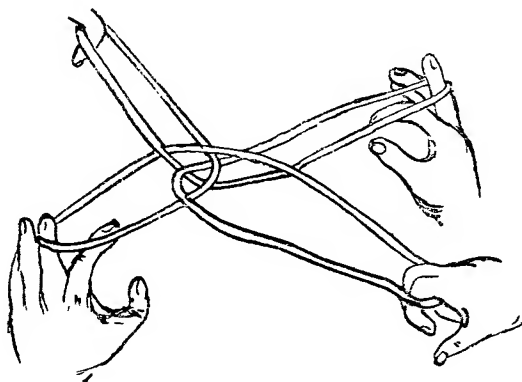


FIG. 14.

*Second Player.* Take hold with either hand of the radial and ulnar base strings, and pull them out from the first player's hands on their own sides. The first player then withdraws his hands on the proximal side, retaining the middle finger loops ;

both players extend and approach and separate their hands alternately. The four loops by which the string is held saw across and through each other in the centre. Fig. 14 (p. 87).

I learn from Dr. Haddon that there is an Indian sawing-trick (known in Delhi and Lucknow) precisely similar to that just described, but set up from Opening A. The description is as follows :

Opening A. Pass the radial thumb string proximal to the central crossed strings and distal to the ulnar little finger string, and place it on a hook or another person's finger. Hold the centre of the ulnar little finger string in the mouth or place on another person's finger, release thumbs and little fingers and make a sawing movement.

This trick is called "Sawing Wood" or "Scissors" (Qainchi). It was communicated to Dr. Haddon by Mr. Zia Uddin Ahmad of Trinity College, Cambridge.

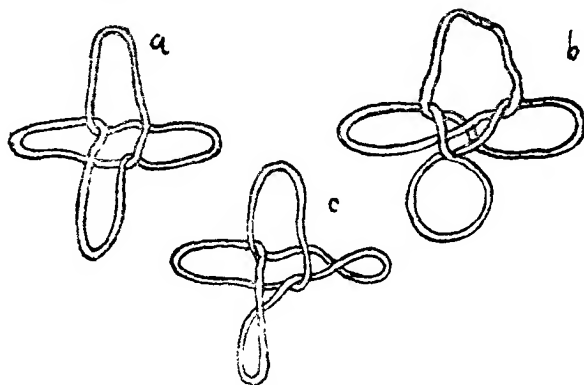


FIG. 15.

This figure is Protean. Fig. 15a represents the most simple arrangement of the strings, and there are four varieties of this. Fig. 15b shows a symmetrical arrangement of one of these varieties, and Fig. 15c another common disposition of the strings.

The boy who showed me the above spoke of it as being a game of small children in New York. He called it Cat's Cradle, though he knew no other figures. *Per contra*, I find in De

Cock and Teirlinck that the game of Cat's Cradle is called in Nantes "La Scie."

Mr. W. Farren, the Cambridge naturalist, to whom I am indebted for more than one illuminating remark on the subject of string figures, tells me that he formerly used to see the game of Cat's Cradle brought to a finish with a sawing figure. In effect the sawing figure given here can be produced by pulling the appropriate strings from any of the positions of the game described above. As a curiosity I give it as made from "Fish in the Net," which is perhaps less obvious than the others.

*Sawing Trick from "Fish in the Net."*

The second player draws the ulnar middle string across the distal side of the radial strings of the figure, with the other hand he draws the radial middle string in the opposite direction.

*Sawing figure for two hands and mouth.*

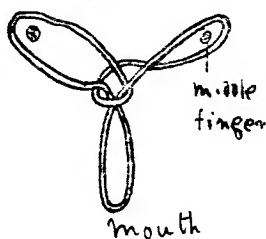


FIG. 16.

The first player catches with his right little finger the part of the string connecting his right thumb and index, which lies between the middle strings when in their proper position; and with his left little finger of the corresponding piece of the string connecting his left thumb and index. He drops his thumb and index loops, and the two players extend and saw.

F. V. J., a correspondent of Dr. Haddon, gives a sawing trick for one person, made from the opening figure of Cat's Cradle. I reproduce his diagram, but have not been able to get exactly the same, except by a slight departure from the method. The principle, however, is clear. One base string of the Cat's Cradle is held by the middle in the mouth, the hands are withdrawn, retaining only the mid-finger loops, or withdrawn

entirely, and the mid-fingers replaced in their loops from above, this depending on the way the Cat's Cradle has been set up, and whether the radial or ulnar base string is held in the mouth. If the wrong move is made with the hands the loop runs out. Fig. 16 (see p. 89).

Some other of F. V. J.'s diagrams are interesting, but unfortunately not sufficiently explicit. They appear to indicate a cradle in which the palmar strings have been made by taking in the ulnar instead of the radial string of the loop, or else in which the right palmar string has been taken up by the left mid-finger *first*, together with a consequent variety of the following (first diamond) figure. If both the irregularities referred to are practised the second figure is unaltered. It would be well to know if either or both occur.

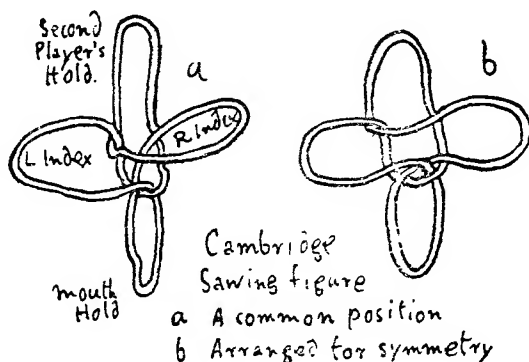


FIG. 17.

The sawing figure referred to above (happily remembered by Mrs. Farren) is made as follows:

First player holds up "Fish in the Dish." Second player takes hold of the radial middle string from under and draws it to the ulnar side, passing under the other strings. The first player now gets the ulnar middle string into his mouth, having pulled it also out from the under side of the figure. The first player now slips the thumb loops and extends with the indices, making the cross saw, the front saw running from his mouth to the second player's hand. Fig. 17.

Mr. Farren informed me that when playing the game as a child it was never possible to tell whether the saw would come or not; and with his help I was not long in determining the cause. If the ulnar middle string is pulled across proximal to the radial, the string runs out as soon as the thumb loops are slipped. Naturally the correction of the fault lies in slipping the index loops instead, when the saw occurs as before. In either case, however, it may be called a concluding figure or movement.

The strings often tangle in making the transformations, but if the play is correct the tangles will unravel of themselves. They are caused by pieces of some loops getting nipped between the fingers and other strings. A mistake if it does not bring the play to an end may result in a tangle, that is a real crossing or intertwisting which cannot be got rid of. On the other hand it is possible to introduce slight differences into the figures which run the whole round, appearing in each figure in succession without otherwise affecting the play, and form a pleasing variation. Mistakes often occur from the efforts of inexperienced players, and especially in the random play of children. These do not always affect the play irrecoverably, but an error which is not apparent in one figure may distort its successor.

Most of the figures show up any important mistake, but there are many false Diamond figures which superficially exactly resemble the true. The total possible number of these figures must be very large—perhaps some high multiple of sixteen. But only four are genuine, and of these four two arise from a different construction of the Cat's Cradle. The true figure is distinguished by the fact that one parallel pair of the diagonal strings passes between the other pair, the strings of the second pair passing distal and proximal to the first. I have already pointed out how to distinguish the obverse figure.

The False Diamond figures are very curious. They sometimes occur in pairs, the second being followed by a sterile figure; and I have found one whose malign influence did not appear until the final sawing figure. I have given for curiosity a few examples. Fig. 18 *a, b, c, d* (see next page).

It remains to give some names by which the figures are known



in other countries. These have been collected from Gomme, De Cock, and Teirlinck, and from Dr. Haddon's papers.

On account of a difficulty referred to above, it is impossible at present to be certain which names correspond to the particular figures in all cases, because in some places it would appear that the number of figures recognised is smaller. Of the application of many of the names there can be little doubt.

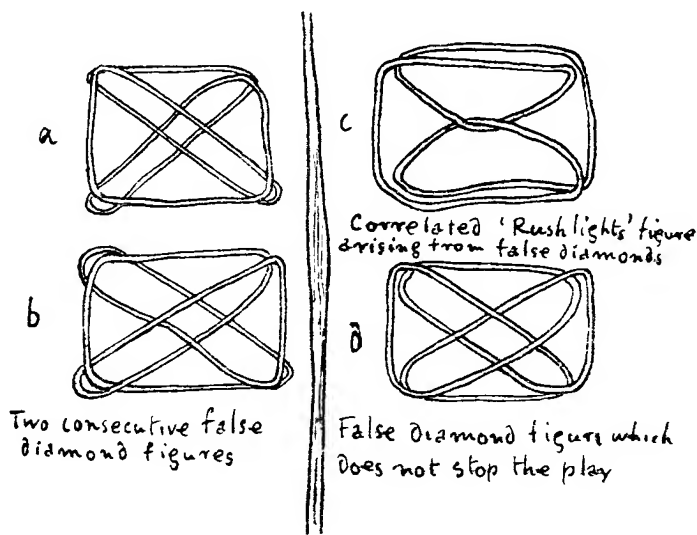


FIG. 18.

The English names have already been given, but there is a Suffolk variety as follows:—

Cat's cradle, Barn doors, Bowling green, Hourglass, Pound, Net, Diamonds, Fish pond, Fiddle.

Danish names: 1, Cradle; 2, ; 3, Mirror; 4, Cradle; 5, Hourglass; 6, Whale.

French names: "La scie" for the game; for the figures, "Le berceau, Les chandelles, Les carreaux, Les ciseaux," known in the vicinity of the town of Nantes.

German: "Faden abheben," for the game. For the figures, "Das Wasser, Die Schere, Die Geige, Die Wiege." The game is also called Hexenspiel.

In Korea the game is called "Wooftaking." The figures are : 1, Cover for hearse ; 2, Chessboard ; 3, Chopsticks ; 4, Cow's eyeball ; 5, Rice mill pestal. I suppose that No. 5 is the Korean figure described above.

In Japan the game is called Woofpattern string-taking.

The figures 1, ; 2, a mountain cat into which a domestic cat is supposed to transform itself ; 3, a musical instrument, "koto," or the two pieces of wood under the soles of clogs ; 4, Horse eye ; 5, Tazumi, a musical instrument.

NOTE.—With regard to the transformation of the Rushlights figure (Diagram 3) it may be noticed that in Gomme's diagrams the hand is approached from the under side in taking off the figure. Also that in the other diagrams the index of my descriptions is replaced by the middle finger. The latter point seems to me not without importance. The former having regard to the nature of the figure, I believe to be immaterial though interesting, but it modifies partly what I have said as to this movement being unusual.

W. INNES POCOCK.

#### ADDITIONS TO "THE GAMES OF ARGYLESHIRE."

(Continued from Vol. xvi., page 460.)

#### RUNNING GAMES.

(P. 207, after line 19.)

In Uist they play

#### **Mireag nan Cruach (Play of the Stacks).**

The one appointed to catch the others allows them to hide unwatched, and is summoned to the search by a cry or whistle. He has to catch all those "out," all these latter being only under condition not to go beyond the stack yard. If the Bodach carries the game through to the end, the one first caught takes his place, if the game is to be played again. If unable to accomplish the task, his place may be taken by a volunteer.

**A Cuir Sgaoile feadh nam Mulan.** (Putting a scattering through the Stacks.)

This is the same game played in Islay, but the pursuer, before starting, recites the following :

“Bheir mi h-aon as an adag,  
Bheir mi dha as an adag,  
Bheir mi trì as an adag,  
Bheir mi sop mor roinn a toin na h-uile nach tig,  
's nach buail, 's nach teich.”

I shall take one from the stook / Two / Three / I shall take a large wisp of hair from the backside of all that won't come and won't rush and won't flee.

It is also called

**Goid as an adag.** (Stealing from the Stook.)

Those hiding among the stacks, repeating before they are pursued the lines given under “Ruith an Gaduiche.” The completion of this is the signal for pursuit by the one in the den. The first he catches takes his place.

(P. 207, in line 22.)

In Uist Tig is called

**“Sgapaghd Diuc.”**

(P. 207, in line 22.)

Tig of two is started sometimes under the title of

**Sgiobaltean.**

One child gives a light slap to the other and runs away, followed by the one slapped, who tries to tig him; if he does so the game is finished. If the giver of the slap gets too far away for the other to have a chance to touch him, the latter will call out something to try and cause the distant one to stop and look behind him, when if the trick is successful he cries out, “I have seen your two eyes,” the result being as good as if he had returned the *sgiobalt* (slap). If he looks back however with one eye shut, the other may try to throw a stone in front of him, and if successful will say, “Tha clach

air thoiseach ort." (There is a stone in front of you), which is also supposed to be the equivalent of a "Sgiobalt."

(P. 207, after line 24.)

**(Tig and Relief.) Cross Tig.**

(P. 207, after line 30.)

**(Blind Tig)** also **Lame Tig.**

(P. 208, after line 5.)

**A Warning, a Warning.**

"Hut" the tigger, stands in the "den" with his two hands clasped in front of him, while the others stand in a row before the den. Hut then repeats :

"A warning, a warning, three times a warning,  
Porridge and milk at night, and tea in the morning."

As he finishes all bolt, Hut, with his hands still clasped, after them, till he has tiggered one with his joined hands. These two then, holding each other by one hand, continue the chase, using their free hands to tig others. Each one as caught is added to the pursuing line till all have been captured.

(P. 208, after line 12.)

Girls call this game "Trail the Herring," it being supposed to represent trawling for that fish.

A nearly similar game is "Shark in the Water, also "Jack in the Water," where a space is marked off to represent the sea, and one girl player is pursued by the two with the rope, trying to entangle her within the arranged-for space, which she must not leave.

(P. 210, after line 32.)

Games somewhat similar to those above are

**Pirates.**

Two lines are taken—they may be the two pavements of a street. The main body of the players run from side to side, one in the centre space, trying to tig one, who then relieves the original tigger.

**Cock-a-Rosy.**

The space to be run over is in this case considerably greater. The players assemble in one den, another of equal dimensions having been marked out some considerable distance away. In the centre stands "Hut." Hut points to a player with his forefinger, saying "You." The one addressed has immediately to try and gain the other den without being tiggèd; Hut, however, must not tig him, touching any part of his skin. Whenever Hut tigs a player, they change places and the game goes on as before.

**Jumping Jamie.**

Played in Cowal. Two equal sides are formed and dens arranged for at each of the four corners of the playground. Having settled which are *ins*, these distribute themselves in the dens. The *outs* give an agreed on signal, on which the *ins* must change their dens, being liable to capture by any one of the *outs* during their passage. When one of the *ins* is safely in the sought-for den he must at once cry out Jumping Jamie. If he omits this he can be tiggèd in the den. Those tiggèd stand aside till all have been caught. It is a part of the game that the tigger in the act of doing so gives a preliminary lurch, and jumps to touch his victim.

(P. 210, at line 15.)

(Bar the door) "One in the Middle."

(P. 210, after line 32.)

"Bar the Door" is also called "Yander," the only difference being that there are two "Huts." The first "Hut" to crown another boy changes places with him.

(P. 211, after line 11.)

In some cases the signal for changing corners takes the form of a cry by the player in the middle, of, "Can you change a sixpence?" This seems to be a girl's variant.

(P. 211, after line 33.)

In the neighbourhood of Ardrishaig "Hide and Seek" is spoken of as Cu-hu-coo, an attempt to give phonetically the

slowly prolonged sound which takes the place of the usual whistle tig.

In playing "Falach Fead" in Barra, the den is called "croilean" (literally "cattle-pen"). The seeker, while the others are hiding, goes down on his elbows and knees, covering his eyes with his hands. In this position he counts a pre-determined number, say forty, during which time the others hide themselves, otherwise the game is as described above.

(P. 212, at the bottom.)

### **Key Hoy.**

Possibly a modification of "I Spy." One player remains in the den, while the others hide themselves, signalling this by one of them crying "Key Hoy." The keeper of the den is now free to look about him and issues out in search of the others. When he perceives one he cries "Key Hoy," if necessary naming the individual, or exactly describing his place of concealment. Each individual found merely comes out and stands aside. While the den-keeper, however, is looking about him, attempts are made to reach the den without his seeing the individual till there. If one attempting this is seen "Key Hoy" is cried and he stands aside. If any one gets in unremarked he becomes the keeper of the den for a new game.

### **I Spy, Tin Can.**

This is played exactly like "Key Hoy," but a tin can of some sort is used. The first who gets into the den unobserved has a free kick at the tin can, the den following the can. Those in hiding are entitled to be certain that the indication that they have been seen, given in the form: "I spy James Johnstone, one, two, three," is perfectly correct. The den-keeper, having named the other, retires towards the den, the named player striving to be there before him, that he may exercise his right of having a kick at the can. Each one spied, whether he has kicked the can or not, stands aside as in "Key Hoy" till all have been viewed. The first to kick the can is the den-keeper in the next game.

**Will O' The Wisp.**

This is a night game. One of the party playing, provided with match paper (brown paper soaked in a solution of saltpetre) conceals himself, and showing the light in different places endeavours to get the others, who are searching for him, sufficiently near to spring upon them and tig them before they can return to the den. The one caught becomes Will o' the Wisp.

**I Spy Charlie across the Sea.**

One boy remains in the den as "Hut," the rest having concealed themselves, give the signal (a whistle or such like) and Hut proceeds to look for them. When he perceives one, and he need not identify him, he cries, "I Spy Charlie across the sea," and makes for the den, trying to reach it before being overtaken by the one he has seen. If he succeeds in this he continues searching for the others till all are accounted for. But if one of those spied tigs Hut before reaching the den, all are called in and a new game begun with the same player as Hut.

(P. 213, after line 7.)

In Kintyre there were generally two or three "hares," all of whom had to be caught before the game was finished.

We have an account of "Hounds and Hares" as played in Orkney. There was an equal number of "Hounds and Hares," the hounds standing with their backs turned so that the Hares might conceal themselves unwatched. This they did in houses, garrets, stackyards, anywhere in fact. A sufficient time having been allowed, the Hounds sought them out in any place that seemed likely to harbour one, stackyards being treated as if an open thoroughfare, and houses entered without leave asked or an apology offered. A "Hare" having been found was at once pursued by the whole pack, and when caught stood aside while the search was renewed till all had been caught. Time permitting, the "Hounds" now became "Hares" in a new game. This was played after dark quite as often as in daylight.

**Goid Colours. (Stealing Colours.)**

Equal sides being formed, those "out" were given a fair start and pursued by the "ins." As each of the pursued was

caught he gave up his bonnet as a token of capture. When all the "colours" had been secured, the game was ended. In a new game the "ins" became the "outs."

(P. 213, after line 24.)

**French Tig.**

Played both in Argyleshire and Perthshire, is what in Polo might be called a bending race. Any even number play, say twenty-four. It cannot be done with a small party. Eleven of the twenty-four form a circle, standing at not too great a distance apart. An outer circle is then formed by the other eleven, each one of whom stands directly behind his companion of the inner circle, but with space enough between them to allow easy passage. The other two players become pursuer and pursued, the former jinking as he chooses out and in round those of the circles. If the pursuer tigs the pursued, they change places. It is open to the pursued if tired or professing to be so, to touch one of the inner circle, who then becomes the pursued, the gap formed being filled by the player from the outer circle, the one tired taking the latter's place. The pursuer must follow the pursued.

(P. 114, at the the bottom.)

There are several modifications of this ("Cat and Mouse") In and Out the Window.

While the "Cat" is pursuing the "Mouse" as described, the line sing :

"In and out the window,  
In and out the window,  
In and out the window,  
As we have been before."

When the line think that the one in front has had enough, they sing :

"Stand and face your lover,  
Stand and face your lover,  
Stand and face your lover,  
As we have done before."

When the leading player stops and faces one in the row, they change places, and the one following becomes leader to the one selected from the row.



Under the same name the following is played in the Outer Hebrides. All the players but one form a ring, holding each other's hands, their faces turned from the centre, the single player skips round the ring singing :

“ Round about the valleys,  
Round about the valleys,  
Round about the valleys,  
As we have done before.”

Then the ring circles round singing :

“ Stand and face your lover,  
Stand and face your lover,  
Stand and face your lover,  
As we have done before.”

The single player then stops, facing one in the ring, who steps out and joins her. Those in the ring raise their arms, while the one who was out alone runs in and out under the arms in any order she chooses, followed by the one who has joined her, while she sings :

“ In and out the windows,  
In and out the windows,  
In and out the windows,  
As we have done before.”

Those in the ring sing :

“ Follow her to London,  
Follow her to London,  
Follow her to London,  
As we have done before.”

When this has been completed, the whole company stand and sing :

“ Now we've reached to London,  
Now we've reached to London,  
Now we've reached to London,  
As we have done before.”

This completes the game.

**Little Angels**

Is of a somewhat similar character. An even number of players stand in two rows, facing each other. All but the pair at the one end form a bridged passage by holding each other's hands at the full stretch of their arms. The end pair, entering the passage prancing along, proceed to the other end, where they join hands so as to prolong it. As each pair become the last pair of the double row they follow the first who entered the passage, and in turn prolong it as they reach the other end. It will be seen that this makes a continuous procession. During the performance all sing :

“ One and two and three little angels,  
Four and five and six little angels,  
Seven and eight and nine little angels,  
All passing through.

Open the gates and let them through,  
Let them through, let them through,  
Open the gates and let them through,  
My fair ladies.”

**The King of France**

Is much the same game, played by a single row, all holding hands, their arms at full stretch. Commencing from one end they follow each other, bending through the intervals and prolonging the line as they get to the other end, while they sing :

“ The King of France ran a race  
O'er the hills canary O,  
He set the sun before his face  
O'er the hills canary O.”

(P. 214, after line 24.)

The rhyme here 'is also given in the following form :

“ I dropped it, I dropped it,  
I dree, I dree, I dropped it,  
I sent a letter to my love,  
And by the way I dropped it.  
I dropped it once, I dropped it twice,  
I dropped it three times over, over, over :”

continuing to repeat the word “over” till the napkin is dropped.

Another variant of the rhyme sung is :

“ I dropped it, I dropped it,  
I dree, I dree, I dropped it,  
I sent a letter to my love  
And by the way I dropped it.  
Look up to the sky and bend yer eye  
And see where I have dropped it.”

During which the one with the handkerchief lets it fall behind one of the circle, the finish of the rhyme being the signal for the others to look behind them, and the one at whose back it is then pursues the dropper, as described above. If she fails to follow, the others shout, “Ye’re Burnt,” when she goes back to her place in the circle and the napkin dropper starts again.

(P. 216, after third line from bottom.)

In Uist they have the following two additional lines :

“ The drum shall beat, and the fiddle shall play,  
King Henry, king Henry, run boys run.”

### **Polly in the Ring.**

A den is formed in which two of the girl players stand, the others, standing in a line, face the den sufficiently far away that it will make a good race to reach it. The two fix on a number between one and twenty. The numbers up to nine are called “singles,” the others “doubles.” They then approach the line, and are asked “single or double?” One having answered this question, she points to the girls in the row in what order she chooses, and each must guess the number agreed on. The moment the right answer is given, the pair start for the den, pursued by the one who has answered correctly. Of the three, the first to reach the den takes her place in the line, and the other two agree on a new number for the next race.

### **Time**

As played by boys in the neighbourhood of Oban, is much the same as “Polly in the Ring.” Any convenient number

can take part, two being selected to lead, one being as it were "King" and the other is "Hut." The King takes Hut aside and gives him the hour, say "four o'clock," or "ten minutes past four o'clock." Hut then asks one of the other players, "What o'clock is it?" who answers by another question, "Is it hours or minutes?" If the time had been "four o'clock," Hut would say, "hours," but if it is "ten minutes past four" he answers "ten minutes past," and the boy originally addressed has now to make his guess. If he says "ten minutes past six," which of course would be wrong, Hut simply answers "No," and puts the question "What o'clock is it?" to another, and so on till some one guesses the hour originally agreed upon. Hut at once flies to the den, which has been marked at a suitable distance, with the other after him to tig him; if he reaches it without being touched, his pursuer becomes Hut, but, if he is touched before reaching the den, he must be Hut for another game.

### **Mother, Mother, the Bannock's Burning.**

A girls' game played in Arran. Any number take part, and the most womanly is generally chosen to be "Mother." A house is made by enclosing a space with lines of small stones, and the Mother orders another of the girls to remain in charge of it, while she herself and the others retire to some little distance. When they are sufficiently far away the housekeeper shouts: "Mother, Mother, the bannock's burning." The Mother answers, "Take the spoon and turn it." "The spoon is broken." "Take the knife." "The knife is broken." "Take the fork." "The fork is broken; everything in the house is broken." On hearing this, the Mother and all the rest rush for the house, and the one last to reach it becomes housekeeper for another game.

(P. 218, after line 34.)

"Release" is played somewhat differently in the neighbourhood of Lochgilphead. Bounds are fixed within which the play is carried on. On the boundary lines of the "ins," a small

space is marked off by lines drawn, or corner stones put down; this is called the "box," and the player in charge of it is called the "policeman." The "ins" remain on their boundary line, while the "outs" conceal themselves within the agreed-on space. The "ins" then issue out, and those they catch and make prisoners of are brought to the "box" and put in charge of the "policeman." Those prisoners may be released by being tiggèd on the head by any one of their own party who can do this without himself being caught before he has touched them, and he is entitled to shove with his shoulder, or in any other way get past the "policeman" without using his hands. The rescuer may rescue more than one, but is almost sure to be himself apprehended.

### **Jackson**

Was the name given to a two-sides-of-the-street game played in Perthshire. Equal numbers on opposite pavements or footpaths endeavoured to tig each other, and so make prisoners on the space between the footpaths. A player from either side, or more than one, would jump about, trying to induce a player of the other side to tig him, sanctuary always being to be had on his own footpath. Those tiggèd had to stand on the edge of their opponents' footpath with a hand extended, and were released by being touched by one of their own party, the rescuer of course risking being tiggèd himself. Those who had most prisoners gained the game.

(P. 218, third line from bottom.)

(Lands.) **Herdie Pans in Orkney.**

(P. 219, after line 18.)

It will have been seen that the knitted bonnet, usually worn by boys in Scotland, was a "property" frequently utilised in games. On p. 218 is given the game called "Lands" in Argyleshire; in Banffshire this is called "Regibus." There is a slight difference in the latter in the method of finishing. Supposing all the bonnets of one side to have been captured by the other, in "Regibus" the winners stood in a line, one

behind the other, with their legs wide apart, each armed with his bonnet. Through this avenue, the losers had to creep one after the other, being firmly "clouted" as they passed through.

**The Bonnet Battle.**

The Kilmarnock (knitted) bonnet was a useful weapon of the knotted handkerchief type, perhaps less painful, as not being provided with a peak, but it could be made heavier. An old Campbeltonian describes its use in single combat. Where one fought against one with his bonnet they struck with their bonnets in one hand and parried blows with the other; but one might engage to fight two, in which case the single fighter might have a bonnet in each hand as an offensive weapon, while his opponents were limited to one each. It was a case of

"Lay on, Macduff;

And damn'd be him that first cries, 'Hold, enough.'"

The reciter remarked that, though such combats were by no means rare, he could only remember a single occasion in which the "fun" was like to end in "earnest," and when the bonnets had been thoroughly soaked in water swollen faces and partially closed eyes were frequent results.

Other bonnet games were

**Bonnety Kick. Through the Mill.**

One boy stands with his legs well apart and his bonnet on the ground between them. The others prance round, endeavouring to seize his bonnet without being tigged. The tigger must not move his feet; if he tigs another they change places. If one has captured the bonnet without being tigged, he kicks it to a companion, and it is so kicked about among the players till the owner succeeds in tigging one of them while the bonnet is with him, in which case they change places and the game commences anew.

**Another "Bonnety."**

The game started with a boy being blindfolded and standing with his legs well apart. The other players from behind him

threw each his bonnet as far as he could, and in any direction he preferred. All the bonnets having been thrown, the boy blindfolded proceeded to search for one, groping for it, either standing on his feet, or crawling on hands and knees. The boy whose bonnet was thus recovered was in his turn blindfolded, and the game recommenced.

R. C. MACLAGAN.

*(To be continued.)*

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA.

(Vol. xvi., p. 101.)

I have much pleasure in falling in with the suggestion made by Mr. E. Sidney Hartland in his review of my work on the Native Tribes of South-East Australia which appeared in *Folk-Lore* of 25th March, 1905.

I have to thank Mr. Hartland for thus bringing into notice the want of clearness, on my part, in explaining the meaning of the terms "own" and "tribal" relationships, as I use them.

I think that the best way to make clear the difference which I see between "own" and "tribal" relationships, will be to consider them somewhat in detail before proceeding to reply to the queries to which Mr. Hartland has raised.

I use the term "own" as including the children of both the "*Tippa-malku*" and "*Pirrauru*" marriages. In other words, the children of two or more brothers, or of two or more sisters, who are respectively "own" *ngaperi* and *ngandri* of the former. To these may be added the *kaia-kaia*, *nadada*, *yenku*, *kanini*, *kami*, *kadi*, and *papa*, and the reciprocal terms, provided that none of them are *murdu* relations. Such terms also as *paiara*, *kalari*, *taru*, and others similar which attach to the above "own" relations, I also include with them.

I hold the "tribal" relations to be those (*a*) which are merely "*murdu*" relations, being of two kinds, one of the class, and the other of the totem, the members of which are, for instance, brother and sister. The difference between them is, that the class relation includes members of all the totems, while that of the totem only includes its members.



The other tribal relations are (*b*), namely, those which arise out of the *nadada-noa*, and also of the *kanini* relations, for instance those of *papa* and *ngatamura*, as shown at p. 166.

I have felt myself to be justified in this view, because the *nadada-noa* and *kanini* relationships are, to my mind, what one might term "legal fictions," carrying with them those relationships which attach to the "own" relationships of *neyi*, *kaku*, and *ngattata* of the maternal grand-parents.

Although these different relationships are of the same kind to the Dieri, yet some are considered to be nearer, or, as we might say, stronger than others. For instance, the *buyulu*, that is the children of sisters, are held to be nearer relations than any others. The relation of the *buyulu* brother and sister is far nearer to each other than that of class or totemic brother and sister. The case quoted at p. 167, in which the kindred decided that, as the *murdu* relation was a far distant one, it was therefore not so strong as the *nadada-noa* one, is in point. But without special enquiry it would be very difficult to find out whether any given relationship were "own" or "tribal."

This "tribal" relation of brother or sister, although not so "near" as the "own," is a true and strong relationship, carrying with the terms *neyi*, *kaku*, and *ngatata*, the obligations attaching to the "own" relations.

One of my early correspondents in the Dieri country said, in writing to me of the totems, that when for instance a man came from a neighbouring tribe on a visit, the men of his totem would receive him hospitably, defend him, provide him with food, and even with a temporary wife.

A reference to the cases quoted by Mr. Hartland will further assist my explanation.

The table which faces p. 159 was settled by Mr. Siebert and myself after several others had been prepared, and put aside as not showing all the details which I desired to bring out. Finally the table as printed was completed, showing descent in the female line from two brothers in each class who married each other's tribal sisters. But in working this out it was necessary, as I have pointed out, to interpolate two "tribal" instead of two "own" relationships, I may point out here that an error has revealed

itself on p. 161, line 16, which should read "their father No. 11" instead of "No. 2."

In neither case had either of the women Muluru No. 6 or Tidnamara No. 19 an "own son," and it was therefore necessary to interpolate a "tribal" one. It seems that the man Tidnamara No. 2 had two wives, one being Muluru No. 6 and the other a Warogati, whose son was the Warogati No. 11. Although the totems of the two women were different, their class was the same, namely Matteri. This is an important point which I omitted to record.

The children of two or more brothers are brothers and sisters, therefore the man Warogati (11), being the *ngata-mura* of the man Tidamara (2) and of his brother Tidamara (1), would be the brother of the woman Muluru (12), and not only for that reason, but also because of the "tribal" class relationship between them.

In the case of the woman Tidamara (19) the man Kaaulka (29) was a "tribal" son, who was interpolated, to replace a possible "own" son. The relation of *ngandri* and *ngatani* obtained between them because they were of the same class.

It would have been better, when speaking of the "tribal" relationships at p. 161, if I had added to the sentence, line 27, which runs "... there being, from a Dieri point of view, no difference in the relationship," the following words, "excepting in the strength of the 'relationship.'"

Mr. Hartland asks, "Can the Dieri usage extend the meaning of 'child,' 'son,' 'daughter,' 'brother,' 'sister,' beyond the totem to persons belonging to the same moiety of the tribe? I must reply in the negative, because relationship by a totem is limited to it, but as I have now explained, there is the other "murdu" relationship, namely, that of the "class," or, as Mr. Hartland expresses it, "moiety of the tribe."

I have found that relationships through the class, sub-class, or totem, or all of them, obtain in all the tribes in which the social organisation is in force. I have given instances, of which the following may serve as examples, with the Kamilaroi at p. 203, the Wakelbura, p. 224, and at the Diamantina River at p. 141, all having descent in the female line, with two

classes, four sub-classes and totems; also in the Maryborough tribes with male descent, and two classes, four sub-classes, and totems.

Mr. Hartland quotes a passage in one of my earlier papers to the effect that in my opinion the exogamous moieties of the Australian tribes were originally totem clans. I did incline, many years back, to this belief, but the wider knowledge of later years has so far altered my opinion, that I consider the weight of evidence to be against it. It was the occurrence of the names Crow and Eaglehawk in some tribes of Victoria and the extreme south of New South Wales that suggested the idea of totem clans. But in other tribes of Victoria, of which the Wotjobaluk is an example, the class system has peculiar features. There are two class names which have not any totemic character or meaning; there are then several totems attached to each class, with a great number of what I have called sub-totems belonging to them. Professor Baldwin Spencer has suggested to me that the Wurunjeri class system (p. 126) in which there are only two classes, Bunjil (eaglehawk) and Waang (crow) and one totem Thara (a small hawk), might have been at one time analogous to that of the Wotjobaluk. If then the two class-names, *e.g.* Gamutch and Kroketch, and all the totems except two, with one sub-totem, had become extinct, there would have remained such a system as that of the Wurunjeri. That all the totems of the latter tribe were lost but one, and that some still remain in evidence as stars is shown at p. 128. This suggestion seems to me to be well worth consideration.

I hope that the further details which I have now added to former explanations will relieve my readers from the uncertainty which Mr. Hartland has brought under notice. It is an instance of how easy it may be to overlook important matters in so intricate and involved a subject as the classificatory system of relationships, when it has been developed still further by such a tribe as the Dieri.

A. W. HOWITT.

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## "THE SHADE OF THE BALKANS."

(Vol. xvi., p. 489.)

May I point out that Kraljevich Marko (not *Kralj*) is not a Bulgar hero at all. He was the son of Vukashin, the ruler of Skodra or Scutari, then a portion of the great Servian Empire but now the capital of North Albania, and was a Servian hero. His mother came from Pilitor on what is now the Montenegrin frontier. He lived at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. This was long after the Bulgarian empire had been destroyed by the Servians and just before the Turks destroyed the Servian empire. Marko afterwards ruled as a vassal chief under the Turks, and his capital was Prilep, a town still owned by the Turks. The footprints of his magic horse are shown not only in Servia but in Old Servia, Macedonia, and wherever the Turks formerly held sway, and there is a whole cycle of Servian ballad poetry, still popular, of which he is the hero.

M. EDITH DURHAM.

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DOES THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY EXIST FOR THE STUDY OF  
EARLY INSTITUTIONS?

Friends in India often ask me: What is the use of collecting Folk-Lore, and more particularly, what are the objects of the Folk-Lore Society? Now the objects of the Society are set forth in the first of its Rules, which runs: "The F.-L. S. has for its objects the collection and publication of Popular Traditions, Legendary Ballads, Local Proverbial Sayings, Superstitions and Old Customs (British and Foreign), and all subjects relating thereto."

Now taking Folk-Lore to be that which the mass of the people receive from tradition, or which springs up spontaneously from among themselves, and Culture as that which is imposed on them from without, Rule I. is rather apt to give people the impression that the objects of the Society do not include the investigation of the history of Culture, but are limited to the specific subjects set

forth in the rule. This impression is to some extent confirmed by a perusal of the Society's journal—for at any rate the last few years.

On the other hand Archæology does include the history of Culture, at least in so far as it is illustrated by material objects, such as buildings, inscriptions, coins, and so on. But between Folk-Lore (as opposed to Culture) and Archæology, as ordinarily understood, there is a vast gap, as it were, in which lies a field that is not being systematically worked at all, at least in England, and which is not in the care of any Society like ours or the Anthropological Institute.

I should very much like to know if I am at all correct in this view; but whether I am so or not, I pass to another and more practical question, viz., what books a beginner in anthropology ought to read. In this connection a friend has been good enough to give me the following list:—

#### GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

1. Tylor's *Anthropology*.
2. Keane's *Ethnology*.
3. Keane's *Man Past and Present*.

#### POPULAR RELIGION.

4. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*.
5. Tylor's *Researches into Early History*.
6. Frazer's *Golden Bough*.
7. Frazer's *Totemism*.
8. Frazer's *Pausanias*.
9. Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*.
10. Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*.
11. Allen's *Evolution of the Idea of God*.
12. Jevons' *Introduction to the Science of Religion*.
13. Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*.
14. Lubbock's *Origin of Civilisation*.
15. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*.
16. Hopkins' *Religions of India*.
17. Monier Williams' *Hinduism and Brahmanism*.
18. Barth's *Religions of India*.
19. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*.
20. Rhys David's *Buddhist India*.

## FOLK-TALES.

21. Hartland's *Science of Folk-tales*.
22. Clouston's *Popular Tales and Fictions*.
23. Tawney's *Katha Sarit Sagara*.
24. Grimm's *Household Tales*.
25. Temple & Steel's *Wideawake Stories*.
26. Miss Stokes' *Indian Fairy Tales*.

This list is of course specially intended for would-be students of Folk-Lore in India.

It will be observed that this list does not contain much relating to some of the very important subjects which may be described as lying between Folk-Lore on the one hand and Archæology on the other. It does not include any work which deals specifically with the history of institutions, primitive law (whether customary and unwritten, or codified); or primitive economics, a subject which, as I fancy Mr. Gomme pointed out in *Folk-Lore* some years ago, had hardly ever been touched, at least in England. Doubtless to the above list one might add Maine's works, and now Dr. Frazer's recent work on the early history of the kingship. But where are these matters being investigated in England, and what books on them can be obtained?

My justification for inviting assistance in this matter is the great practical importance of it. I think that attempts to interest busy officials and practical men in folk-tales must fail, and that such people will rarely find time to take up epigraphy or numismatics, which must be left to specialists. But I do think that a good many people would be interested in the history of practical politics, and I should like to be able to refer enquirers to any accessible works on the subject.

H. A. ROSE.

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HAND IMPRESSIONS INSTEAD OF SEALS.

In the thirteenth-century Chinese novel, *Shui hu chuan*, a "writing of divorce" is authenticated by the husband stamping on it the impress of his hand smeared with ink.

In Japan, deeds, notes of hand, certificates, and other documents to be used as proofs were formerly sealed in this way, a practice to which the word *tegata* (hand-shape) still used of such papers, remains to testify.

Documents are in existence in which Mikados have authenticated their signatures by an impression of their hand in red ink.

W. G. ASTON.

[*Cf.* Tooth-impressions, Vol. xv., p. 343.—ED.]

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#### BETROTHING CUSTOM.

I do not know if it has been recorded that in the south of Ireland, when children are playing together, if a boy hurts a little girl so as to draw blood, his nurse says to the boy, "Now you'll have to marry her." I am afraid that in my very young days I was thus betrothed more than once, but unhappily I never carried out the contract, and have now even forgotten the names of my betrothed ones. I see there is a reference to such betrothals in *The Legend of Perseus*, II., 342.

WILLIAM CROOKE.

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## REVIEWS.

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THE EUAHLAYI TRIBE: A STUDY OF ABORIGINAL LIFE IN AUSTRALIA. By K. LANGLOH PARKER, with an introduction by ANDREW LANG. London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 1905.

THE Euahlayi tribe is, like the Kamilaroi, one of those Australian tribes which obtain their name from their word for *No*. It is organized in four sub-classes, corresponding with those of the Kamilaroi, and female descent. It occupies a portion of the extreme northern (not, as the authoress calls it, north-western), New South Wales, about the Narran River. Mrs. Parker was in close contact with the tribe for twenty years; and the present work is the result of her study of their habits and characteristics. Her two former volumes of *Australian Legendary Tales* were collected from a people called the Noongahburrahs. We learn incidentally from a reference in the present volume that the Noongahburrahs are a local division of the Euahlayi. We gather, therefore, that this work is the result of enquiries extending over a much wider field than was reaped for the earlier books.

In those books Mrs. Parker gave us a number of native stories, many of them very charming. In the work before us she provides the necessary background of custom and belief. There are, of course, many things in native life that a white woman would not be in a position to learn, or, if she learned them, would be chary of setting down in black and white. On the other hand she would have an opportunity of learning things about the life of the women which would probably be inaccessible to white men. To make a picture of native life complete we ought to have the



results of investigation by white enquirers of both sexes. But though it is obvious that Mrs. Parker, as a woman, has not recorded everything that a man might have done, it is quite remarkable to what degree she has been entrusted by the native elders with their secrets ; and her presentation of the life of the tribe is of the highest interest and value. The observations which follow must be taken, not as criticisms, which I am incompetent to make, so much as queries which a first reading of such a work suggests.

The belief in Byamee (as Mrs. Parker writes the word) seems not to be so closely confined to men as in most of the tribes, though the women call him by a different name. This is one of the matters in which the Euahlayi present an advance on the civilization of most of the Australian race. Byamee is called "Father of All," but it is not made clear in what sense the word Father is used. If the myth mentioned on p. 6 refer to Byamee, as probably it does, he is represented as a Transformer and Culture Hero, of the kind familiar to students of the British Columbian tales. He is said to have two wives, whereof one, Birrahgnooloo, is styled "Mother of All," though again this is not to be taken in a literal sense. The other wife did bear children and perform the ordinary duties of a *gin*. Her totem (we are not told what it was) passed on to her children. Birrahgnooloo seems to be simply the female counterpart of Byamee. "No one dreams of claiming Byamee as a relation belonging to one clan ; he is one apart and yet the father of all, even as Birrahgnooloo is mother of all and not related to any one clan." Every member of their bodies had a separate totem, which was conferred on one or other of the kindreds of the tribes they visited. It is in this sense, and as Transformers, that they are called Father and Mother of all. Yet it may be doubted whether that is the whole account. The word Father is used not only for Mother's Husband, but also for Mother's Sisters' Husbands. It is probably used also in more than one metaphorical sense. Sometimes it may mean Maker or Shaper, sometimes merely Elder. It may have other meanings too. We require to know the full value of the word in order to judge of the sense in which it is applied to Byamee. Nor must we forget to read Mrs. Parker's former

volumes with this. The mythical tales they give often throw light upon the practices and beliefs recorded here. We can to some extent fill out the summary contained in the chapter on Byamee with the stories of the wonders performed by this "mightiest of Wirreenun" (wizards or doctors), and of his last great *Bora*, when he fled away into a thick scrub on one of the Noondoo ridges, where he still abides.

What makes it specially necessary to gather the real sense of the word Father is that the Euahlayi are still in the stage of Mother-right. Their relationship terms are not parallel with ours. Those of a savage people never are. As we have seen, the word Father is applied to Mother's Sisters' Husbands. Mother's Sisters include a much larger class among the Euahlayi than among ourselves; and they are all called by the name which includes mother. The authoress has given us a list of relationship terms with their explanations in English. Unfortunately, it is far from complete. What is the real meaning of the word given as Uncle? What is the real distinction between the words given as "Full Brother" and "Half-brother"? What are the limits of Brotherhood and Sisterhood? What is a father's father called? What is a child called when the mother speaks? What when the father speaks? I could wish that Mrs. Parker had worked out a genealogical table on Dr. Rivers' plan, or even given us such as those contained in Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's works. The attempt to do this would have revealed to her many *lacunæ* in the information contained in the chapter on Relationships and elsewhere.

The Euahlayi are organized into phratries and *tótem*-kins. We are told on p. 20 how the latter are divided between the phratries. But the list is incomplete. I cannot find it stated to which of the phratries the Burrahwahn and Buckandee belong. And there may be others not mentioned: there are at least three *totem*-kins now extinct whose position is not assigned. I am led also to wonder whether there is any legendary connection between the phratries and the story mentioned above that Byamee and Birrahgnooloo gave their totems to the people. Did one phratry derive its totems from Byamee and the other from his wife? The question might be worth Mrs. Parker's while to put to her

black friends. Interesting points are that the continuance of the totem-kin is in some way bound up with the continuance of the totem-species; that the penalty for intermarriage by two of a totem-kin is that their children will "throw back" to the totem-species from which they are named; and that the totem-kins are emancipated from the usual restriction on the eating of the totem.

A feature of totemism which is prominently developed among many of the Australian tribes (if we had complete information we might perhaps say *all*) is "the division of all things among the categories [namely, the totem-kins] provided by the social system of the human society." By this attempt at classification certain objects (species of animals and plants, the winds and other phenomena) are assigned to each totem-kin. Mrs. Parker calls these objects by the unfortunate name of "multiplex totems" or "sub-totems." It is no doubt difficult to discover a suitable name to express their relation to the totem-kins; but both the names chosen have been already employed in other connections. However, a comparison of Mrs. Parker's statement on p. 22 with Mr. Howitt's on p. 454 of his *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* shows clearly what is meant. It would be desirable to know whether there is any division of the points of the compass between the totem-kins. When the tribe assembles for a ceremony do the totem-kins occupy any special positions? Are they arranged in any order, as among the North American Indians and other peoples? The authoress speaks sometimes of totems, *i.e.* totem-kins, and sometimes of "family clans" or "clans." Is there any distinction between them? If so, what is it?

The book is so full of interest and gives rise to so many questions that the foregoing are only a very few samples of the matters touched upon which would amply repay further investigation. I trust it is not yet too late for Mrs. Parker to attempt this. She is evidently so competent, and has so much of the confidence of the people that such enquiries would in all probability bear excellent fruit. Every anthropologist who studies the work will be grateful for the valuable information she has already put together. But it only whets our appetite for more. We want more details, and the clearing up of points left doubtful. I must indulge in one last grumble, but more in the hope of future

perfection than in the spirit of fault-finding. The transcription of native Australian names by English writers is admittedly everything that is bad. Cannot some standard orthography be adopted? Mrs. Parker writes *Byamee* where others write *Baiane*. She writes *Dayardee*: what is the exact value of the first syllable? Is it different from the first syllable of *Byamee*? And what is the difference in the sound of the last syllable from that of *Bargie* or *Gurroomi*? How are such words sounded as *Dhé* (by the way, why is *Dhé* more correct for *totem* than *Mah*? What is the exact meaning of these two words?), *Yhi*, *Guie*, *Dheal*, *Goolerh*? Is *Hippitha* or *Hippatha* (Mrs. Parker spells both ways on the same page) the more correct representation of native pronunciation? Possibly the pronunciation of the middle vowel is uncertain.

Mr. Lang writes an interesting introduction, in which "he fights his battles o'er again," especially his battles with Dr. Frazer, who seems to require a deal of slaying. I will only refer to one point which he makes, namely, that according to Mr. Howitt "the south-eastern tribes, with female descent of the totem, and with no belief in the universal and constant reincarnation of ancestral spirits," like the Arunta, "take the Æschylean view" of the origin of children. If Mr. Lang will look again at the passage on p. 283 of Dr. Howitt's book, he will see that the writer considers the "nurse" idea as one of the steps in the evolution of male descent. We cannot, therefore, infer that the tribes in question had not originally "the Arunta nescience of the facts of procreation." They may have been at one time quite ignorant of these facts, for all that Dr. Howitt says to the contrary, and the evolution of their speculation may simply have taken a different course from that of the Arunta. The causes of that difference still remain to be investigated.

The mention of Bishop Colenso on the first page of the introduction is a slip of the pen for Bishop Callaway.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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THE NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES. By W. A. REED. *Ethnological Survey Publications*, vol. ii., Pt. 1. Manila, 1904.

THE Ethnological Survey of their new possessions, the Philippine Islands, continues to make excellent progress under the auspices of the American Government. The present instalment forms a useful monograph on the Negritos.

The author (p. 13) groups these people with the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands, and more doubtfully suggests that they are connected with the Papuans of New Guinea, "very similar in many particulars to the Negritos of the Philippines, though authorities differ in grouping the Papuans with the Negritos. The Asiatic continent is also not without its representatives of black dwarfs, having the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula." Of the two theories of their origin—that they formed the population of a partly submerged continent, once connected with the Asiatic mainland, or that the archipelagoes have been gradually occupied by the Negritos, who made their way from island to island, Mr. Reed prefers the latter.

Including all the mixed breeds which have a preponderance of Negrito blood, he (p. 23) estimates that the Negrito population of the Philippines does not exceed 25,000. The largest and purest group is that occupying the Zambales mountain range of western Luzon. Some individuals, he thinks, may retain purity of blood, but nowhere are whole groups free from admixture with the Malay. Those of Panay, Negros, and Mindanao are fairly pure; but on the east side of Luzon and in the island of Paragua there is marked evidence of admixture. These Zambales Negritos, to whom this monograph is specially devoted, have now lost their original tongue. Their physical characteristics are small stature, kinky hair, and almost black skin. The general impression that they are veritable dwarfs is incorrect, individuals sometimes attaining the stature of the shortest white men, and apparently only a small infusion of Malay blood causes them to equal the Malay in height. The Aeta of Zambales had an average stature of 4 feet 9 inches for males, and 4 feet 6 inches for females. They do not possess the abnormal arm-length of the African Pygmies (p. 33).

Among their special customs may be noted that of chipping the teeth into sharp points, an operation which does not appear to affect their durability. They rarely scarify the skin for purposes of ornamentation, and sometimes practise the cautery as a cure for disease. Clothing is scanty, and in the less accessible regions bark beaten till it becomes soft and pliable is used (p. 37). They live in a state of pitiable misery, cultivating scanty crops of tobacco, maize, and vegetables, but depending for food largely on game, which they kill by means of the bow and arrows, or the Belatic, an ingenious trap in which a spear is discharged by a spring when the animal touches a string fixed across one of the jungle paths. This trap Mr. Reed believes to be the offspring of the Malay brain (p. 45). They have only one game, a kind of dice, but they display all the Negroid love for music and dancing.

Marriage is entirely a matter of bride-purchase. There seems to be no formal rite except interchange of food. On one occasion a piece of brown bread which Mr. Reed was about to throw away served as a wedding-cake (p. 58). At the homecoming of the bride she has to be provided with a succession of garments and other gifts, which are presented as she approaches the village of her husband. If she considers these insufficient, she stoutly refuses to move until she is satisfied. Mr. Cooke, who witnessed the ceremony, describes arches of bamboo made on the side of the road. "All at once the circle of dancers divided just in front of the arch; two persons on opposite sides joined hands overhead. The bride now stood up; immediately her father-in-law caught her in his arms, ran under the human arch, and deposited her gently in the house of his son. When the husband, from where he was squatting under the arch, saw his bride safely laid in his house his joy knew no bounds. With a yell he leaped up, swinging his unsheathed bolo over his head, and in a frenzy jumped over the fire, passed through the human arch, and with a final yell threw his arms round his wife in a long embrace" (p. 60).

They bury the dead, not as has been sometimes reported in the house, but in a tree hollowed to serve as a coffin, and laid in a high place, which is fenced against intrusion. There seem to be no special funeral rites (p. 61), but they believe in the constant

presence of the spirits of the dead, which are feasted after a hunt. No other worship of or offerings to them have been reported. A big black boulder is regarded as the abode of one powerful spirit, who seems to absorb all the ghosts of the common dead. No one passes this place without making an offering of fruit or food. This spirit, known as Anito, is the cause of serious disease, while minor maladies are due to lesser Anitos. If small-pox breaks out it is supposed to be due to "some one who has cut down a tree, or killed an animal, belonging to a spirit which has invoked the aid of the supreme spirit in inflicting a more severe punishment than it can do alone" (p. 65). They have the usual shamanistic treatment in sickness. "The Manga-anito (medicine-woman) danced round the patient, and had him dance and turn somersaults. This was to make the spirit sorry he had chosen such an unstable abiding place. Finally, she took hold of his hand, gave a mighty tug, and then dropped back stiff. The spirit had passed from the body of the patient to her body" (p. 66). With some omens of meeting this seems to represent all their religious beliefs.

The monograph is, as is usual with American publications of this kind, provided with a series of excellent illustrations. It serves, on the whole, to emphasise the contrast between the attitude of the enlightened Government of the United States towards the survey of the savage races under their control as compared with that of our Indian and Colonial authorities.

W. CROOKE.

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AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE PARAGUAYAN CHACO: A STORY OF MISSIONARY WORK IN SOUTH AMERICA. Told by W. BARBROOKE GRUBB, and his fellow-workers in the Chaco Mission of the South American Missionary Society. Edited by GERTRUDE WILSON, B.Litt. London: Charles Murray & Co., 1904.

MISSIONARIES have a great opportunity for anthropological study, but how few of them are really sufficiently interested in the

peoples they go to convert to penetrate to "the back of their minds!" They are so preoccupied with their own ideas and their own objects, that they do not seem to attach any importance to the study of the mental furniture and principles of civilisation (such as it is) of the heathen about them. An illustration of this attitude, which is apparent throughout the work before us, may be given from the reflections of the writer concerning the attempt made by a promising native pupil on the missionary's life. "One naturally seeks to know why Po-wit should have suddenly cast away all his privileges and opportunities, and attempted the life of a man who had proved himself to have been in every way his friend. The only explanation seems to be that, in spite of his cleverness and apparent comprehension of Christian principles, there had remained at the bottom of his heart a fearful belief in his old superstitions." He had, in fact, dreamed that the missionary was going to shoot him for stealing his cattle, and the attempt was, as is admitted, from his point of view, an act of self-defence. A hundred observations as naive as those just quoted betray an attitude of mind which looks down from the height of its prepossessions upon the heathen "superstitions," and renders its possessor quite incapable, so long as he maintains that attitude, of thoroughly comprehending the flock he has to Christianise and civilise, and consequently impedes his work.

Six chapters of the book deal with superstitions, life, habits, and customs, industries, implements and weapons, language and organisation. They are meagre, but they contain some interesting glimpses that make one eager for further particulars. The writer does not know what to look for, and still less does he know the meaning of what he sees. He narrates, for example, the piercing of a boy's lip, which is probably only one of the puberty ceremonies, without a hint that there are any more, and then turns to the girls. He tells something of their puberty ceremonies, but of the ideas connected with them nothing. He has nought to say of the family organisation, or the reckoning of kinship; though he does tell us that the husband generally goes to reside with the wife, a custom which points to actual or former reckoning of kinship only through the



mother. Adoption is said to be practised to a small extent ; but when, or why, or how, is a blank. As an instance of inaccurate record arising from the unconscious importation of civilised ideas into the report, take the statement that "the Indians firmly believe in the immortality of the soul." Now, it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that no peoples on a low plane of civilisation believe in the immortality of the soul. They believe in something that survives death, and survives it for an indefinite time ; but a more careful enquiry would probably reveal to the writer either that the Indians held definitely that after a certain time the soul dies, or that they did not know what had become of the souls of those who had passed out of living memory, and never troubled their heads to enquire—that, in fact, they had never considered the question of immortality at all.

So much for these examples, which might easily be multiplied ; but it is far from being my desire to find fault with this unpretentious little book. What I do desire, in the interests alike of science and civilisation, is that missionaries should start with some elementary anthropological knowledge. Not only would it enable them to give accounts of their flocks which might range even with Bishop Codrington's great book on the Melanesians, but it would help them enormously in their evangelising efforts. Happily, the importance of this outfit is at last beginning to be recognised by those who are employed in educating missionaries. Further experience may enable Mr. Grubb and his colleagues, if they will only abandon some of their prepossessions, to penetrate into the ideas which underlie the customs of which their report is at present so defective and so superficial. They will then confer a real obligation upon students by telling them all they know in detail about the very interesting tribes of the Chaco.

Some of the photographic illustrations are very good. Most of them, however, are unfortunately too small to reproduce the details properly. The map is useful.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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L'ORIGINE DES POUVOIRS MAGIQUES DANS LES SOCIÉTÉS AUSTRALIENNES. Par M. MAUSS. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884.

THIS valuable monograph is published by the École Pratique des Hautes Études as a specimen of the critical work to which the author, a professor at the school, devotes himself in his lectures. To say that it is worthy of M. Mauss' already high reputation is to say all that is necessary to commend it to serious students of the problems of savage thought and institutions. It may be considered as in some measure supplementary to the *Mémoire* on the subject of magic by Messieurs Hubert and Mauss, which appeared in the seventh volume of *L'Année Sociologique*, and of which an account was rendered to the readers of *Folk-Lore* two years ago (vol. xv., p. 359). It carries the researches, the results of which were there embodied, a step further, by means of a critical examination of the modes of initiation of the Australian wizards. These are divided into three classes, in their ultimate analysis not entirely distinct from one another—namely, initiation by birth (heredity), initiation by revelation, and initiation by other wizards. The relations between the two last are then discussed, and finally the preservation and loss of magical powers.

The conclusion is that the simple, sympathetic magic of the Australian wizard is something very different from a mere mechanism of erroneous technical ideas. The method of his initiation sets him apart from other men. The possession of his magical stones, in which his supernatural qualities are symbolized and in a sense contained, makes him resemble spirits more closely than mortals. His whole personality is often renewed in the course of the rites, or at least he feels himself renewed in the course of his traditional ecstasies. He is sometimes even confounded with the spirit which initiates him. He has become and remains, and is obliged to remain, something other than his former self. He is at once the exploiter and the slave of the public opinion which confers on him his supernatural powers. His fasts and ecstasies at the time of his initiation, his subsequent meditations, the perfect credulity of his clients, his traditional beliefs, all play their part in compelling at least a half-belief in himself and in

giving him confidence for the exercise of the supernatural power, the *mana*, he has acquired. He is what he is, he feels what he feels, treats himself as he does and is treated as he is treated, because he is a being whom all the forces of society determine and drive to fulfil the part.

The questions aroused by this careful and weighty study of the facts are too large to be considered here. They would demand an essay as long as that of M. Mauss. I have limited myself to a bare summary of its contents in order to draw the attention of those who are interested in the history of the mental and spiritual evolution of humanity.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

DER URSPRUNG DER RELIGION UND KUNST. VON K. TH. PREUSS. *Globus*, LXXXVI, LXXXVII. Sonderabdruck, pp. 54.

DR. PREUSS' "provisional communication" to *Globus* is, in my opinion at least, of the highest interest and importance. It embodies an almost wholly novel view of cultural, and in particular of religious, origins. A fuller treatment, however, would be welcome. As at present sketched out the theory is somewhat hard to grasp in its completeness, and it may well be that in what follows I have hardly done it justice.

To put it shortly, Dr. Preuss holds magic to lie at the root of all our culture—of religion, of art, of games, of speech itself, not to mention clothing, agriculture, marriage, and a miscellaneous host of other institutions hardly less fundamental. How this and that particular development took place is dealt with mostly by the way. The chief concern throughout is with magic itself as parent source. Now Dr. Preuss, like the sound anthropologist that he is, pursues a concrete method, and is as lavish of illustrations as he is sparing of universal definitions. Two essential characters, however, he seems ready to predicate of magic in general. In the first place, magic is the exertion of a kind of power—*orenda*,

*mana*. In the second place, such power manifests itself pre-eminently in a *Verwandlungsfähigkeit*, a capacity for metamorphosis—for ‘multipresence,’ to coin a word—which maintains the self-identity of the magical agency though it be there but in the shape of a nail-paring, an image, or a mere name. Mark the corollary. Animism, the theory that the essence of divinity consists in soul, must forego a large portion of its empire. What has been hitherto invariably taken for indwelling incorporeal soul is in many, nay most, cases naught else but indwelling *mana*, virtually incorporeal since indifferent as to the form in which it clothes itself. Thus the Mexican maize-goddess Chicome coatl is a young maiden, an old woman, the actual maize growing in the field, the life-giving food, and so on; but, whether person or thing, is in all appearances a power. Asks Dr. Preuss: “Ist zu all dem ein Geist nötig?”

Now I am at any rate at one with Dr. Preuss in believing (*a*) that a “pre-animistic” religion is to be found in active existence amongst savages, the objects of which are “powers,” liable, indeed, to be more or less personified, but lacking the distinctive attribute of soul; (*b*) that magic may directly generate religion. Indeed, I have already expressed in *Folk-Lore* similar views, to which Dr. Preuss is kind enough to refer. But can one go further, and, with Dr. Preuss, regard magic as the generating cause of *all* religion? I am inclined, provisionally, to follow him, revising, that is, enlarging, my conception of magic accordingly. My previous notion of magic was that it was primarily the mysterious activity exerted by the man who casts a spell on his neighbour; whereas anything mysterious might, in my view, be an object of pre-animistic religion. Dr. Preuss, however, would apparently identify magic with any kind of mysterious activity. Now, if we may legitimately do this, magic would, I allow, become virtually coextensive with the most primitive kind of religion; for there is good psychological ground for thinking that, in order to objectify the mysterious at all, the savage must endow it with some sort of activity, some power of holding its own, so to speak, against him. It remains to show that we may legitimately widen our idea of magic so as to embrace all kinds of mysterious activity, and still preserve some definite meaning for the word, and one allied to, and continuous with, the sense or senses it ordinarily bears.

Now man, it may be assumed, is bound to wear anthropomorphic spectacles, and to project into his surroundings the likeness of himself. Given, then, a stimulus, say, the sight of blood, that excites curiosity and fear together, that is, awe, how will he tend to interpret its effect on his nerves? According to our assumption, it will be interpreted on the analogy of the mysterious activity he feels and knows in himself. Casting a spell is one form of such activity, which he may have become aware of pretty early in his career. But there are others, and it is the great merit of Dr. Preuss' work that he points them out. The power of procreation is a wonder-working which must in very early days have been perceived to be such. Then there is the experience of exaltation as produced by dancing or what not, such excitement directly causing the subject to feel wonderfully active, and in many cases to be so in the sight of all men. Once more, life as such is a wonderful thing, if only because death—the not being alive and active—is so awful. Hence breath and vital warmth, as signs and supposed vehicles of the mysterious life-force, will soon come to furnish typical modes of representing the idea of indwelling *orenda*. And so on. Dr. Preuss has, I think, made out at least a *prima facie* case for holding that magic is the wonder-working mood and experience in all those forms in which early man perceives it in himself; which mood and experience he then projects into all objects that cause him awe, so that their inwardness becomes for him just the echo of his own. Why the mysteriously-active object should display a capacity for "multipresence" Dr. Preuss does not explain. Probably he would account for it in the usual way, namely, as the effect of association of ideas called into play by the strong interest which the object of awe awakens.

The applications of Dr. Preuss' general theory are on their own account of great value. Perhaps the two most novel of the detailed explanations are the account of the part played by the idea of vital warmth in various scatological rites, and the theory of the life-giving procreative breath as the reason for the custom of knocking out a tooth at puberty.

R. R. MARETT.

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1906.**

SIR E. W. BRABROOK, C.B., VICE-PRESIDENT,  
IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the December Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members, viz :—Mrs. Nora Chesson, Miss Mabel C. Campbell, Mr. M. L. Seton, Mr. E. H. Binney, and Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S., was announced: the resignations of the Rev. H. A. Harris and Mr. A. Grant were also announced.

Mr. E. Lovett delivered a lecture, profusely illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Folklore of Dolls," and in the discussion which followed Miss Eyre, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Longworth Dames, Mr. F. G. Green, Mr. Tabor, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Nutt, and the Chairman took part. At the conclusion of the lecture a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Lovett.

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21st, 1906.**

MR. M. LONGWORTH DAMES IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Major Fink as a member of the Society was announced: and the enrolment of the University of Texas Library and the Dundee Free Library as subscribers was also announced.

Mr. M. Longworth Dames read a paper by the Rev. J. Meehan, E.C., on "The Cure of Elf-Shooting in the North-West of Ireland" [p. 200]. In the discussion which followed, Captain O'Brien, Mr. Rose, and the Chairman took part.

A paper by the Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce entitled "More Cairene Folk-Lore" [p. 191], was read by the Secretary, on which Captain O'Brien and the Chairman offered some observations.

The Meeting concluded with votes of thanks to the Rev. J. Meehan and Prof. Sayce for their papers, and to the Chairman and Secretary for reading them.

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## BACK-FOOTED BEINGS.

BY A. T. CRAWFORD CREE.

(*Read at Meeting, 20th December, 1905.*)

THE frequency with which inverted knees and feet occur in the description of redoubtable persons attracted the attention of M. Gaidoz several years ago. In a series of articles in *Mélusine*<sup>1</sup> he cites a number of instances, among others those of Cuchulainn, Levarcham, Domhnall, and the Devil, in Irish literature, of Hephaistos and the Erinys in Hellenic myths, Indian demons, a Brazilian Wood-god, an Argentine tribe, a New Caledonian snake-man, and Pliny's story of a distant Scythian people. Such beings belong, for the most part, to the borderline between the sensuous and the spiritual world. They possess powers greater than those of ordinary men, but still such as are claimed by sorcerers and medicine-men. What could be more paradoxical, at first sight, than to represent beings so powerful with a deformity which would render a human being a hopeless cripple?

M. Gaidoz would attribute this inversion of the lower extremities to a desire on the part of the uncivilised mind to represent malignant spirits as distorted human beings—"s'ils sont faits comme des hommes, ils doivent pourtant être laids et difformes. La laideur est l'expression esthétique de la méchanceté." Three considerations appear to have led him to take this view, the wickedness of many of these beings, the coincidence in some cases

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vi. col. 172; vii. 39 and 63; viii. 77.



of this deformity with others of a like nature, and the common belief that wickedness and ugliness are inseparable. The last of these arguments is indisputable, but the other two, though true enough, neglect some important facts. Though some of these beings are undoubtedly malignant, this is by no means true of them all. Cuchulainn was a national hero; Levarcham was a faithful servant and aided the heroine Deirdre; Hephaistos was certainly not regarded with dread; and in all the instances in which this deformity is found, magical power is a more prominent feature than malevolence. And though it is true that in the cases of Cuchulainn, Domhnall, and the New Caledonian snake-man, other deformities are also present, the inversion of the lower extremities is, as will be seen, usually found alone. M. Gaidoz' explanation therefore seems hardly convincing.

The most striking point in connection with the deformity is that it seems to favour rather than to prevent rapidity of motion.<sup>1</sup> Levarcham "can walk through the whole of Ireland in a day," and "when undergoing these prodigious feats a fearful and a horrible change came over the swift messenger . . . her feet and knees turned and went behind her and her heels and thighs came before her!"<sup>2</sup> In her case there appears to be no further deformity. In Cuchulainn's moments of Berserk fury, when he performed his wonder-feats, "his feet would go round behind him and his hams before, and the balls of his calves on his shins," though other contortions also take place. The tribe of Scythians, too, whom Pliny describes as having their feet turned backwards—"aversis post crura plantis"—are extraordinarily swift runners. There is, I believe, more in this deformity than M. Gaidoz supposes.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Hull says: "This strange conception of the body twisted behind before seems to have been a common Irish expression denoting great bodily swiftness or energy." *The Cuchullin Saga*, Introd. lxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Folklore*, xv. 34.

The suggestion that I have to make is that the inversion of the knee-joints is not a degradation of the human form, but either, like the goat's legs of Pan and the Satyrs and of the mediæval devil,<sup>1</sup> a relic of a theriomorphic conception of supernatural beings, or, like the wings of angels and of fairies, the formal expression of qualities inherent in some animal but denied to mankind. In other words, I would connect these "back-footed" beings with the ornithomorphic spirits so frequently found in mythology. In some cases the deformity seems to point to an originally bird-like form, but in most of the instances it would appear to be an alternative for wings as a means of signifying the presence of birdlike qualities.

Birds, as we see from the myths of many races, were credited by early man with being able to vanish at will,<sup>2</sup> to know the future, to reach heaven and penetrate to hell—powers claimed by sorcerers and attributed to semi-divine beings. And accordingly the assumption of a bird-form is the favourite form of voluntary metamorphosis in folk-tales. Noteworthy examples are Maui, the New Zealand Hercules, who becomes a pigeon in order to go down to Hades;<sup>3</sup> the hero of a Magyar tale, "Snakeskin,"<sup>4</sup> who also transforms himself into a pigeon. In *The Eagle People*, a tale of a tribe of Indians in British Columbia,<sup>5</sup> a man becomes an eagle by putting on an eagle skin, and goes fishing with his eagle wife.

<sup>1</sup> In a mediæval Irish legend the Devil appears to St. Moling clad in gorgeous robes and tells the Saint that he cannot pray because his knees are reversed. Stokes, *Gaedelica*, 2nd ed., pp. 180-1, cited by M. Gaidoz.

<sup>2</sup> In a Kashmiri Tale (*Folk-tales of Kashmir*, Rev. J. H. Knowles, p. 327) a jogi gives a boy wings and so renders him invisible, the wings fall off and he is immediately discovered.

<sup>3</sup> *Maori Legends*, Miss Clark, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Tales of the Magyars*, Messrs. Jones and Kropf, p. 286.

<sup>5</sup> *J.A.I.* xxxiv. 54.

Now in most examples of beings partially human and partially birdlike, the legs or feet survive all other bird-like characteristics with the exception of the wings, and in some cases the legs or feet are the sole ornithomorphic feature. Thus Stor-Junkare, the god of hunting and fishing of the pre-Christian Lapps, sometimes took the form of a man of a majestic shape clad in black but with the feet of a bird.<sup>1</sup> Still more remarkable is the Ulthaana, or deity, of some of the Arunta tribe of Australia, a sky-dwelling being,<sup>2</sup> whom Mr. Strehlow, a missionary, describes (writing to Mr. N. W. Thomas) as like a strong man with a ruddy skin and long hair, but with emu feet, from which he receives the name of Altjira ilunka, the emu-footed god.<sup>3</sup> Again, Grimm<sup>4</sup> gives a story from a German saga of some earth-dwarfs on the Ramsflue, who lived in a cave with a narrow entrance, to which they fled like hares when frightened. They are said to have bathed in a brook "like doves." During one severe winter they came to a farm and slept on the oven, departing before dawn. They wore long scarlet cloaks reaching down to the ground and concealing their feet, which were found to be like those of ducks and geese, when some inquisitive person sprinkled ashes before the door. In these cases the wings are absent, but in the Egyptian Soul-bird and the Greek Harpies and Sirens the legs and wings of birds are combined with the bodies, arms, and heads of women. Representations of the Harpies and Sirens are common in Greek sculpture. In the reliefs of the so-called "Harpy Tomb," found in the ancient Lycia and now in the British Museum, these bird-women appear flying and bearing gently in their

<sup>1</sup> Nordenskjöld, *A Journey to the North Cape*, Eng. trans.

<sup>2</sup> Gillen, *Report of the Horn Expedition*, iv. 183 (quoted in *Folk-lore*, xvi. 428).

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-lore*, xvi. 429.

<sup>4</sup> *Teutonic Mythology*, Engl. trans., ii. 451.

arms the souls of human beings. This tomb belongs to the sixth century before Christ, but a Siren from an Athenian tomb,<sup>1</sup> of considerably later date, is even more interesting. This figure stands erect like a human being and is human down to the waist, but with wings, while the thighs are covered with scale-like feathers, and, though the lower parts of the legs are broken off, the knees are bent like those of a bird. On another Hellenistic relief<sup>2</sup> (about the fourth or third century B.C.) a Siren is represented as a beautiful winged woman with the feet only of a bird.

Now a comparison in detail will, I think, show that there is in fact no essential difference between the bird-footed and the back-footed beings. Stor-Junkare, the Lapp hunting-god with bird's feet, has a Brazilian parallel in Curapira, a genius of the woods, who is a small man with his feet reversed.<sup>3</sup> Altjira, the sky-god, with his red face, long hair, and emu feet, who appears in the lightning, may compare with Hephaistos, the Greek god of fire, who is represented on two vases,<sup>4</sup> now at Vienna and Athens respectively, with his feet bent back; while Cuchulainn, whose feet became reversed and whose hair stuck out like spikes in his frenzies, reminds us of both. With Grimm's story of the dwarfs we may compare Pliny's tribe of Scythians and Indians and also a mythical South American tribe, the Chirionossos (cited by M. Gaidoz on the authority of Mr. H. Gibson),<sup>5</sup> who are very swift at running because their knees are bent like those of birds. Mr. Gibson says that they dwell in caves (like

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the illustration in Maxime Collignon, *The Manual of Mythology*, trans. by Miss Harrison.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 203, fig. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Globus*, xxv. (1874) p. 298 (cited by M. Gaidoz).

<sup>4</sup> *Mittheilungen de l'Inst. Archeol. d'Athènes*, xix. 1894, p. 510, pl. viii.

<sup>5</sup> *Notes and Queries*, June 22nd, 1889, p. 486.

Grimm's dwarfs), that their women "have crooked feet, turned inwards, so as to be hidden when they are seated," and further tells us that he was informed by an Indian that "their knees were turned backwards, *like those of ostriches.*"

A comparison of the Greek bird-spirits with some of these back-footed beings is especially suggestive. The Harpies and Sirens seem originally to have belonged to one vague class of nature-spirits—the spirits in particular of the winds, which bring disease and health, summer and winter, birth and death to mankind.<sup>1</sup> These spirits, being not unnaturally represented as birds, acquired special characteristics. In the Harpies (*Ἄρπυιαι*, lit. "snatchers") the swooping, snatching nature of birds of prey is emphasised, in the Sirens the seductive enchantments of song-birds is prominent. The people of Northern India have their Harpies in the fairies who attend in the train of Airi, the demon huntsman of India, and (like the vulture of Prometheus) tear out and devour the lives of human beings unfortunate enough to cross Airi's path. These vulture-like fairies have their feet turned backwards.<sup>2</sup> And in the Churels, who entice young men away and keep them until they are old, and whose feet also are turned back,<sup>3</sup> we have an Indian example of the Sirens, who attempted to draw Odysseus and his crew to land with their song.

<sup>1</sup> The bird-spirits on the "Harpy Tomb" would seem to be the spirits of death; they have none of the malignancy of Harpies or Sirens, but bear the souls of the dead gently in their arms. In one case the soul is caressing the spirit with its hand.

On the Würzburg cylix there is a picture of the feast of Phineus—the Harpies are represented as foul pestilential winds that have fouled the feast and are pursued by the sons of Boreas, the clean North winds, winged like the Harpies but of course men. Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of North-West India*, i. 262.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 270—cf. with this passage Miss Harrison's description of the Sirens in *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 197-207, esp. p. 203.

And the Greeks appear to have had their back-footed spirits in the Erinyes (*Ἐρινύες*, "the seekers out"), the avengers of homicide, creatures not unlike the Harpies and Sirens. The relationship of the Erinyes with the Harpies is seen in a passage in the *Eumenides* (the euonymous name of the Erinyes) of Aeschylus:—

"Fronting the man I saw a wondrous band  
Of women sleeping on the seats. But no!  
No women these, but Gorgons—yet methinks  
I may not liken them to Gorgon shapes.  
Once on a time I saw those pictured things  
That snatch at Phineus' feast, but these, but these  
Are wingless—black, foul utterly. They snore,  
Breathing out noisome breath. From out their eyes  
They ooze a loathly rheum."<sup>1</sup>

The "pictured things that snatch at Phineus' feast" are, of course, the Harpies. The Erinyes, then, are like women; like Gorgons, but without the Gorgon mask; most like Harpies, only wingless and in some inexplicable way more terrible. The horrible appearance of the Erinyes is not borne out by Greek art and poetry; they are in fact, as a rule, less repulsive than the Harpies;<sup>2</sup> though both the Harpies and the Gorgons were represented in contemporary art with ordinary human legs. The terror inspired by the appearance of the Erinyes is comprehensible if in the folk-belief of the time they were regarded as beings with their legs bent in imitation of those of birds. And in fact, in the *Seven against Thebes* Aeschylus describes an Erinys as *καμψίπους*, lit. "with bent feet or legs," an epithet which seems to be intended to suggest that her knees were bent back.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 46 ff.—the translation is Miss Harrison's. *Op. cit.* p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> They are almost invariably represented as huntresses, with short skirts and high boots. Miss Harrison, *op. cit.* p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> M. Gaidoz translates *καμψίπους* "with feet bent back." But *πούς*, though literally meaning "foot," is frequently used by Greek poets from Homer onwards to mean "leg." The gloss of the scholiast Hesychius *καμπεσθγυρος*, "with knee bent, or bent back," certainly points to the latter rendering.

The description of the Erinyes to be gathered from these two passages recalls Domhnall, the sorceress who fell in love with Cuchulainn in Alba and who persecuted him with enchantments when he slighted her—"Her form was very gruesome, her knees were large, her heels turned before her, her feet behind her; big dark-grey eyes in her head, her face black as a bowl of jet. A very large forehead she had, her rough bright-red hair in threads wound round her head." <sup>1</sup>

The connection of the Erinyes with snakes is interesting. Aeschylus in one passage in the *Eumenides* <sup>2</sup> uses the word *δράκαινα*, "the dragoness," as a name for them. Euripides calls them "Hades-snake" and *δρακοντώδεις*, "with the forms of snakes." <sup>3</sup> These names suggest that the Erinyes had at one time been snakes like Snake-skin (in the Magyar tale mentioned before), the prince who had been changed into a snake, and who, immediately on regaining his proper shape, took the form of a pigeon. This snake-aspect of the Erinyes recalls the New Caledonian story <sup>4</sup> of the creature that emerged from the body of a great snake when it was changing its skin. This demon was like a man, but with his joints reversed; his elbows were on the front of his arms, his knees at the back of his legs, he had small feet and eyes at the back of his head, and he apparently made a noise like *whistling*. Supernatural beings similar to this last, but unconnected with snakes, occur in the beliefs of some of the Melanesian Isles. These are either larger

And the analogous word *καμπύριπος*, "bent tail," a synonym for *σκίουρος*, "the shady tail or squirrel," *ὀυρά* meaning "tail," suggests that *καμπύριπος* means "with legs turned and bent backwards" under the body (as in birds when seated) in the same manner as the tail of a squirrel is bent backwards so as to lie along its back.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Hull, *The Cuchullin Saga*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 126. <sup>3</sup> Eur. *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 286. *Orestes*, 256.

<sup>4</sup> Cited by M. Gaidoz from an article by M. R. Lourdet, in *Les Missions Catholiques*, 29th Feb., 1893, p. 93.

or smaller than men, with the same inversion of the knees and elbows; their arms are very long and armed with *nails like a bird's claws*.<sup>1</sup>

I have now, I hope, shown that the legs tend to survive other birdlike features in semi-ornithomorphic beings. I think the comparison of the semi-ornithomorphic creatures with the "back-footed" beings has brought out two points—that the two classes are generically akin, and that the "back-footed" beings often possess qualities and characteristics that are essentially birdlike. The survival of the legs is probably not altogether fortuitous. In combining the human with the bird form, the wings would appear to us, with all our artistic traditions, the most suggestive and the most natural bird-feature to retain; but to the half-civilised mind, which is gradually anthropomorphising the supernatural, the legs with their inverted knee-joints may well seem a less violent combination with the human form. Nor is this choice so irrational, for the inversion of the knee-joints affects the limbs wherein man's swiftness resides. It may be too that there is some idea present that birds are assisted in flight by their legs. Early Greek statues (*e.g.*, the Nike of the sculptor Mikkiades found at Delos), representing flying beings, invariably have the knees bent at right angles as though the legs were being exerted. And it must not be forgotten that birds are credited by primitive men with many powers greater than that of flight. Further, where clothes are worn, the inversion of the legs would commend itself to the medicine-men and sorcerers, who would be largely responsible for the popularity and permanence of this conception, inasmuch as they would be able themselves to pretend to the possession of a peculiarity, which, like the golden thigh of Pythagoras, might be concealed beneath the folds of a long cloak

<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. T. Leith in *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 186, quoted by M. Gaidoz.



from the eye of the sceptic. And so Levarcham, instead of becoming a bird like Maui or "Snake-skin," simply contorts her legs in imitation of a bird.<sup>1</sup>

How easy would be the transition from bird-legs to human legs with knees inverted is shown by the representations of birds in early art—*e.g.* the bird-women on the so-called "Harpy Tomb" of Lycia, and the soap-stone birds found at Zimbabwe in Mashonaland.<sup>2</sup> And as soon as this transition is complete, the inversion of the feet follows of necessity from that of the knees, in legs otherwise human; even if it be not actually suggested by the way in which a bird folds over its foot when perched on a branch or standing with one leg raised from the ground.

The connection with birds would soon be forgotten, and so render it possible, as sometimes appears to be the case, for the inverted feet to be found alone. This may be explained by the fact that the inversion of the feet, though only the logical outcome of the inversion of the knees, is yet a more noticeable contortion. At the same time, where spirits are conceived as wearing clothes, the feet are more exposed than the rest of the leg. Stor-Junkare and the Ramsflue dwarfs, being cloaked from head to foot, are only described as having the feet of birds, though the legs may also be birdlike, but covered by their robes. It is by his "cloven hoof" not by his goat's legs, that the Devil is discovered. So, the true significance of the deformity being lost sight of, the inversion of the feet might well be chosen in descriptions of such beings, to the exclusion of the inversion of the knees, as sufficiently conveying the idea of inverted legs.

A. T. CRAWFORD CREE.

<sup>1</sup> At a still later stage in culture winged sandals are worn for the purpose. Perseus borrows those of Hermes.

<sup>2</sup> Bent, *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, *passim*, and *J.A.I.*, xxxv., Plate 7.

## THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

### V. THE CELTS (*continued*).

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

MANX tradition knows nothing of Nuada or of Bile. In their stead it tells of Manannan, a god in some respects comparable to them both; for he too had pretensions to control the atmosphere, the sea, and the world of the dead. He used to exhibit his power over the air by enshrouding his eponymous island in mist, whenever an assailant tried to find the way thither.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he was closely related to Lug the sun-god: not only does Lug ride the horse<sup>2</sup> and wear the armour<sup>3</sup> of Manannan, but in one ancient tale<sup>4</sup> Lug actually appears as king in Manannan's palace.<sup>5</sup> Commonly, however, Manannan was connected with the watery element. 'Scots and Brittons,' says Cormac, 'called him a sea-god and declared that he was sprung from the sea, *i.e. mac Lir*, "son of

<sup>1</sup> J. Rhys *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 i. 284, 314.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891 p. 221 f.

<sup>3</sup> C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* p. 157 f.

<sup>5</sup> A. Nutt *The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal* London 1895 i. 292 f. rightly insists on the 'close alliance between Manannan and Lug,' and points out that the Celtic Manannan as chariot-driving and steed-possessing god of the western wonderland has important features in common with the Greek Helios. Note also that the annual tribute of rushes brought on Midsummer Eve to two hill-tops in the Isle of Man, and there presented to Manannan (Rhys *Celtic Folklore* i. 314), implies a sun-god, or at least a sky-god.

Dr. O'Donovan, commenting on Cormac's account of Manannan, states that, 'according to the traditions in the Isle of Man and the Eastern counties of Leinster this first man of Man rolled on three legs like a wheel through

Sea.”<sup>1</sup> Manxmen, he might have added, speak of him always by the more primitive title *mac y Lear*, ‘son of the Sea.’<sup>2</sup> Mounted on his two-wheeled chariot he drove across the foaming waves, when he was minded to visit Erin.<sup>3</sup> Or else he came riding on horseback<sup>4</sup>; for he possessed a magic horse, which was swifter than the spring wind and travelled with equal speed by land or sea,<sup>5</sup> not to mention a magic coracle, which propelled and guided itself.<sup>6</sup> By merely shaking his mantle he could raise a storm,<sup>7</sup> and still it again by his druid spells.<sup>8</sup> Lastly, his island home, dimly descried on the horizon, was regarded as a Celtic Elysium or Paradise, and he himself as a Celtic Hades.<sup>9</sup> His Welsh analogue Manawyddan mab Llyr was likewise lord of the Otherworld.<sup>10</sup> In that capacity perhaps he constructed a ghastly prison in Gower, the bone-fortress of Oeth and Anoeth, shaped like a beehive and built of human bones bonded with mortar: in this he immured those whom he caught trespassing on his domains.<sup>11</sup>

Manannan is said to have been the first king of the

the mist.’ If these traditions were reliable, we should have every right to regard Manannan as solar (cp. *Classical Review* xviii. 326 f.): but they may have sprung from the armorial bearings introduced into the island as late as the thirteenth century by Alexander iii. of Scotland, and ultimately derived from the Sicilian *triskeles* (Count Goblet d’Alviella *The Migration of Symbols* London 1894 p. 21 n. 1, A. C. Haddon *Evolution in Art* London 1895 p. 214).

<sup>1</sup> *Cormac’s Glossary* trans. by J. O’Donovan ed. by Whitley Stokes p. 114. Cp. the *Cóir Anmann* 156 in Stokes and Windisch *Irish Texts* iii. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys *Celtic Folklore* ii. 549.

<sup>3</sup> Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 134 f.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. Leahy *Heroic Romances of Ireland* London 1905 i. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* pp. 60, 89, 98.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.*

<sup>7</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 237.

<sup>9</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 133 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 270.

<sup>11</sup> Rhys *The Hibbert Lectures 1886* ed. 3 London 1898 p. 667 f., *Arthurian Legend* p. 347, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 619 n. 1.

Isle of Man<sup>1</sup>; and Manawyddan, his counterpart in Wales, shared the realm of Dyved with Pryderi, son of Pwyll.<sup>2</sup> In view of the series of Irish kings named Nuada,<sup>3</sup> of Dumnonian kings named Nudd or Nud or Nudos,<sup>4</sup> of British kings named Lludd or Lud or Loth or Lot,<sup>5</sup> and of Pictish kings named Bile or Bili or Beli,<sup>6</sup> it would be unsafe to conclude that the kingship of Manannan and Manawyddan existed merely in the brains of mediaeval euhemerists. It may well have been that certain kings of the Insular Celts posed as embodiments of the god Manannan or Manawyddan.

Manannan, like Nuada and Bile, had his sacred trees. His palace on a sea-girt isle was known as Emhain of the Apple-trees<sup>7</sup>; and of those who were privileged to visit it several fascinating folk-tales are told. These tales are indeed more or less familiar to English readers, thanks to the charming translations of Lady Gregory<sup>8</sup> and the scholarly investigations of Mr. A. Nutt.<sup>9</sup> But they have such an important bearing on the subject now in hand, that I must briefly summarise them before proceeding further with my argument.

<sup>1</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 663, *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 241. G. W. Larminie *West Irish Folk-tales and Romances* (London 1898) p. 64 ff. "King Mananaun."

<sup>2</sup> *The Mabinogion* trans. Lady Charlotte Guest ed. A. Nutt London 1904 p. 43 ff. 'Manawyddan the Son of Llyr.'

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 32 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 35 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 48 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 70.

<sup>7</sup> *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 60, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 101. Manannan had the reputation of wandering through Ireland in human form doing tricks and wonders: on such occasions 'all the food he would use would be a vessel of sour milk and a few crab-apples' (*ead. ib.* p. 110).

<sup>8</sup> Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* London 1904 pp. 110 ff., 115 ff., 124 ff., 126 ff., 136 ff., 431 ff., and *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* London 1903 p. 276 ff.

<sup>9</sup> A. Nutt *The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal* London 1895-1897.

To begin with, there is a group of four tales, two of them very ancient and two more recent, dealing with the adventures of Bran and Connla, Oisín and Cúchulain.

First and foremost *The Voyage of Bran*.<sup>1</sup> Once upon a time Bran, son of Febal, was out near his *dun*, when he heard behind him music so sweet that he fell asleep. On awaking he found at his side a silver branch covered with white blossoms. He took it in his hand to his royal house; and there in the presence of his hosts a woman in strange raiment appeared and sang as follows—

'A branch of the apple-tree from Emain  
I bring, like those one knows;  
Twigs of white silver are on it,  
Crystal brows with blossoms.

There is a distant isle,  
Around which sea-horses glisten:  
A fair course against the white-swelling surge,—  
Four feet uphold it.

A delight of the eyes, a glorious range,  
Is the plain on which the hosts hold games:  
Coracle contends against chariot  
In southern Mag Findargat [White-Silver Plain].

. . . . .

An ancient tree (*bile*) there is with blossoms,  
On which birds call to the Hours.  
'Tis in harmony it is their wont  
To call together every Hour.

. . . . .

At sunrise there will come  
A fair man illumining level lands;

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<sup>1</sup>An edition with text, translation, and notes by Kuno Meyer is included in Mr. Nutt's work i. 1-100. See also H. D'Arbois de Jubainville *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 p. 322 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 110 ff. The existing text of *The Voyage of Bran* appears to be at least as old as the ninth century A.D. (Nutt *op. cit.* pp. 135, 141).

He rides upon the fair sea-washed plain,  
He stirs the ocean till it is blood.

A host will come across the clear sea,  
To the land they show their rowing;  
Then they row to the conspicuous stone,  
From which arise a hundred strains.<sup>1</sup>

It sings a strain unto the host  
Through long ages, it is not sad,  
Its music swells with choruses of hundreds—  
They look for neither decay nor death.'

These and other verses of a like tenor she sang, ending with an appeal to Bran that he should go in search of so fair a country without delay. Then she vanished; and with her went the silver branch, which leapt from Bran's hand to hers, nor could he hold it back. Next day Bran set out with thirty followers; and two days later they met Manannan himself crossing the sea in his chariot. He too urged Bran to press forward, and told him that before sunset he should reach Emhain. On the way thither Bran passed the Island of Joy, where one of his men was put ashore and would not return on ship-board. Shortly afterwards they reached Emhain, and found it peopled with women. The queen of the place proved to be the unknown woman that had summoned Bran at the first. She and her attendants entertained him and his company in a grand house, which had accommodation for every couple. Here they stayed, enjoying one perpetual feast. At length, when they had been there, as they supposed, for a year, they returned to Ireland, taking with them their comrade from the Island of Joy. At Srub Brain they learnt that they had in reality been absent for hundreds of years. Nechtan mac Collbrain, who sprang ashore, at once became a heap of ashes. Bran, warned by Nechtan's fate, continued his wanderings without touching land.

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* p. 157 n. 3.

Next for *The Adventures of Connla*.<sup>1</sup> Connla of the Red Hair, son of Conn the Hundred-fighter, king of Ireland (122-157 A.D.), was once with his father on the hill of Uisnech, when he saw coming towards him a woman clothed in wondrous attire. She told him that she came from the land of the Ever-living Ones, where there was no death, but perpetual feasting and felicity. At this Conn asked with whom his son was speaking. The woman made answer in song:

‘He speaks with a damsel young, beautiful, high-born,  
 Who dies not nor grows old.  
 I have loved Connla of the Red Hair,—I invite him to Magh Mell  
[The Pleasant Plain],  
 Where is a king victorious, everlasting,—a king who has caused in his  
 country neither grievance nor sorrow  
 Since he seized on the throne.

Come to me, Connla of the Red Hair, thou whose neck hath two colours,  
 thou who hast the hue of flame.  
 It is a yellow diadem that is thy due.  
 Above thy purple face,—’twill be the perpetual token of the royal dignity  
 of thy features.  
 If thou hearkenest, never will be seen to wither—the youth of thy form, its  
 beauty  
 Attractive for aye.’

Conn then turned to Coran his druid and asked him to sing spells against the woman. Coran did so, and she

<sup>1</sup>The Irish text of this tale was published with a glossary by Windisch *Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik* p. 118 ff. There are French translations by G. Dottin in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* xiv. 64 ff., and by H. D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique en Irlande* Paris 1892 p. 385 ff.; English versions by the Rev. Father MacSwiney in the *Gaelic Journal* ii. 307, by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 124 ff., and by J. Jacobs *Celtic Fairy Tales* London 1892 p. 1 ff. O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 318 f. holds that the story of Connla was composed before 1000 A.D.: cp. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* p. 146 ff. Prof. H. Zimmer in his ‘Keltische Beiträge ii.’ (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* xxxiii. 261 ff.) refers the tale in its present form to the seventh century. [Prof. A. L. Brown *Iwain* 1903 regards it as belonging to an older stratum of the Otherworld visit than that of Bran.—A.N.] And Mr. J. Jacobs *op. cit.* p. 244 calls it ‘the earliest fairy-tale of modern Europe.’

departed, but ere she went flung an apple to Connla. For a whole month Connla lived on that apple, caring for no other meat or drink. Then the woman appeared once more to him, when he was with his father in Magh Archomnim, and repeated her invitation :

‘ The Ever-living Ones are calling for thee.  
Thou art the hero of the men of Tethra.’

Conn sent again for Coran. But Connla, save for the grief that he felt at parting with those he loved, was willing enough to go with the woman. She bade him step on board her boat of glass, and promised that all his sorrows should disappear in the divine city of the conqueror. Though the sun was setting, they would be there before night fell, in the land of joy, where none dwelt but women and girls. Hereupon Connla with one bound sprang on board the boat of glass and put out to sea. Conn and his companions watched from the shore, till the boat bearing his son and the woman became a speck in the distance and vanished to return no more.

The tale of Oisín,<sup>1</sup> written down in the eighteenth century by the folk-singer Michael Comyn, is perhaps a thousand years later than the tales of Bran and Connla; yet it preserves essentially the same conceptions. Oisín, son of Finn, was one misty morning hunting with his father near Loch Lein, when a beautiful young queen riding a fleet white horse approached them. She wore a royal crown; her steed, a silver wreath. She gave her name as Niamh of the Golden Head, and said that her father was king over the Country of the Young.

<sup>1</sup> A text and translation of this tale were published by Bryan O’Looney in the *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* Dublin 1859 iv. 227 ff. Another English rendering is given by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 431 ff. See also D’Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 362 f., Nutt *Voyage of Bran* p. 149 ff.



She had come to claim Finn's son as her husband. To Oisín, who fell in love with her at sight, she described her home :

‘It is the country is most beautiful of all that are under the sun; the trees are stooping down with fruit and with leaves and with blossom.

Honey and wine are plentiful there, and everything the eye has ever seen; no wasting will come on you with the wasting away of time; you will never see death or lessening.

. . . . .

You will get the royal crown of the King of the Young that he never gave to any one under the sun. It will be a shelter to you night and day in every rough fight and in every battle.’

Oisín, dazzled by the prospect, bade his father farewell, and went off with Niamh on the white horse across the sea. On their way, among other marvels, they saw a young girl on a brown horse pursued by a young man on a white horse: the girl held a golden apple; the man had a crimson cloak and a gold-hilted sword. In the Country of the Young, the Country of Victory, Oisín wedded Niamh. He had by her two sons and a daughter, on whom she bestowed a wreath and crown of kingly gold. Three hundred years later he was fain to revisit Erin, and did so, traversing the sea on the white horse. He was, however, warned by Niamh not to dismount from his charger, on pain of becoming an old man withered and blind. In a moment of forgetfulness he disobeyed her bidding, and paid the penalty.

In *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain*,<sup>1</sup> one of the best-known episodes of the Ultonian cycle, occurs a parallel to the

<sup>1</sup>There is a text and translation by O'Curry in *Atlantis* i. 362 ff., ii. 98 ff., by Bryan O'Looney in Gilbert's *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland 1874-1878* i. pl. 37 f., ii. appendix 4, A-I; a text and paraphrase by Windisch in *Irische Texte* i. 197 ff.; a French rendering by G. Dottin and H. D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 170 ff.; English renderings by Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 276 ff. and, more literally, by A. H. Leahy *Heroic Romances* i. 51 ff.

foregoing tales. Fand, the wife of Manannan, when deserted by her husband, set her heart on Cuchulain. She sent Liban, wife of Labraid the Swift, to summon him to Magh Mell. Liban told Cuchulain that Labraid would agree to the union, if Cuchulain would help him in battle against Senach the Unearthly and Eochaid Juil and Yeogan the Stream. Cuchulain thereupon bade Laegh his charioteer go with Liban to discover what manner of place Magh Mell might be. Laegh found that he needed Liban's protection on the journey: indeed, we read that 'she set him upon her shoulder.' At last they came over against an island, to which they crossed in a boat of bronze. There they saw Fand in the palace of Labraid. On his return to Cuchulain Laegh described the palace thus:

'On its east side are standing  
 Three bright purple trees<sup>1</sup> (*bile*)  
 Whence the birds' songs, oft ringing  
 The king's children please.  
 From a tree in the fore-court  
 Sweet harmony streams;  
 It stands silver, yet sunlit  
 With gold's glitter gleams.  
 Sixty trees' swaying summits  
 Now meet, now swing wide;  
 Rindless food for thrice hundred  
 Each drops at its side.  
 Near a well by that palace  
 Gay cloaks spread out lie,  
 Each with splendid gold fastening  
 Well hooked through its eye.  
 They who dwell there, find flowing  
 A vat of good ale:  
 'Tis ordained that for ever  
 That vat shall not fail.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Leahy, whose metrical rendering I quote, would emend the MS. *tri bile do chorcor glain*, 'three trees of purple glass,' into *tri bile do chorcor glan*, 'three trees of bright purple.' But cp. the crystal tree of Lough Erne (*infra* p. 169).

From the hall steps a lady  
 Well gifted, and fair :  
 None is like her in Erin ;  
 Like gold is her hair.

And so sweet, and so wondrous  
 Her words from her fall,  
 That with love and with longing  
 She breaks hearts of all.'

Cuchulain went, and slew Labraid's foes, and stayed with Fand for a month. At the end of that time he agreed to meet her by Ibar Cinn Tracta, the yew at the head of Baile's strand. But Emer, Cuchulain's wife, heard of it and came to the same trysting-tree. Cuchulain did not know with which to side, the fairy queen or the mortal; and the situation was saved by the sudden appearance of Manannan, who reclaimed Fand as his own and left Emer to Cuchulain.<sup>1</sup>

Now there is obviously much food for reflection in these old Celtic tales of the Otherworld. But the

<sup>1</sup> A partial parallel to *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain* is the tale of *Laegaire mac Crimthainn* (S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 290 ff., D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique*, p. 356 ff., A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* i. 180 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 136 ff.). Laegaire Liban, son of Crimthan Cass, the king of Connaught, was out one day with his father near Loch na-n Ean, the Lake of Birds, when a splendid warrior was seen approaching through the mist. It was Fiachna, son of Betach, who asked for help against Goll, son of Dalbh, king of a people of Magh Mell. Laegaire with fifty of his followers agreed to help him, and plunged with him into the Lake. Here they slew Goll and rescued Fiachna's wife, whom he had carried off. Fiachna in token of his gratitude bestowed his own daughter Deorgreine, a Tear of the Sun, on Laegaire, and fifty other women on Laegaire's followers. At the end of a year Laegaire and his men returned home on horseback, but were straightly charged not to dismount. Accordingly, they could but bid their assembled friends farewell and go back again to Lakeland. Unfortunately neither Fiachna nor Laegaire gave a detailed account of Magh Mell. What struck Laegaire most was a rain of ale, and the delight of drinking from gleaming goblets to the sound of melodious music. He brought back thirty caldrons and thirty drinking-horns in proof of his assertions; and then returned to share the kingdom of Magh Mell with Fiachna, his father-in-law.

points that I should like to emphasize are the following:

- (1) The Elysian palace has growing beside it a silver apple-tree (*Bran*), or a silver tree glittering in the sunlight like gold and surrounded by trees that drop 'rindless food' (*Cuchulain*).
- (2) A silver branch from the Elysian tree is brought to a king or a king's son (*Bran*); or at least an apple from the same tree is given to him (*Connla*).<sup>1</sup>
- (3) The hero mates with the Queen of Elysium and so becomes its king (*Bran*, *Connla*, *Oisín*, *Cuchulain*).<sup>2</sup>

Bearing in mind these points, let us next pass in review sundry other tales in which the apple-tree and the silver branch reappear, though the actual mating of the hero with the Elysian queen is toned down into a matter of mere entertainment.

First among this later group will be the *Adventures of Cormac*.<sup>3</sup> Cormac mac Airt, king of Ireland, was one May morning on the Mound of Tea in Tara, when a grey-haired warrior drew near, dressed in a shirt of gold

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the golden apple seen by Oisín (*supra* p. 148), if not also the apple given by Eochu to Cuchulain which he was bidden to follow across the Plain of Ill-Luck (Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 34, D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the marriage of Laegaire and Deorgreine (*supra* p. 150 n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> A text and translation by Whitley Stokes were published in Stokes and Windisch *Irish Texts* iii. 183 ff. There is a French version by D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 326 ff., and an English version by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 115 ff. See also A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* p. 189 ff., who regards the tale as due to some twelfth- or thirteenth-century story-teller embodying in his didactic narrative a genuinely archaic conception of Manannan's realm. Text and translation of a later version are given by S. H. O'Grady in the *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* Dublin 1857 iii. 212 ff. This translation was abridged by Mr. Nutt for J. Jacobs *More Celtic Fairy Tales* London 1894 p. 204 ff.

thread, a purple mantle, and shoes of white bronze. This magnificent personage bore on his shoulder a branch of shining silver with nine<sup>1</sup> apples of red gold upon it. The branch, when shaken, made such entrancing music, that all who heard it, whatever their troubles, instantly fell asleep. To get the branch Cormac parted in succession with his daughter, his son, and his wife. Chagrined at their loss, he went in pursuit of them with all his host. But in the middle of the Plain of the Wall a thick mist came on, and, when it cleared off, Cormac found himself alone in a wide country. Before him was a *dun* with a wall of bronze and a house of silver half-thatched with white birds'-wings. A great troop of riders was engaged in thatching it; but, before they could complete their task, a wind would sweep the feathers from the roof. Next he saw a man kindling a fire and casting upon it one thick oak-tree after another; but, as often as he brought up a tree, he found the tree before it already burnt out. After this, Cormac came to a very large *dun*, in which stood a king's palace. It had beams of bronze and walls of silver, and was thatched with the wings of white birds. On the green was a shining well from which flowed five streams. Over the well grew the nine purple hazels of Buan. They dropped their nuts into the water; and the nuts were caught by five salmon, which sent the husks floating down the streams. In the palace Cormac was entertained by a comely man and woman who proved to be Manannan and his queen. Manannan gave him a golden cup, which could distinguish between truth and falsehood.<sup>2</sup> He also suffered him to retain the magic branch, and restored to him intact his wife, son, and daughter. Only he

<sup>1</sup> So O'Grady (p. 213), D'Arbois (p. 327) and Lady Gregory (p. 115): Whitley Stokes (p. 212) has 'three.'

<sup>2</sup> Cp. a crystal vessel possessed of the same power, which was brought from a fairy mound to King Badurn by his wife (Whitley Stokes *ib.* p. 209).

warned him that on the day of his death the cup and branch would be taken from him. Next morning, when Cormac awoke, he and his were together on the meads at Tara, and by his side the cup and branch. It should be added that the annals of Tighernach, who died in 1088 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> record at the year 248 A.D. the 'disappearance of Cormac, grandson of Conn, for seven months,' and that the same expression is used to describe the carrying off of Etain by the god Midir.<sup>2</sup>

The *Adventures of Tadg*<sup>3</sup> have much in common with the *Adventures of Cormac*. Tadg was the son of Cian son of Oilioll Oluim, King of Munster, who died in 234 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> and could therefore trace his descent back to Eber, one of the two surviving leaders of the Milesian expedition.<sup>5</sup> This Tadg once set sail on the high seas looking for his wife and brothers, who had been captured by foreigners from Fresen. At the end of twenty days he reached an island full of monstrous sheep, and after that two more islands occupied by marvellous birds. Six weeks later, when Tadg and his men had weathered a fearful storm, they saw before them a pleasant land. Disembarking they passed through a wood and came to an apple-garden having red apples in it and leafy oak-trees and hazels yellow with nuts.<sup>6</sup> In another wood were birds with white bodies, purple heads and golden beaks, eating round purple berries and making magical music. Further on the wanderers reached a flowery plain,

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* pp. 57 f., 517.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 326 f.

<sup>3</sup> Text and translation by S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* i. 342 ff., ii. 385 ff.; translation also by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 126 ff. See too A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* i. 201 ff., who concludes that the tale shows didactic and Christian treatment of an ancient episode.

<sup>4</sup> O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 208 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> The combination of apples, oaks, and nuts, which meets us also in the story of *Cormac* (*supra* p. 152), recalls the sacred tree of Mugna that bore apples, nuts, and acorns in succession (*Folk-lore* xvii. 61).

on which stood three *duns*. A woman outside the first welcomed Tadg, and told him that it was the *dun* of the kings of Ireland from Heremon to Conn the Hundred-fighter. She also informed him that the country was called Inislocha, the Lake Island, and was ruled by two kings, Rudrach and Dergcroche, sons of Bodb. Outside the second *dun* stood a fair queen in a golden robe, Cesair, daughter of Noah's son Bethra, the first woman that ever reached Ireland. She in turn welcomed Tadg, and said that in her *dun* dwelt kings and chiefs such as Parthalon and Nemed, Fírbolgs and Tuatha Dé Danann. She gave the name of the country as Red Loch Island. On the top of the third *dun* Tadg met a pair of lovers, young and comely, dressed in green and gold. They again welcomed him, and explained that they were Connla, son of Conn, and Veniusa, daughter of Adam, who had brought her lover from Ireland. Both of them were now ageless and painless; for they fed upon a golden apple, which Connla held in his hand. Ever and anon he would bite a third part of it; but it always regained its full size. Tadg asked after the *dun* on this third hill, and was told that it was for future kings of Ireland. It had walls of white bronze set with crystal and carbuncles, which shone by night as well as by day. On looking out from the house Tadg saw to one side of him a great sheltering apple-tree with blossoms and ripe fruit upon it. 'What is that apple-tree beyond?' said Tadg. 'The fruit of that tree,' said Veniusa, 'is food for the host in this house. And it was an apple of that tree which brought Connla here to me: a good tree it is with its white-blossomed branches and its golden apples that would satisfy the whole house.' A troop of beautiful women next approached, led by Cliodna of the Fair Hair, who once more bade him welcome and said that they too fed on apples from that tree. But Tadg, eager to find his own people, would not stay.

While Cliodna was speaking with him, three bright-coloured birds settled on the great apple-tree: each of them ate an apple and sang such music as would put sick men into their sleep. Cliodna promised that these birds should escort Tadhg home to Ireland. She also gave him a beautiful green cup of such virtue that water poured into it turned to wine. He was, however, always to keep it by him; for, whenever it escaped from him, death would be near at hand. Tadhg's companions thought that they had been only a day in the island; but Cliodna told them that they had in reality been there a whole year. They would fain have stayed longer; but Tadhg was still minded to seek for his own people. So they all set sail together and, looking back, found the island already hidden by a druid mist. They were down-hearted for a while, till the birds began to sing and guided them, wrapped in a deep sleep, to Fresen. Here Tadhg recovered his people, rested awhile, and then returned in safety to Ireland.

The tales of *Cormac* and *Tadhg* differ from those of *Bran*, *Connla*, *Oisín*, etc., not only inasmuch as the hero is not actually married to the Elysian queen, but also because he receives a magic cup tenable for life, and returns home in safety. On the other hand, there are important points of agreement between the two groups of tales. Tadhg, like Bran, sees a great apple-tree growing beside the Elysian palace. And Cormac, like Bran, is presented with a silver apple-branch.

Somewhere between the two groups may be placed *The Voyage of Mael-Duin*,<sup>1</sup> in which we get at once the marriage and the safe return. The fairy isle has indeed

<sup>1</sup> Text and translation by Whitley Stokes in the *Revue celtique* ix. 446 ff., x. 50 ff. French translation by F. Lot in D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 449 ff. English versions by O'Looney in P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* London 1894 p. 112 ff. and by A. Nutt in J. Jacobs *The Book of Wonder Voyages* London 1896 p. 87 ff.



multiplied into a whole archipelago, and the characteristic features of the Otherworld are consequently scattered abroad; but even a cursory reading of the tale will enable us to piece together the principal fragments. In episode xxviii. Mael-Duin and his seventeen followers mate with the queen of a large island and her seventeen daughters. But in episode xvii., by a sudden blend of Christian with pagan thought, their hostess on another island entertains them, and refuses to do more, on the ground that she knows no sin. A third island, described in episode x., had many trees bearing golden apples, which were eaten during the day-time by beasts resembling red pigs, and at night by a flock of birds. The island had a burning-hot soil and was called a land of fire. Mael-Duin and his comrades entered it by night and carried off some of the golden apples, which preserved them from hunger and thirst. Yet another island, that of episode vii., had a long, narrow forest upon it. On reaching the forest, Mael-Duin took in hand a branch, which he held for three days and nights, while skirting the cliffs of the island. On the third day he found a cluster of three apples on the tip of his branch; and each of these apples supported him and his men for forty nights. Ultimately, in episode xxxiv., he and they returned in safety to Ireland. It seems fairly certain that in these scattered incidents we have the *disjecta membra* of an ancient tale comparable with those already related, and in particular that the original tale contained an allusion to a tree with golden apples growing in a far-off isle, and a branch with apples on it borne by the hero.

But it is time to consider the significance of this tree and this branch.<sup>1</sup> Much-needed light is thrown upon

<sup>1</sup> Miss E. Hull has a short but scholarly article on 'The Silver Bough in Irish Legend' in *Folk-lore* xii. 431-445. She rightly insists that the nearest parallel to the Golden Bough of Virgilian fame is to be found in the Silver Bough of Irish mythology, observing that in both cases the

the subject by the Irish tract known as the *Bailé an Scáil* or 'Ecstasy of the Champion.'<sup>1</sup> Conn, king of Ireland, who died in 157 A.D. or thereabouts,<sup>2</sup> used to repair every day at sunrise to the battlements of the royal *rath* at Tara, along with three druids, for fear lest any aerial foes should descend upon Erin unperceived by him. One morning he happened to tread upon a stone, which screamed under his feet. Conn asked the cause, and, at the end of fifty-three days, one of the druids replied that the stone was named Fal, that it came from Inis Fáil or the Island of Fal, and that the number of the shrieks uttered by it was the number of kings who should succeed Conn to the end of time.<sup>3</sup> While the king pondered this intelligence, he suddenly found himself and his companions enveloped in a mist. A horseman drew near and thrice cast a spear towards them, each

bough belongs to the presiding goddess of the unseen world and enables a favoured mortal to enter that world during his life-time. But Miss Hull wrongly (to my thinking) discredits the connexion of Virgil's Golden Bough and, by implication, of the Irish Silver Bough, with the branch plucked by the would-be king at Nemi. In my next article I shall hope to set in a clearer light the substantial similarity of all three. Again, Miss Hull is content to regard the Silver Bough as 'the magic talisman insuring safety and nourishment in the invisible world.' She offers no solution to the questions—Why should the goddess of the Otherworld have had a silver tree with golden apples? And why should a mortal monarch have been privileged to bear a branch of it? Indeed, these questions could hardly have been solved without a much wider survey of facts than Miss Hull allowed herself to take.

I ought to add that I did not read Miss Hull's paper until my present paper was complete, so that my collection of evidence is independent of hers.

<sup>1</sup> Edited and translated by O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* pp. 387 ff., 618 ff., from a fifteenth century MS. (Harleianus 5280) in the British Museum. The tract itself may have been composed about 1000 A.D. (O'Curry *ib.* p. 419). There is a French rendering of it in D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 301 ff. See also A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* p. 186 ff.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 301 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> With this shrieking stone cp. 'the conspicuous stone, From which arise a hundred strains' at Emhain of the Apple-trees (*supra* p. 145), and perhaps the Blowing Stone in White Horse Vale (*vide* my next article).

time coming closer than before. The druid exclaimed: 'It is the wounding of a king indeed, whoever shoots at Conn in Tara.' At this the strange horseman desisted and welcomed Conn to his house. The house was a kingly *rath* standing in a beautiful plain. At its door was a golden tree. The roof-tree of the house itself was of white metal. In the house they found a damsel wearing a crown of gold, with a vat full of red ale, a golden ladle and a golden cup before her. The unknown champion seated himself on a king's throne and spoke as follows: 'I am not a champion indeed, and I reveal to thee part of my mystery and of my renown. It is after death I have come, and I am of the race of Adam. Lug, son of Edlenn<sup>1</sup> son of Tighernmas, is my name. What I have come for is to reveal to thee the life of thine own sovereignty and of every sovereign that shall be in Tara.' He further declared that the crowned maiden was the sovereignty of Erin for ever. She thereupon presented Conn with a gigantic ox-rib and the rib of a boar. She likewise gave him the silver pail and the golden ladle and cup. The cup she filled time after time with red ale, once for every monarch whose name and destined reign were pronounced by Lug.

Lug here presides over an Elysian palace with a golden tree, which can hardly be separated from the silver tree with golden gleams in the tale of *Cuchulain*,<sup>2</sup> the silver apple-tree in the tale of *Bran*,<sup>3</sup> the great sheltering apple-tree with golden apples in the tale of *Tadg*,<sup>4</sup> and the trees with golden apples in the tale of *Mael-Duin*.<sup>5</sup> But Lug is beyond question a sun-god.<sup>6</sup> It would seem, then, that these Elysian apple-trees are so many variations of

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 112 n. 1 argues that this is a mistake for 'Lug, son of Ethne daughter of Tighernmas.'

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 149. <sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 144. <sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 154. <sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 383 ff., *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 62.

a celestial or solar tree. This agrees well with certain conclusions that we have already reached. For we have seen reason to think that the apple-tree was a Celtic equivalent of the oak as the tree of the sky-god,<sup>1</sup> nay more, that in the ritual of Samain the apple may have symbolised the sun itself.<sup>2</sup> Further, we thus obtain strong confirmation of the solar powers of Manannan;<sup>3</sup> since in the stories of *Bran* and *Cuchulain* the silver tree was expressly said to grow beside the palaces of Manannan and of Fand. In this connexion it is to be noticed that Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>4</sup> speaks of a lake in north Munster containing two islands, one large, the other small. 'In the smaller island,' says he, 'no one ever dies, was ever known to die, or could die a natural death. It is consequently called the Isle of the Living . . . I have thought it right to notice this because it is mentioned in the first pages of the Scholastic History, which treats of the inhabitants of islands of this description. The tree of the sun is also there (Petrus Comestor *hist. schol.* i. 24), spoken of, concerning which king Alexander writes to Aristotle, that whoever eats of the fruit prolongs his life to an immense period.' Giraldus does not definitely state, but he surely implies, that on the small island in the Munster lake such a sun-tree was growing. Other evidence of sun-trees in Ireland will be forthcoming.<sup>5</sup>

Bran who bore a branch of the silver apple-tree,<sup>6</sup> Cormac who carried a silver branch with nine golden apples on it,<sup>7</sup> Mael-Duin whose branch was topped by three apples,<sup>8</sup> and Connla who subsisted on a golden apple,<sup>9</sup> were on this showing just mortals exercising the rights of the sun-god. This exalted claim was no exceptional prerogative ascribed to a few privileged heroes,

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 56 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 58.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis *top. Hib.* 2. 4 trans. T. Wright London 1905 p. 61 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* my next article.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* pp. 147, 154.

but, if I am not much mistaken, a common attribute of early Irish kings. In the Royal House at Emain Macha, where Conchobar king of Ulster kept his court, there was a chamber faced with bronze below and silver above, surmounted by golden birds glittering with carbuncles. Over Conchobar himself rose a silver wand with three golden apples on it. When he shook this wand or raised his voice, all in the house became absolutely silent.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes he would strike his silver wand against the bronze post of his chamber,<sup>2</sup> and so allay a quarrel. Similarly in the palace at Cruachan, the capital of Connaught, Ailill and Medb had a chamber faced with silver and bronze: beside the couch and in front of Ailill was a silver wand, with which he used to strike the central post of his palace when he wished to rebuke people.<sup>3</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 12 f., Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 43. Cp. O'Curry *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* London 1873 i. p. cccxlvii n. 598 'The couch of Conchobar was in the front of the house. It had pillars of *Creduma* [copper or bronze], with capitals of gold on their heads, and gems of *Carrmocal* [carbuncles] in them, so that the day and the night were equally lightsome in it [the house]. It had a *Steill* or canopy of silver over the king, extending to the *Ardliss*, or top of the kingly house. When Conchobar used to strike the *Steill*, with a kingly silver rod, the Ultonians all became silent. The twelve couches of the twelve champions encircled that couch all round' (from the Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 5280 and the *Lebor na h-Uidri* p. 121 col. 1).

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 95, Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 118, Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 149. Cp. O'Curry *Manners and Customs* i. p. cccxlviii n. 598 'The couch of Ailill and Medb [was] in the middle of the house; a facing of silver all around it, and a *Steill* of *Creduma*; a wand of silver in front of the couch before Ailill; it would reach the middle of the *Liss* of the house to pacify the household at all times' (from the *Lebor na h-Uidri* p. 107 col. 1), *eund. ib.* iii p. 10 f. and A. H. Leahy *Heroic Romances* ii. 16 'Four beams of brass on the apartment of Ailill and Medb, adorned all with bronze, and it in the exact centre of the house. Two rails of silver around it under gilding. In the front a wand of silver that reached the middle rafters of the house' (*Tain bo Fraich* or 'Driving of the Cattle of Fraech').

trace of the same custom may be detected in the folk-ditty about the Red Etin:<sup>1</sup>

‘The Red Etin of Ireland  
Ance lived in Bellygan,  
And stole King Malcolm’s daughter,  
The King of fair Scotland.  
He beats her, he binds her,  
He lays her on a band;  
And every day he dings her  
With a bright silver wand.’

Indeed, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the royal sceptre of the Insular Celts was but a modified form of the gold-and-silver apple-branch betokening the solar king.

If the Irish king was thus intimately connected with the tree of the sun-god, we can understand the dream of Cathair. According to the Rennes *Dinnsenchus*,<sup>2</sup> Cathair dreamt of a high hill, on which stood a tree shining like gold and reaching to the clouds. In its leaves was every melody; and its fruits, when shaken by the wind, specked the ground. Puzzled by his dream, Cathair consulted the wizard Bri, who interpreted the tree as none other than Cathair himself lording it over Ireland in his liberality.

Again, if the Irish king was believed to exercise solar powers, some of the curious prohibitions and privileges attaching to his office become intelligible. A poem by Cuan O’Lothchain,<sup>3</sup> apparently addressed to the door-keeper of king Malachy II., who came to the throne in 979 A.D., mentions seven prohibitions and seven privileges. Among the former is the rule that the king ‘should not let the sun rise upon him in his bed in the plain of Tara’: this, taken in connexion with the practice of

<sup>1</sup> A. Lang *The Blue Fairy Book* London 1889 p. 385 ff. ‘The Red Etin’ (from Chambers *Popular Traditions of Scotland*), J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales* ed. 3 London 1898 p. 131 ff. ‘The Red Ettin.’

<sup>2</sup> Whitley Stokes ‘The Rennes *Dinnsenchas*’ in the *Revue celtique* xv. 430 f.

<sup>3</sup> O’Curry *Manners and Customs* ii. 141.

Conn recorded above,<sup>1</sup> proves that sunrise was regarded as a daily recurring crisis for the Irish king. The seven privileges that he enjoyed were, says O'Lothchain, 'To be supplied with the fish of the river Boyne to eat; the deer of *Luibnech*; the fruit of *Manann* (the present Isle of Man); the heath-fruit of *Bri-Leith*; the cresses of the river *Brosnach*; the water of the well of *Tlachtga*; the hares of *Naas*. It was on the calends of August all these were brought to the king of *Temair* (Tara). And by way of blessing on the king, it was said that the year in which he eat of these did not count in his age, and he defeated his foes on all sides.' Now the fish of the Boyne may have stood for the divine and omniscient salmon that inhabited the well beneath Manannan's hazels:<sup>2</sup> the fruit of Manann is suggestive of Manannan's apples: Bri-Leath in county Longford was the seat of Midir, a fairy king of the Tuatha Dé Danann:<sup>3</sup> Tlachtga was the centre from which fresh fire was distributed at Samain:<sup>4</sup> and Naas in county Kildare was known as Lis Logha or Lis Luighdhech because it had been founded by Lug the sun-god,<sup>5</sup> who on becoming king of Erin held his court there.<sup>6</sup> In short, it looks as though the seven privileges of the Irish king were mostly, if not entirely, solar in character—an inference strengthened by the fact that the offerings in question were brought to him at Tara on August 1, *i.e.* on Lughnasad the festival of Lug.<sup>7</sup> The king thus fed on solar fare was, like those that sojourned in the Elysian palace, for the time being untouched by decay or defeat.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 31, 39, *supra* p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> O'Curry *Manners and Customs* ii. 193, iii. 163. On its 'heath-fruit' or 'whorts' see *ib.* i. p. ccclxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 30.

<sup>5</sup> O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 478.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* *Manners and Customs* ii. 148. Nás, now Naas, was the ancient residence of the kings of Leinster (*id. ib.* iii. 25, 132).

<sup>7</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 138 f.

It is also highly significant that Bran<sup>1</sup> and Connla<sup>2</sup> and Cuchulain,<sup>3</sup> to say nothing of Oisín<sup>4</sup> and Mael-Duin,<sup>5</sup> all mated with the queen, or rather goddess, who possessed the sun-tree, while Laegaire's bride bore the appropriate name Deorgreine, 'Tear of the Sun.'<sup>6</sup> Another most remarkable case of this union between a mortal hero and a sun-goddess will be considered later.<sup>7</sup> Meantime it is to be observed that marriage with the goddess of the sun-tree was the high destiny of every human king in Tara: this is implied by the crowned queen of the golden tree,<sup>8</sup> who in the *Bailé an Scáil* pledges each monarch in succession, and is herself described as the sovereignty of Erin for ever.<sup>9</sup>

Another deduction of equal importance may be drawn from the same story. The husband of the crowned queen representing the sovereignty of Erin sat upon a king's throne and made two strangely contradictory statements—on the one hand, that he was a dead man ('It is after death I have come, and I am of the race of Adam'); on the other hand, that he was the sun-god ('Lug, son of Edlenn, son of Tighernmas, is my name').<sup>10</sup> The contradiction vanishes, if we suppose that the kings of Tara were once regarded as re-incarnations of Lug the sun-god. Mr. A. Nutt in the second volume of his *Voyage of Bran* has convincingly demonstrated the large part played by re-birth legends in Irish mythology,<sup>11</sup> and in particular has shown that Cuchulain, the greatest of Irish heroes, was, according to variant versions of the tale, held to be<sup>12</sup>—

(1) a re-birth of Lug by Dechtire, sister of Conchobar:

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 145.    <sup>2</sup> *Supra* pp. 146, 154.    <sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 149 f.    <sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 147 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 156.    <sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 150 n. 1.    <sup>7</sup> *Vide* my next article.

<sup>8</sup> A folk-tale from the Highlands tells of a king, who had a wife named Silver-tree and a daughter named Gold-tree (J. Jacobs *Celtic Fairy Tales* p. 88 ff). These names may be referred to the practice noted in the text.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 158.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* *ib.*

<sup>11</sup> Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 1-97.

<sup>12</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 38 ff.



- (2) son of Dechtire and an unnamed Lord of Faery, so described as to make his identification with Lug certain :

- (3) son of Dechtire and Conchobar.

Since Conchobar was one of those kings who bore a silver wand with golden apples on it,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* who posed as the sun-god,—a consideration which explains why he was called ‘a terrestrial god’ and his sister Dechtire ‘a goddess’<sup>2</sup>—it matters little whether Cuchulain was the son of Lug or of Conchobar. The important thing is that he was thought to be Lug re-incarnate. And this re-incarnation tended to repeat itself; for, as Mr. Nutt points out,<sup>3</sup> the warriors of Ulster, anxious that Cuchulain’s prowess should be perpetuated, urged him to wed on the ground ‘that his re-birth would be of himself.’ If Lug, then, was thus in the habit of re-appearing as a mortal champion, we need not shrink from concluding that the kings of Tara, exercising as they did the sun-god’s rights, were themselves but re-imbodiments of the same luminous deity. Well was Tara called Lughadh Lis or Lis Lughach,<sup>4</sup> a name implying that its real owner was Lug. And well did Flann of Monasterboice, who died in 1056 A.D., begin his poem on the succession of the Tara kings with the line :

‘The Kings of Tara who were animated by fire.’<sup>5</sup>

It is not a little suggestive that, when the Milesians

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 144 cites the *Book of the Dun* 101b, where Conchobar is described as a *dla talmaide*, or ‘terrestrial god,’ of the Ultonians of his time, and the *Book of Leinster* 123b, where Cuchulain is described as *mé dea dechtiri*, ‘of (the) son of (the) goddess Dechtire.’

<sup>3</sup> Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 96 f.

<sup>4</sup> O’Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 479.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* pp. 389 f., 622. When Dathi, king of Erin and of Albain, was killed in 428 A.D. by a flash of lightning, his men put a lighted sponge into his mouth in order to make it appear that the fire was nothing but his breath (J. O’Donovan *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* Dublin 1844 p. 21 ff.).

first landed in Erin, they marched at once to Tara, the seat of government, and found the chief rule of the island shared between the three brothers Eathúr mac Cuill, Teathúr mac Céacht, and Ceathúr mac Gréine, *i.e.* Eathúr son of 'Hazel,' Teathúr son of 'Plough,' and Ceathúr son of 'Sun': Keating states that these kings reigned each in turn for a year, and derived their names from the fact that they worshipped respectively the Hazel, the Plough, and the Sun.<sup>1</sup> One might have expected that the god incarnate in the Tara dynasty would have been Nuada, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann,<sup>2</sup> not Lug. But Nuada, according to tradition, himself temporarily abdicated in favour of Lug, who for thirteen days sat on the king's throne at Tara.<sup>3</sup>

When dealing with analogous beliefs among the Greeks and Romans, I took occasion to show that the king's soul was supposed to escape in the form of a bird, and that its transmission to his successor was symbolised by the eagle-tipped sceptre handed down from king to king.<sup>4</sup> *A priori*, then, we should look to find Lug and his re-births connected with birds. Nor are we disappointed. According to the treatise *de fluviis* ascribed to Plutarch,<sup>5</sup> *λοῦγος* was a Celtic word for 'raven'; and this, as M. Salomon Reinach<sup>6</sup> points out, squares well with what is known of the Celtic Lug or Lugus. Thus, when Lug slew Balar and hung his head in a hazel, that hazel became the dwelling-place of crows and ravens.<sup>7</sup> And at the foundation of Lugudunum, the town of Lugus,<sup>8</sup> ravens

<sup>1</sup> G. Keating *The History of Ireland* ed. David Comyn (*Irish Texts Society* vol. iv) London 1902 i. 223, cp. *ib.* i. 101, 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 32 ff.

<sup>3</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 385 ff., xvi. 302, 307, 312.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *de fluviis* 6.4, cp. G. Dottin *Manuel de l'Antiquité celtique* Paris 1906 p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 75 f., 223.

<sup>7</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 58.

<sup>8</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* pp. 139, 304 f.

are said to have appeared on the surrounding trees in great numbers.<sup>1</sup> So too Cuchulain, *i.e.* Lug re-incarnate, was compared to a raven<sup>2</sup>; and his coming was announced by a couple of ravens.<sup>3</sup> As king of the Otherworld Lug occupied the same position as Tethra.<sup>4</sup> It is, therefore, noteworthy that the wife of Tethra was identified with the raven.<sup>5</sup> She was perhaps originally one with the Morrighu or Great Queen, who announced herself to Cuchulain as the daughter of King Buan<sup>6</sup> but suddenly transformed herself into a crow sitting on a branch.<sup>7</sup> The Morrighu again can hardly be separated from Badb<sup>8</sup> the ominous death-goddess, who bore a name meaning 'Crow'<sup>9</sup> and appeared to warriors in the guise of a crow or a raven.<sup>10</sup> Kings and queens, who played the part of such deities on earth, were similarly related to ravens or other birds. Bran, for instance, seems to have drawn his name from the crow or raven (Welsh *brân*).<sup>11</sup> And examples of kings transformed at death into crows or ravens will be cited later.<sup>12</sup> In the story of Cuchulain's birth, Dechtire, his mother, was with her maidens changed by Lug into birds, who appeared in couples linked together by chains of silver or

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *de fluviis* 6.4.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 288, D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 203 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 211 f.

<sup>8</sup> Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 52 f.

<sup>9</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 447 n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> D'Arbois *Les druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* Paris 1906 pp. 151, 167 (quoting Hennessy in the *Revue celtique* i. 34 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 256.

<sup>12</sup> *Vide* my next article. The famous swineherds Friuch and Rucht, who served Bodb king of the *sid* of Munster and Ochall Oichni king of the *sid* of Connaught, took the shape of ravens for two years. They were not indeed kings; but their fortunes were intimately bound up with those of Irish royalty (A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 58 ff.).

red gold.<sup>1</sup> In the story of Etain Echraide, daughter of Ailill, who was re-born as Etain, daughter of Etar, Midir her original husband won her back from Eochaid Airem her second husband, and they escaped together in the form of two swans.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately Eochaid stormed the fairy palace of Midir and recovered Etain, who bore him a daughter likewise called Etain. This last Etain was married to Cormac, king of Ulster, and, like her mother, bore him but one daughter. The girl, exposed by Cormac, was found by a herdsman of Eterscel, king of Tara, and brought up in seclusion by him. Before Eterscel could wed her, she was visited by Nemglam, king of the birds, who flew in at the window and left his bird-skin on the floor. Thereafter a babe was born to her, Conaire the supposed son of Eterscel, on whom Nemglam laid the *gess* or taboo that no bird must ever be killed by him. Conaire's own reign at Tara was called by Nemglam a 'bird reign.' It was, in fact, the ideal reign of an Irish king. We read that 'there was great plenty in Ireland through his reign; seven ships coming at the one time to Inver Colptha, and corn and nuts up to the knees in every harvest, and the trees bending from the weight of fruit, and the Buais and the Boinne full of fish every summer, and that much law and peace and good-will among the people, that each one thought the other's voice as sweet as the strings of harps. And the wolves themselves were held by hostages not to kill more than one calf in every pen. There was no thunder<sup>3</sup> or storm in his reign, and from spring

<sup>1</sup> Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 39 ff. Cp. the two birds linked together by a chain of red gold, which were attacked by Cuchulain but dived under water and afterwards in the form of two women (Fand and Liban) horse-whipped the hero (Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 276 ff. and the literature cited *supra* p. 148 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Nutt *Voyage of Bran* ii. 47 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For thunder connected with the Irish king cp. S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 287 'Birth of Cormac': 'At the boy's birth a report as of

to harvest there was not as much wind as would stir a cow's tail, and the cattle were without keepers because of the greatness of peace. And in his reign there were the three crowns in Ireland, the crown of flowers, the crown of acorns, and the crown of wheatears.<sup>1</sup>

If the Irish king was thus related to the birds, we can understand why, when Laegaire Buadach, Conall Cearnach, and Cuchulain competed for the championship of Ulster, Laegaire wore 'a cover of strange birds' feathers over his head' and Conall a similar covering 'over the wicker frame of his chariot';<sup>2</sup> also why Laegaire was presented with a 'cup of bronze, having a bird in raised silver on the bottom,' Conall with 'a silver cup . . . having a bird on the bottom in raised gold,' Cuchulain with 'a gold cup . . . having on the bottom of it a bird in precious stones.'<sup>3</sup> The golden birds glittering with carbuncles in Conchobar's chamber at Emain Macha,<sup>4</sup> and the thatching of Manannan's palace with the wings of white birds,<sup>5</sup> appear to have the same significance. Indeed, it may be conjectured that the magic birds so constantly connected with the

thunder boomed through the air, and Lughna upon hearing the sound uttered:—"Noise—thunder—birth of king . . .".

<sup>1</sup> Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 82. ff. The version published by Max Nettlau in the *Revue celtique* xii. 241 ff. adds some details, e.g. that the two servants of Cormac, bidden to destroy the babe, left it out of pity in a hole beneath an oak-tree.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 64 f. D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* pp. 111, 113 translates: 'sur son char un pavillon de plumages d'oiseaux du pays,' 'un pavillon en plumage d'oiseaux du pays surmonte la caisse cuivrée de son char.'

<sup>3</sup> Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 71 f., D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 121 ff. The cup given to Cuchulain was accepted as proof that the champion's portion belonged to him. Probably the gold cup found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mycenae (G. Perrot and C. Chipiez *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* Paris 1894 vi. 960 ff. fig. 531) and Nestor's famous cup (*Iliad* II. 632 ff.), both of which had golden doves upon the handles, were similar regalia.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 152.

divine tree of the solar king (*Bran, Cuchulain, Tadg*<sup>1</sup>) are but the king's predecessors in their bird form. This conjecture sounds perhaps over-bold. But the solitary man, whom Mael-Duin found on a distant island, said to him: 'The birds that you see in the trees are the souls of my family, both women and men.'<sup>2</sup>

One further inference from the tales of the Otherworld. The silver apple-branch (*Bran, Cormac*) and the magic cup (*Cormac, Tadg*) possessed by the king were somehow bound up with his life: if he lost them, he would die.<sup>3</sup> Now Mael-Duin subsisted for 120 days on his apple-branch<sup>4</sup> and Connla fed continually upon the Elysian apple;<sup>5</sup> also Cormac and Conn drank of the Elysian cup.<sup>6</sup> Hence we may suppose that the branch and the cup were believed to furnish divine meat and drink to the king, whose life would naturally depend on their preservation. It is probable that some palaces, if not all, had an outward token of this celestial diet in a tree with fruit or berries, which grew either actually inside the building or in close proximity to it.

*The Story of Conn-eda*<sup>7</sup> tells how Conn-eda, son of King Conn and eponym of Connaught, was so beloved and respected by the people of the West that the common oath of the country was by his head. Through the machinations of his step-mother he was sent on a dangerous journey to the Firbolg king of Lough Erne, and bidden to bring back the three golden apples<sup>8</sup> of health that grew on a crystal tree in the midst of the king's pleasure-garden. Conn-eda succeeded in his quest

<sup>1</sup> See also my next article.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 478.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 153, 155.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* pp. 147, 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* pp. 152, 158.

<sup>7</sup> *Folk-lore Record* ii. 180 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. the three golden apples of the Hesperides brought by the sons of Tuirenn as part of a fine due to Lug (*Lady Gregory Gods and Fighting Men* p. 33 ff.).

and, on returning home, planted the three apples in his own garden. Instantly a great tree bearing similar apples sprang up, and caused all the district to produce an exuberance of crops and fruit.

In *The Colloquy with the Ancients*<sup>1</sup> Caeilté tells St. Patrick that Lughaid Menn, son of Angus and king of Ireland, had three sons, Ruidhe, Fiacha, and Eochaid. They applied to their father for a country or domain; and, when he refused their request, they went to Brugh na Boinn, where Bodhb Derg, son of the Daghdha, showed them hospitality. At an assembly of the Tuatha Dé Danann it was decided to give them to wife the three daughters of Midir. Among other presents, they received from Aedh son of Aedh na Nabusach a vat that would turn fresh water into mead and a horn that would turn salt water into wine. Moreover, Angus gave them a spacious fort, and bade them carry away out of the Oak-wood three apple-trees, one in full bloom, another shedding its blossom, and a third covered with ripe fruit. They lived in their fort for three times fifty years and then, by virtue of their marriage alliance, returned to the Tuatha Dé Danann. It is here clearly implied that the sons of the Irish king had in their fort apple-trees, which were supposed to bear the fruit that fed the gods.

Again, Caeilté recites to St. Patrick the verses in which Cael O'Neamhain, one of Finn's warriors, described the mansion of Credé.<sup>2</sup> This Credé was the daughter of Cairbré, king of Kerry, and had promised to marry the man who should give an adequate description of her palace and its contents. Those of Cael's verses that concern us are the following:

<sup>1</sup>S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 109 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 74 ff.

<sup>2</sup>O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* pp. 308 ff., 594 ff., gives text and translation. There is another English rendering by S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 119 ff., and yet another by Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 207 ff. See also A. Nutt *Voyage of Bran* i. 194.

'Wounded men would sink in sleep,  
Though ever so heavily teeming with blood,  
With the warblings of the fairy birds  
From the eaves of her sunny chamber [*Griandán*].

Its portico is thatched  
With wings of birds both blue and yellow ;  
Its lawn in front, and its well,  
Of crystal and of carmogal.

There is in it a vat of royal bronze,  
Whence flows the pleasant juice of malt ;  
An apple-tree stands overhead the vat  
With the abundance of its weighty fruit.

When Credé's goblet is filled  
With the ale of the noble vat,  
There drop down into the cup directly  
Four apples at the same time.

The four attendants [distributors] that have been named  
Arise and go to the distribution ;  
They present to four of the guests around,  
A drink to each man, and an apple.'

A tree thus growing within a castle was deemed sacred to the sky-god ; for any ancient tree growing in a fort was called *bile*,<sup>1</sup> a name identical with that of *Bile* who was one form of the Celtic sky-god.<sup>2</sup> The king, as human representative of that god, was intimately associated with the tree. Under it he was inaugurated. 'One of the greatest triumphs,' says Dr. Joyce,<sup>3</sup> 'that a tribe could achieve over their enemies, was to cut down their inauguration tree, and no outrage was more keenly resented, or when possible, visited with sharper retribution. Our Annals often record their destruction as events of importance ; at 981 for example, we read in the Four Masters, that the *bile* of *Magh-adhar* [Mah-ire] in Clare

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 60, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* xvii. 59 ff.

<sup>3</sup> P. W. Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 Dublin 1870 p. 481 f.



—the great tree under which the O'Briens were inaugurated—was rooted out of the earth and cut up, by Malachy, king of Ireland; and at 1111, that the Ulidians led an army to Tullaghoge, the inauguration place of the O'Neills, and cut down the old trees; for which Niall O'Lough-lin afterwards exacted a retribution of 3000 cows.' Dr. Joyce goes on to prove by the help of place-names, etc. (*e.g.* *Lisnabilla* in Antrim and *Rathvilly* in Carlow, both meaning 'the fort of the ancient tree') that such sacred trees were of fairly frequent occurrence. That the life of the king was believed to be bound up with that of his *bile* may be gathered, not only from cases already quoted of vital sympathy between the king and the tree,<sup>1</sup> but also from an explicit statement to that effect in the tale of *Blaiman, son of Apple*,<sup>2</sup> of which more anon.<sup>3</sup>

The belief that the king's life depends on the preservation of a particular tree growing in or near a castle, or of a particular goblet in the king's possession, has lingered on into modern times. Mr. Minto F. Johnston, in an article on 'Some Famous Family "Lucks"' contributed to *The Wide World Magazine* for June 1905,<sup>4</sup> writes as follows: 'In two notable cases the family mascot is a tree. The foundations of Cawdor Castle, near Nairn, are built round a hawthorn tree,<sup>5</sup> and there is an ancient

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* London 1894 p. 373 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* my next article.

<sup>4</sup> *Wide World* xv. 244 ff. with photographs of the Cawdor hawthorn, the Howth elm, etc.

<sup>5</sup> A writer in the *Evening Standard and St. James' Gazette* for Feb. 13, 1906, says: 'The story is that Thane William, when he decided to build himself a stronghold, was told in a dream to put his treasure on the back of an ass, start it going, and wherever it should halt there to build his castle. The donkey lay down to rest under the thorn tree, and round that tree the building was erected.'

At Huntingfield in Suffolk 'the great hall was built round six straight

tradition to the effect that the disappearance of this tree will be a sign that dire misfortunes will shortly overwhelm the family. "Freshness to the hawthorn tree of Cawdor" is consequently the happiest form of felicitation to the Campbells of Cawdor. The tree must be about five hundred years old, according to the most moderate computation, . . . but it still has its roots in the soil and its stem rises through the floor of one of the dungeons. . . . The famous elm in the courtyard of Howth Castle, near Dublin, is the other instance. The saying is that when it falls the ancient line of Howth shall come to an end. It is very old now, and so decayed that iron supports hold it together against the wear and tear of the weather. Strangely enough, the present Lord Howth is the last of his race.' The other 'Lucks' adduced by Mr. Johnston are mostly cups, *viz.* the Luck of Muncaster, a glass bowl given to Sir John Pennington by Henry VI. in 1461; the Luck of Workington, an agate cup given to Sir Henry Curwen by Mary Queen of Scots in 1568; the Luck of Edenhall, a glass cup preserved as an heirloom in the Musgrave family; the Luck of Burrell Green, a brass dish originally owned by the Lambs of Cumberland. Tradition has it that the last two Lucks were taken from, or given by, fairies. In all cases the welfare of the family is thought to depend on the safety of the cup.

massy oaks, which originally supported the roof as they grew: upon these the foresters and yeomen of the guard used to hang their nets, cross-bows, hunting-poles, great saddles, calivers, bills, &c.' (J. G. Strutt *Sylvia Britannica* London 1822 p. 26). Cp. the Old Manor House at Knaresborough on the Nidd in Yorkshire: 'It is believed that this is the only house in England in which stands an original roof-tree. In this case an old oak of the forest, with its roots still intact, rises through the kitchen up to a bed-room, where it is cut short, and used as a small table' (*The Standard* Nov. 13, 1905).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(*To be continued*).

## THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA.

BY A. W. HOWITT, LL.D.

IN a communication by Mr. Andrew Lang which appeared in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi., p. 222, he criticises not only Mr. Hartland's notice of my work, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, but also a certain part of that work itself.

After quoting Mr. Hartland's statement at some length as to the belief in a tribal All-Father, he says that, "he closely follows the generalization of Mr. Howitt in his *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pages 500-506. But Mr. Howitt's statement here does not agree with his copious account of the social organization of these South-Eastern tribes."

He then proceeds to give a lengthy account of these tribes from his point of view, not mine, and so far as I understand his position, it is as follows:

(a) The majority of them are in the more primitive form of social organization having (1) female descent without "matrimonial classes" (*i.e.* my "sub-classes") or (2) female reckoning with four, not as in the North and Centre, eight matrimonial classes.

(b) The tribes of the second class combine female descent with the All-Father belief, which was also held by the Kurnai and other South-Eastern tribes with male reckoning and with totems and classes obliterated, or faintly surviving.

(c) "On the other hand, it is among Northern and Central tribes with male descent and 'organization based on locality' that Messrs. Spencer and Gillen find the All-Father belief weakest or absent."

Having elaborated the above statements he then says, "We are here on the ground of facts carefully recorded, though strangely overlooked, by Mr. Howitt in the passages summarised by Mr. Hartland."

The facts stated in (a) and (b) are to be found in my work, although not in the pages 500 to 506.

The statement (c) is to be found in the works of Professor Spencer and Mr. Gillen.

What I do say in those pages summarises the evidence upon which I have based the theory of a belief in a "Tribal All-Father."

The following may be noted as occurring in the pages given by Mr. Lang:

(a) The part of Australia in which I find that belief is "the whole of Victoria and of New South Wales up to the eastern boundaries of the tribes of the Darling River. If the Queensland coast tribes are included, then the western bounds might be indicated by a line drawn from the mouth of the Murray River to Cardwell, including the Great Dividing Range with some of the fall inland in New South Wales" (p. 500).

(b) This excludes all the "Central and Northern Tribes" of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, which cannot properly be included.

It seems, therefore, that Mr. Lang is in error when he says that I have "strangely overlooked" certain facts (which he has enumerated), although I have "carefully recorded them in the passages summarised by Mr. Hartland" for I have carefully considered my own facts, among which for some reason Mr. Lang includes those of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.

When I read his remarks I was unable to understand

what he intended, unless it were to strengthen the application of a theory of early religion to Australia. If I am wrong in this, I am open to correction by Mr. Lang, if he will kindly state, in as few words as possible, what he desires to prove, or which of my statements he desires to disprove.

I may remark that Mr. Lang appears to have overlooked or disregarded the fact that I have endeavoured to show how the process of social development has become more marked in proceeding from the Lake Eyre tribe to those at the coast. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen show how this change has come about in the Central and Northern tribes, which have split up the two classes into four and then into eight sub-classes, with descent counted in the male line.

In reviewing all the evidence bearing upon this advance in tribal society he seems not to realise that some tribes have retained certain primitive features or have made greater advances than others. It is only by taking into consideration all the steps in advance made by the tribes, that a true and correct picture of their social development can be obtained.

Moreover I have laid stress upon the evidence of social development which has accompanied the change from a status of group-marriage with female descent, as in the Lake Eyre and kindred tribes, to one of individual marriage with male descent as the ultimate result in the South and East.

The fact that the All-Father belief is held by tribes which have not got beyond the two-class organization, or who have developed four sub-classes, while others hold it who have got so far as to be organized upon locality, means no more than, that some tribes have progressed in social development more rapidly than others.

Mr. Lang does not believe in the existence of "group

marriage," and he says in the communication I am now discussing that it is "a sport" confined to tribes of the *Kirrara-Matheri* phratry names, and in his opinion a later and special modification of individual marriage.

He has gone into this question at large in his late work, *The Secret of the Totem*. At a future time I shall have something to say as to the whole of his argument and his conclusions as stated therein, but it will suffice for the present to adduce certain evidence which I think should convince any one who approaches the subject with an open mind and an absence of bias, that *pirrauru*-marriage is not a "later and special modification of individual marriage."

I commence with the Dieri and Urabunna as representing those tribes which have group-marriage, in the *pirrauru* and *piraungaru* practice. Other instances will follow, taken from tribes which fairly represent the whole of South-East Australia and also those described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central and North Australia.

#### DIERI.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Noa	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's
and	husband.
Pirrauru.	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.
(F. means "female speaking," M. means "male speaking.")	

All the terms given in this series of relationships are group terms, which include both own and tribal relations.

In this tribe every woman ultimately becomes a *pirrauru* wife, having probably been a *tippa-malku* wife in the first instance. I have shown in my *Native Tribes*<sup>1</sup> that betrothal is not the only way in which a man may obtain a wife, she not being his *pirrauru* already.

<sup>1</sup> Short for *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 177-186.

The relationship of *tippa-malku* will be considered later on.

#### URABUNNA.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Nupa and	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband. M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.
Piraungaru.	F. A certain number amongst the <i>Nupa</i> men who in addition to the special <i>Nupa</i> man to which she has been allotted have access to her. M. A certain number amongst the <i>nupa</i> women to whom in addition to the <i>nupa</i> woman or women who have been specially allotted to him he has access. These <i>piraungaru</i> women are allotted to men on special occasions and after that the men have access to them. They are women who are <i>nupa</i> to the men.

If the Dieri terms, *noa*, *tippa-malku*, and *pirrauru*, are inserted instead of those in Urabunna, the above description would be fairly applicable to the Dieri.

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen describe a series of tribes of which the Arunta is the type, extending from the Urabunna almost to the Gulf of Carpentaria. An inspection of the lists of terms of relationships given by those authors shows that the marital terms have the same meaning though in different words. I shall therefore only quote the first and last of the series.

#### ARUNTA.

<i>Marital term</i>	<i>includes</i>
Unawa.	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife. F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.

In the Arunta there are four classes in the southern part of the tribe and eight in the north, and descent is counted in the male line.

BINBINGA.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Karina,	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.
Kai Kai.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.

In the Binbinga tribe there are eight classes, and descent is counted in the male line.

I am indebted to Professor Spencer for the information relating to these three tribes.

I now turn to the tribes of South-East Australia.

WATHI-WATHI.

<i>Marital term</i>	<i>includes</i>
Nopui.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.
	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.

This is one of the *Mukwara-Kilpara* tribes of the Murray River with two classes, descent in the female line and individual marriage. I am indebted to Mr. A. L. P. Cameron for the above particulars.

NORTHERN KAMILAROI.

<i>Marital term</i>	<i>includes</i>
Golid.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.
	M. Wife.

The term for "wife's sister" is *ungina* and is paralleled by the term *inamarinkun*, which occurs in the Chepara tribe for the same relation. These are also evidently analogous to the *Yimari* relationship of the Dieri. The term for M. Brother's wife was not ascertained.

This branch of the great Kamilaroi nation is located on the Gwydir River. It has two classes, four sub-classes, descent in the female line, and individual marriage.

I am indebted to Mr. Cyrus E. Doyle for this information.



## KUINMURBURA.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Nupa.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.
Gingal.	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.

This tribe is located near Broad Sound, Queensland. It has two classes, four sub-classes, descent in the female line, and individual marriage.

I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Flowers for this information.

## WOTJOBALUK.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Nanitch.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.
Matjun.	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.

This tribe is located in North-West Victoria. It has two classes, descent in the female line, and individual marriage.

## WURUNJERI.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Bimbang.	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.
Nangurung.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.

This is one of the tribes of South Central Victoria which have two classes, with male descent and individual marriage.

## KURNAL.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Maian.	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.
Bra.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.

This tribe occupied Gippsland. It had no classes or sub-classes and the totems did not affect marriage. Descent in the male line with individual marriage.

YUIN.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Ngandjan-duri.	M. Wife, wife's sisters, brother's wife.
Tarrama.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.

This is a coast tribe without classes or sub-classes, but with totems which regulate marriage. Descent is in the male line with individual marriage.

CHEPARA.

<i>Marital terms</i>	<i>include</i>
Nubunping-un.	M. Wife, brother's wife.
Nubunping.	F. Husband, husband's brothers, sister's husband.

The wife's sister is the *inamarinkun* of her brother-in-law. The second term for wife's sister was not obtained, but I think that it would probably be *nubunpingun*.

I am indebted to Mr. James Gibson for this information.

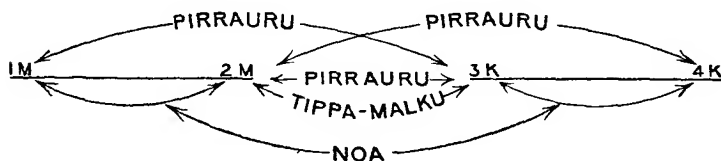
It is to be noted that three of these tribes have only one marital term, which is reciprocal like our word spouse. Cases like this occur here and there. I do not know of any rule as to its occurrence or absence.

The next step is to explain how these relationships work out in regard to marriage in each of the tribes quoted. To do this clearly it will be necessary to make use of a diagram, and to avoid repetition it will suffice to use one for each of the extreme cases, the Dieri and the Kurnai.

*Diagram I. Dieri.*

This represents two brothers, own or tribal, of the Matteri class, 1 M and 2 M, and two sisters, own or tribal of the Kararu class, 3 K and 4 K. The attached numbers are added for convenience of reference. 1 and 2 are in the relation of *noa* to 3 and 4 and *vice versa*.

2 and 3 come into the relation of *tippa-malku* husband and wife by betrothal. The man 1 being the brother of 2 becomes therefore the *yimari* of 3; 4 being the sister of 3 becomes the *yimari* of 2. The English

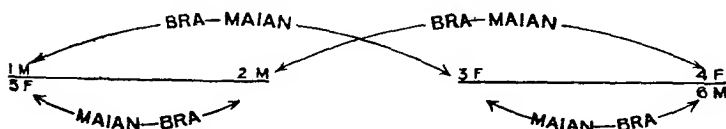


equivalents of *yimari* are "brother-in-law" and "sister-in-law." To complete the example 3 and 1 and 2 and 4 become *pirrauru* husband and wife. The term *tippa-malku* will be considered later on. The term *pirrauru* is placed between 2 and 3 to show that were they not *tippa-malku* they might, being *noa-mara*, become so.

*Diagram II. Kurnai.*

As there are no classes in this tribe the sex only of the individual is indicated.

1 and 2 are brothers own or tribal; 3 and 4 are sisters own or tribal; 1 and 2 belong to a certain locality, say *x*; 3 and 4 to another certain locality, say *y*. The people of these two localities intermarry, being also exogamous. Their system of relationships, as I have explained in



*Native Tribes*, p. 170, produces a much larger fraternal group than that of the Dieri, including "own or tribal" brothers and sisters. The extreme instance of a tribal brother is the *brogan* or comrade of a man, namely one who was initiated at the same time at the Jeraeil.

Now, in this tribe there is individual marriage as between 2 and 3 only, but the marital terms extend to the brothers own and tribal of 2 on the one side and to the sisters of 3 on the other. So that there is also the relationship of *bra* and *maian* between 2 and 5 and of *maian* and *bra* between 3 and 6. These relationships when compared with the analogous relation in the Dieri or Urabunna tribes are very significant. In all the tribes in question they are group relationships, but, while in the Dieri tribes they are actual facts, as regards *pirrauru*-marriage, they are in the Kurnai tribe mere survivals in the terminology of relationships. The same remarks apply to all the other tribes commencing with the Arunta and comparing their terms with those of the Dieri and Urabunna.

The mantle of the late Mr. J. F. M'Lennan appears to have fallen upon Mr. Lang, but with some change of position. He does not use the old argument that the terms applied, for instance by the Dieri and Kurnai, to define relationships, are merely addresses to avoid mentioning the personal name, but says:

"Whatever the original sense of the names, they all now denote seniority and customary legal status in the tribes, with the reciprocal duties, rights, and avoidances. The friends of group and communal marriage keep unconsciously forgetting, at this point of their argument, that our (that is Mr. Lang's) ideas of sister, brother, father, mother and so on have nothing to do (as they tell us at certain other points of their argument) with the native terms, which include, but do not denote their relationships as understood by us, etc." (*Secret of the Totem*, p. 43).

The fact is that in dealing with the native view of relationship, and speaking both for Messrs. Spencer and Gillen and myself, we simply use English terms, as it would be hopeless to explain their significance otherwise.

How would Mr. Lang like it if we used the terms *noa* or *nupa* without indicating what English term they include. I have no doubt that he might ask at once, "Why is not the meaning of this term given?"

If Mr. Lang will look at the Dieri and Urabunna terms he may see their present meaning and that they are applied by those tribes to individuals who are living under the *pirrauru* or *piraungaru* marriage. If he will then examine the terms in use by the tribes I have quoted, he will see the same terms, in different languages, which do not denote the conditions of individual marriage but of *pirrauru* marriage.

I again assert that the aboriginal terms include relationships as understood by us, and at the same time include persons who under the universal conditions of the Australian tribes are considered, for instance, to be "fathers" or "sons," etc., as the case may be. An example of this will make my position clear. In the Kurnai tribe the term *mungan*, that is "father," includes not only the husband of the individual wife and the father of her children, but also his brothers own and tribal. For instance Tulaba, whom I have mentioned in *Native Tribes*, was the son as we should see it of Bembinkel and his individual wife. Thus Bembinkel was his *mungan*. But the brother of Bembinkel named Bruthen-mungi was also his *mungan*. It was only when especial inquiry was made that Tulaba said, "Bembinkel is my *mungan*, but Bruthen-munji is my *breppa mungan*." The former was his father, the actual husband of his mother, but the latter was his "other father," and the nominal husband of his mother.

Had he been a Dieri, the actual *tippa-malku* husband of his mother would be his *ngaperi*, but her *pirrauru* husband would be his *ngaperi-waka* or "little father."

In the Dieri case we have the actual group-marriage with appropriate terms, while with the Kurnai there are

only the vestigiary relationships, indicating the former conditions of marriage.

Mr. Lang's position really bears out what I have said, that most white men, like himself, brought up in our views of individual marriage and descent, seem quite unable to place themselves mentally in the position of these aborigines who use the classificatory system of relationships.

This is one of the unfortunate circumstances which attend the studies of those who, to use Mr. Lang's own words, are "ethnologists of the study," and who are not willing, like some others, to take the opinion of men who have first-hand knowledge of the natives.

Mr. Lang's explanations of the origin and meaning of the Australian terms of relationship are merely guesses, without the support of any direct evidence, and do not, I think, require any further notice here.

Diagram I. shows the relationships between certain Matteri men and certain Kararu women, who are necessarily in the *noa* or *nupa* relations to each other.

Marriage between them as *pirrauru* or *piraungaru* is group-marriage and is defined by the terms of relationship. Such being the case these must have originated when group-marriage existed. How long ago that was no one can tell and I do not care to "guess."

But this much may, I think, be safely assumed, that when all the tribes who now have individual marriage only, used those terms which imply group-marriage, it must have been a living fact, which required a terminology which has survived, while that which it defined has died out.

Such are some of the reasons which have justified me in saying that, starting for instance with the Dieri, a series of progressive tribes may be indicated, ending for instance with the Kurnai, the Yuin or the Chepara.

This series then shows an advance from group-marriage

with female descent, a social organization in two classes and an incipient form of individual marriage (*tippa-malku*), by various stages of progress, to a tribe (e.g. the Kurnai) in which group-marriage has been abandoned and individual marriage has been established, with descent in the male line and an organization based upon locality.

The All-Father belief is not found in such primitive tribes as the Dieri, but in other tribes which have advanced to individual marriage while yet retaining traces of primitive structure such as the two-class organization.

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in their independent investigations into the customs and organization of the Central and Northern tribes draw the same inferences. In their last work they say (*Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 73) "there is no evidence of any kind to show that the practice in the Dieri and Urabunna tribes is an abnormal development. The organization of these tribes, amongst whom the two exogamous intermarrying groups still persist—groups which in other tribes of the Central Area have been split into four or eight—indicate their retention of ancient customs which have become modified in tribes such as the Arunta and Warramunga, though amongst them we find traces of customs pointing back to conditions such as still persist among the Urabunna."

As a contrast to the Dieri there cannot be a stronger example of the changes in organization together with retention of the old terms and traces of the old customs than that of the Kurnai. Not only is there an absence of a social organization in classes, sub-classes, and totems, or any of them, with descent in the female line, but there has been developed a recognised individual marriage, accompanied by a reversion to the group right, in the form of the *jus primæ noctis*. In this

reversion it is the fraternal group, own and tribal, which exercises that right, but thereafter it has no further claim over the woman, who has become the actual individual *maian* of the man with whom she eloped.

This practice indicates a former condition of group-marriage by the Kurnai, under which *pirrauru* husbands would be provided by the group of brothers, own and tribal.

As I have pointed out (*Native Tribes*, p. 219), this practice confirms the explanation by Lord Avebury that the *jus primæ noctis* is an "expiation for individual marriage."

Mr. Lang may now perhaps be able, on considering the facts which I have adduced, to see that group-marriage is not a "sport," but an ancient practice which still survives in certain tribes. Moreover that my generalisation, which he considers to be incorrect, is true, being based upon evidence and not mere guesswork.

He has apparently not observed that *tippa-malku* is not a group relation but a reciprocal term between two individuals who have been betrothed to each other, and is thus in complete contrast to and an innovation on the group terms of relationship of the Australian tribes. If individual marriage were the original condition of the ancestors of the native tribes, individual relationship terms or collective terms such as "uncle," "nephew," etc., should have survived the "sport" of group-marriage.

That which *tippa-malku* defines is an encroachment upon the *pirrauru* group right. If Mr. Lang had said that *tippa-malku* is a "sport" upon group-marriage he would have been more correct, for, as I have before said, the former is the germ from which individual marriage in Australian tribes has grown up.

At the end of his communication he again says that I have "overlooked" my own "collection of social facts."



The statements which he then makes may be thus condensed :

(1) Anyone who wishes to verify the above remark has only to look up "All-Father" in my Index and then compare my "account of the social condition of the tribes with an All-Father."

(2) The belief is common to many both of the more or less socially advanced tribes of the South East.

(3) And is reported as absent among almost all the socially advanced Northern and Central tribes with local organization.

I quite agree with Mr. Lang in inviting inspection of the reference in my Index to "All-Father," namely to pp. 488-508, where the facts noted in paragraph 2 will be found at p. 500, with a western boundary assigned to the belief which excludes all the "Central and Northern tribes."

Therefore the statement 3 does not at all come within my "collection of social facts," for those tribes have been dealt with by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, who nowhere speak of there being a belief in a Tribal All-Father.

Such being the case I must ask Mr. Lang to be so good as to say who reported what he quotes in 3 as being part of my collection of facts, and where the passage, which is his authority for his statement, is to be found.

As to the belief in the Tribal All-Father, which is held by the tribes mentioned by me in my *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 500, and is not held by any others, I see no reason to alter anything I have said.

I believe that it has originated through the development, in the more socially advanced tribes, of a belief such as that of the Kaitish, in a supernatural anthropomorphic being like *Atnatu*.

I may summarise what I have said by pointing out that the classificatory terms of relationship show that the ancestors of the tribes of the Eastern half of this continent were at one time in the status of group-marriage. To this I may add that the examples which I have seen of the terms in use in the Western half point to the same conclusion as I have indicated for those of the Eastern.

This result is far-reaching, for if the primitive aborigines of Australia had group-marriage, what is to be said of the former condition of other savage tribes, which also have classificatory systems which may include the same or analogous terms to those I have shown to have so momentous a significance?

I should have taken notice of Mr. Lang's communication to *Folk-Lore* before this, had not my time been fully occupied by exacting public duties.

A. W. HOWITT.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### TREE WORSHIP IN CHINA.

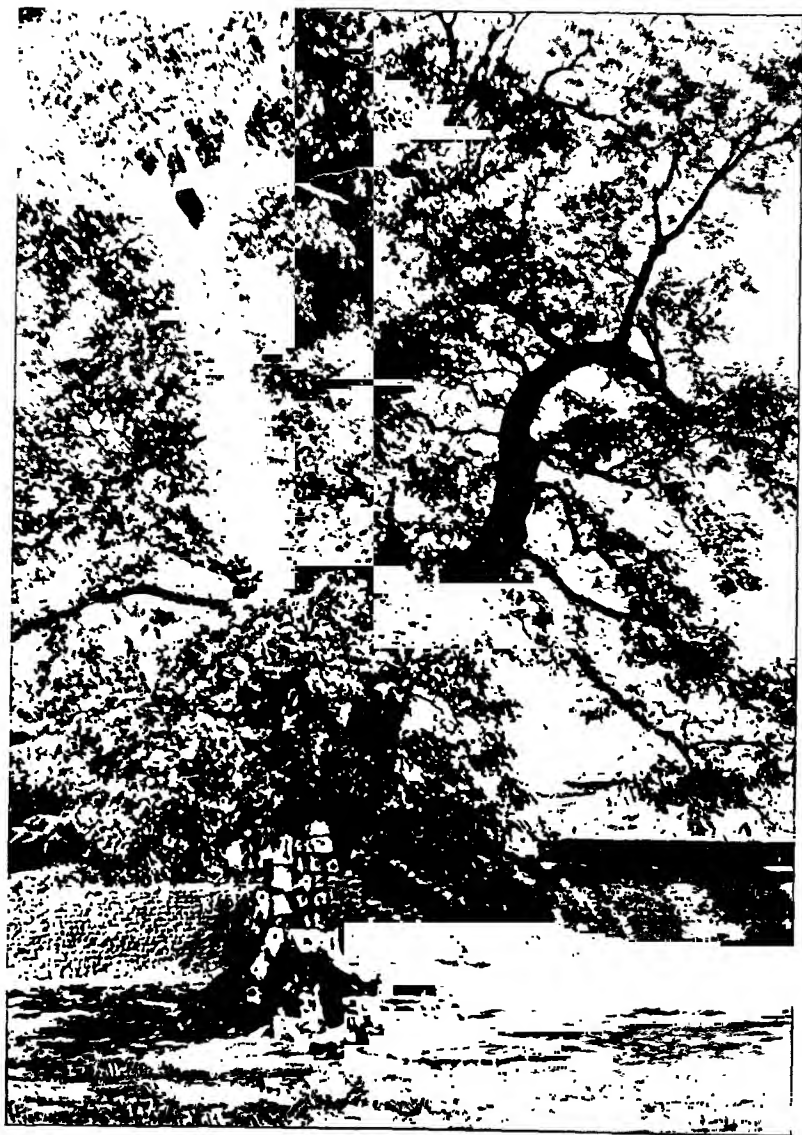
My friend the Rev. J. Hinds writes to me from Tongshan, North China, as follows:—

“Enclosed I send you a photograph of a tree which stands in the front of the District Magistrate’s Court in Yung-Ping-Fu City, which may be of some little interest to you from the fact that worship is regularly paid to it. You will see the incense vessel at the bottom. The tree, when I saw it, was hung all round with inscriptions, such as “Fan ch’iu pi ying” (whoever entreats will certainly be answered). The tree is of the locust class, a fine spreading tree common in North China, called by the Chinese name Huaishu. The botanical name is *Sophora Japonica*. They say in Yung-Ping-Fu that every yamen has a similar tree, to which incense is offered. I have not, however, noticed it elsewhere, and our (native) preacher here, to whom I referred the matter, could not say.”

Plate II. is a reproduction from the photograph in question. An incense-burner is smoking on the altar, in front of which a rectangular space is marked off by stones set in the ground. The information is scanty, but seems to imply true tree-worship. Very little evidence of this has yet been collected in China, although there are legends of a tree of life and a world-tree, the pine, cypress, and other trees, yield elixirs of life, and various trees are said to raise or drive away spirits.

A. R. WRIGHT.

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TREE AND ALTAR, YUNG-PING-FU, CHINA.



## CAIRENE FOLKLORE. III.

BY A. H. SAYCE.

(Read at Meeting, 21st March, 1902.)

WHEN I read my paper on Cairene Folklore before this Society five years ago, I had little idea that it would be found sufficiently interesting for a fresh instalment of it to be called for. I now wish that I had been more industrious in noting all the superstitions, beliefs, practices, sayings, and stories which I have come across in my Egyptian life, but unfortunately there are many which I have omitted to record in writing, and there are others which I have forgotten altogether, while, as I explained in my last paper, I have found it impossible to transcribe the longer stories I have heard. Nevertheless, my note-books still contain specimens of Cairene Folklore which are not included either in my last paper (*Folk-Lore Journal*, xix. 4), or in a short communication on the same subject which was published in the *Folk-Lore Journal* for 1889 (vii. 3, pp. 191-5). Some of these I will now lay before the members of the Society.

I. I will begin with one which is a curious parallel to our own legal story of "the case being altered alters the case."

A fellah came to the judge and said to him: "A dog has made a mess against the wall that divides your property from mine." "Then," said the judge, "go at once and pull down that part of the wall, and build it up again; if the wall has been thus dirtied it must be thrown down and built up again immediately." "But," said the fellah, "it is not your wall, but mine." "Māshallah," said the judge, "I see it has not been dirtied much; all that is necessary is to brush the dirt off."

II. In my former paper I referred to a story from the Introduction to the *Arabian Nights*, which I have heard more than once, and which is interesting as showing that the "tabu" placed on the *Nights* by orthodox Mohammedans is not observed by the Cairene story-tellers. I have also given a story (IV.) which relates to Abû-Nowās, the vizier of Harûn er-Rashîd, and so belongs to the same cycle as those in the *Nights*. Here is another story in which Abû-Nowās and the Sultan again play the

prominent parts. Harûn er-Rashîd grew tired of Abû-Nowâs because he laughed too much, and he sent him away from court. So Abû-Nowâs went to his house, and as he received nothing from the Sultan he became poorer and poorer every day. At last there was nothing left to eat in the house, no bread, no meat, and he and his wife were hungry. So he said to her: "Do you go to the Sultanness and say to her that I am dead, and you have no money to pay for my funeral." Then Abû-Nowâs went to the Sultan and said to him: "My wife is dead, and I have no money to pay for laying her out." Then the Sultan gave him something, and he returned to his house. Meanwhile his wife had gone to the Sultanness, and had said to her: "My husband is dead, and I have no money to pay for laying him out." So the Sultanness gave her some money. In the evening the Sultan went to see his wife, and he said to her: "The wife of Abû-Nowâs is dead." "No," she said, "it is Abû-Nowâs who is dead, and I have given his wife money in order that she may bury him." So they disputed with one another until the Sultan said: "Let us go to the house of Abû-Nowâs and see whether it is he who is dead or his wife." When Abû-Nowâs saw them coming, he told his wife to put a cloth over her and to lie by his side on the bed as if they were sleeping. The Sultan came in and saw them lying as if dead. "This is a strange thing," he said; "I will give a guinea to anyone who will tell me which of them died first." "Give it to me!" cried Abû-Nowâs, jumping up and holding out his hand, (*here the narrator holds out his hand*); "I will tell you." So the Sultan laughed and took him back to favour.

III. The following story is at the expense of the Coptic clergy, and is therefore probably of Christian origin:

A (Coptic) priest came to a village and asked for a little wheat. "We have none," was the reply. "Then a little durra." "We have none of that either." "Then just a little piece of onion (*shwoyet basala*)!"

IV. Here is one in which the townspeople have their customary joke at the simplicity of the country-bred fellaḥin:

A fellaḥ once came to Cairo and went into the bazaar. He saw there some cakes of *qamar ed-dîn* (paste of dried apricots)

for sale. He supposed they were cloth; so he said to himself: "What a splendid cloak (*zâ'bûr*) they will make!" So he asked what was the price of one of them. "You can have it for a guinea." "Agreed," he replied, and took four. Then he sewed these together and made a cloak out of them. But the first time he walked in the sun it melted.

V. In the next it is the turn of the Syrians:

There was a Syrian whose name was *Homâr* (*i.e.* Ass). But his wife laughed at him on account of it, so his friends told him to change his name. Accordingly he sold his cow, and with the price of it made a great feast for his (male) friends. When they had well eaten and drunken he said to them: "I have now given up my old name." Then he asked them what his new name should be. "Gash" (*i.e.* young ass), they replied, and as he had drunk much wine he agreed to take it. Then he went home and knocked at the door of his house. "Who is there?" said his wife. "Gash," he replied. "Then let Gash remain outside, for he will soon become *Homâr*."

In another version of the story which I have heard, the last part of it was as follows: After he had returned home to his house his wife wanted him and said: "*Homâr*, come to me!" "Hush!" he replied, "I am no longer *Homâr*, but Gash." But she answered: "So you are Gash now; it will not be long before you become *Homâr*."

VI. Here is another story which is aimed at the Syrians:

A Syrian once entered a town where he found himself without money. He became very hungry and walked about until he saw a cook-shop. He went into it, and sat down, and began to eat and drink—bread and meat and vegetables and other things—until he was satisfied. Then he said to the owner of the shop: "What do you do in this city to those who take what they cannot pay for?" "We set them on a donkey," he replied, "with their faces to the tail, and after whitening their faces all over, we call all the boys together to follow them through the streets." "I cannot pay for what I have eaten," said the Syrian. So they took him, and brought him before the judge, and he was ordered to ride round the town on a donkey with his face to the tail, and they collected the boys that they might follow him.



There was another Syrian who lived in the town, and as he was walking he saw the other Syrian undergoing his punishment. "What is this?" he cried; "what have you been doing?" "Eating and drinking and riding (*wâkil, shârib, râkib*)," said the Syrian, "and nothing to pay!"

VII. I will now give one of the stories with a moral at the end which is so characteristic of Cairene folk-tales:

There was once an Imâm who read every day from the Qorân in the mosque. One day he returned to his house and knocked at the door. "Who is there?" said his wife. He replied: "I, the Imâm." "What do you bring?" "The Qorân," he answered. "Go away," she said. So he went back to the mosque. Then he came again to his house and knocked at the door. "Who is there?" "I, the Imâm." "What do you bring?" "The box" (in which the Qorân is kept). "Go away," she said. So he went back to the mosque. He came again to his house and knocked. "Who is there?" "I, the Imâm." "What do you bring?" she asked. "What you please," he replied. "That is better," said she; "come in!" For manners are better than learning.

VIII. A man bought a pomegranate and brought it home for supper. But his wife said: "I cannot eat pomegranates without a little red pepper." So her husband went out again to get the pepper. On the way he met a friend, and he asked him to come in and eat supper with him. His friend said, "I will come," and the two together went back to the house and shared the pomegranate between them. So the woman got nothing. For greedy people lose everything.

IX. There were two men who sat down and ordered something to eat. The one ate dish after dish, and the other did the same. After a time the second said to the first: "What did your father leave you?" He answered: "He left me land and cattle and sheep and buffaloes and palms and servants." They then continued eating, and the first said: "What did *your* father leave you?" And he answered: "Only one goat, and he is dead." But the goat could not pay for all the dishes the man had eaten.

X. There was once a lazy man who lay down to sleep under a

tree instead of working. A neighbour passed by with manure. "Where are you going?" (the sluggard asked). "To manure and sow my ground." "Sleep is better," said the sluggard. In the autumn the sluggard was starving, and asked for bread from his neighbour, whose sacks were full of corn. But he answered: "He who sleeps in the morning has no corn in the evening."

XI. There was once a man who went a journey with his son. They began to be very hungry, when they saw a house hard by. So they went in and asked for something to eat. The son went into the kitchen to see it prepared. But there was nothing in the house except eggs. He said: "My father does not like eggs," and ate all there were. When he had finished eating, his father came and asked for the food. But there was none, for the son had eaten it. So the son was beaten, and the father remained hungry.

XII. There are several stories ridiculing the Berberines (Nubians), whom the Egyptian considers inferior to himself in intelligence. Here is one of them:

Once an Arab was telling a party of Nubians the story of Abû-Zêt, how he conquered Tunis and the rest of the world, how he fought and overcame everyone and married wives. When the night was nearly over and the dawn was near, the Nubian said: "Here, you Shêkh, tell me, was Abû-Zêt a man or a woman?"

XIII. Here is another:

Two Nubians were returning home from Cairo. When they saw Qubbet el-Hawa (the Shêkh's tomb on the cliff north of Assuan) one said to the other: "You owe me twenty parás." "No," said the other, "I owe you only half a piastre." So they quarrelled with one another until an Egyptian said to them: "But twenty parás is half a piastre."

XIV. Perhaps the Egyptians have some ground for their low opinion of Nubian intelligence if the following story which I heard from one of my Nubian sailors is to be regarded as a sample of it:

There was once a man who stole a date and went home to eat it. His mother asked for some of it; he refused, so she went and told of the theft. The neighbours came to take him, but he

changed himself into an ox, which they sold. The ox wandered up and down the world for seven years; then they slaughtered and ate it, and threw away the bones. But the bones laughed at them, and joining together became a man again.

XV. Beast-fables are plentiful, as among all peoples who have been tyrannically ruled, and who have found in them a convenient way of satirising their governors. The moral of the following is obvious:

One day the lion was ill. As he is their sultan, all the animals came to say how sorry they were, and to hope he would get better, with the exception of the fox (*abû'l-husên*). Then the hyæna approached the lion, and said: "All the animals have come to say how sorry they are for your excellency except the fox; he has stayed away." So the lion sent for the fox, and asked him why he had not come. The fox answered: "I was so vexed to hear of your majesty's illness that I went about seeking some medicine to cure it: that is why I did not come. But at last I have heard of a medicine which is an infallible cure, and that is the fat of a hyæna's tail." Then he retired from the presence of the lion, for he said that he was not honourable enough to remain at court. No sooner was he gone than the lion bit off the hyæna's tail. As the hyæna came out without his tail, the fox regarded him from a safe place and cried: "Praised be God that the hyæna should sacrifice himself for the sake of his majesty!"

XVI. Here are two more:

The crow said to his son: "When you see a man stooping down (to pick up a stone), get up and fly away." "But," said his son, "perhaps he already has something in his hand." "Ah," said the crow, "I see that you are (indeed) my son."

XVII. One day the crow stole a piece of bread; but it was hard. The kite said: "Moisten it." He did so, and the water carried it away. Another day he stole again a piece of bread which was hard. So the kite said: "Moisten it." But the crow answered: "Never again!" (*balâsh*).

I now pass to folk-lore of a more general character.

In my last paper I mentioned that it is considered unlucky to be married in the Mohammedan month Moharrem. This

probably has its origin in the name of the month, since there is a popular saying about it: "Moḥarrem el-ḥarâm" ("Moharrem is the forbidden thing"), and hence, as it has been said to me, "No one marries or writes during it." That it should be unlucky to write as well as to marry is interesting.

In the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 1891, pp. 250-67, Yacoub Artin Pasha has collected the various rhymes that are attached to the names of the Coptic months. But there is one about Bâba (October) which he does not seem to have heard: "Bâba, sidd el-bauwâba" ("Bâba, close the gate").

If a woman becomes pregnant in the first seven days of the month Baramḥât (March), the offspring will be deformed or otherwise imperfect.

On the first hot day in the spring they say: "The shepherd has sold his clothes."

The day before Ramadan (the Mohammedan month of fasting) begins, children say: "Bukra el-wafr, Nitba' eṣ-ṣafr" ("To-morrow economy; we follow the whistling"). On the last day of Ramadan this is changed into: "Bukra el-ʿid, Nitba' 's-saʿid" ("To-morrow the feast; we follow the fortunate one").

On that afternoon the natives of Upper Egypt visit the tombs of their fathers, taking bread, dates, and other food with them, some of which they place on a shelf below a small opening in the wall of the tomb, and spend the night eating and drinking among the graves.

I have heard a variant of the nursery rhyme about the first two days of the week which I have quoted in my last paper: "Yôm el-ḥadd, mâ-qâl-shi ḥadd; yôm el-etnên, qâlu etnên" ("Sunday no one spoke, Monday two spoke").

It is unlucky to begin or finish any work on Wednesday or on the morning of Friday.

According to the Coptic calendar, on the night of January 17th, "the heaven is opened." My servant Mustafa's maternal grandfather once saw it, and frightened by the light hid himself in an inner room.

It is a common saying that "There are three things: you are cold, and cannot sleep; you are hungry, and cannot sleep; you are afraid, and cannot sleep; and that is the worst of all."

The small globe of bubbles on the surface of a cup of coffee, usually termed *şurra*, "money-bag," to which I have referred in my last paper, is sometimes called *sarwa*, for the more correct *şarwa*, "a thing bought."

When a person sneezes it is proper to say to him : "Yehâmak Allah !" ("May God defend you !").

Inside the white crow, who must not have any black feathers, is a small thing like a filament, of a greenish colour, which is found along with the kidney, and when made into *shishm* or "eye-salve" will cure sore eyes.

If the lizard has feet, it can kill a scorpion.

If a cock has five toes, instead of four, on each foot, no *afrit* (spirit) will come near the house.

You must not allow anyone to look on while you are catching fish. If you do so, the fish will be struck by the evil eye, and, if taken, will be worthless.

There used to be human crocodiles on the Nile, who lived under the water and stole what they could from the river-banks. This human crocodile was called "the bewitched one" (*el-mashûr*). One of the villagers of Helwân, a generation ago, found that his cucumbers were disappearing, so he hid himself one night behind the dry durra stalks which protected them from the wind and caught a *mashûr*, who had just come out of the water, in the act of taking one. He seized him, and in spite of prayers and outcries, began to beat him, until the *mashûr* promised never to steal from his capturer again and to prevent any other *mashûr* from doing so. He kept his promise faithfully from that time forward, and, in addition, brought fish which he laid in the garden every day.

I may mention here a curious survival in Upper Egypt, south of Luxor, which illustrates the recent date at which the crocodile has disappeared from that part of the country. The Egyptian crocodile was a nervous creature who greatly disliked noise ; hence the Nile-sailors never get into the water without shouting, and men who work the *shadûfs* (machines for raising water) on the banks, where they were liable to be carried off by the crocodiles, still keep up a shrill shout or song while they

raise the water. In one or two places the shadûf-song consists of words which are not Arabic and are not understood by the natives; they are therefore probably a corrupted form of Coptic. From Luxor southward to Assuan, however, in addition to the shadûf-song, the shadûfs themselves are furnished with pieces of tin from petroleum cases which creak loudly when the machine is used. As the object of the tin must have been, like that of the song, to keep the crocodiles away, we have in the employment a proof that the crocodile did not retreat before the steamers southward of the First Cataract until after the introduction of petroleum into Upper Egypt.

As might be expected, where religious beliefs and practices are concerned, survivals are numerous enough. I have described some of them in an article I contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1893, on "Serpent-worship in ancient and modern Egypt," and other examples will be found in my last paper in *Folk-lore*. As a recent work by the late Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss has drawn special attention to the survival of the cult of sacred Trees among the Mohammedans and Christians of Syria, I may add here that persistent relics of the same old cult are equally to be found among the Mohammedan fellahin of Egypt. The *qubba* or "shêkh's" tomb generally has a tree standing by the side of it, just as the sacred tree stood by the side of the chapel of the local deity in the Egypt of the Pharaohs. At times the tree stands alone, without any reflected sanctity from the shêkh and his supposed tomb. Thus at Qasr eş-Şayyâd there is a tamarisk under which I have seen a bowl placed with a few grains of corn in it by way of offering, while a low wall of uncemented stones surrounds the sacred spot. I have often seen rags hanging upon some of these trees, though the natives always assure me that they have been placed there by the Bedâwin and not by the fellahin.

A little northward of Dirr in Nubia I once fell across an interesting instance of the continuity of a cult. A few yards to the south of a rock-tomb of the age of the Nineteenth Dynasty is a niche in the rock with the remains of a small image of the dead man, and a shelf in front of it, cut out of the rock,

on which offerings could be placed for his *Ka* or "double." The offering is still made, and the bowl which I saw there containing the durra of the offering varied but little in shape from the bowls that were used in the days of Rameses II. But in these modern days the offering is made to the "Shêkh" Isa, who is no other than Jesus. That is to say, the cult must have continued without break from the age of the occupant of the tomb down to our own time, the only variation being in the name of the person to whom it has been addressed. In pagan Nubia it was paid to the *Ka* of the dead Egyptian, in Christian Nubia to Christ, and when in the 12th century Nubian Christianity was extirpated by Mohammèdanism, Christ was transformed into a Moslem saint.

A. H. SAYCE.

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THE CURE OF ELF-SHOOTING IN THE NORTH-WEST OF  
IRELAND.

*(Read at Meeting, 21st March, 1906.)*

THE "Cure" of "Elf-shooting," which I here attempt to describe, was practised not long ago both in this part of County Leitrim, in Sligo and Cavan, and possibly elsewhere. It is just dying out. Still, amongst my fast friends are three Elf-doctors, though they are rather the worse for the wear, and have fallen, poor men, on evil days if not on evil tongues.

They fully look what they are. At a glance you would pick them out among a thousand as something "uncanny." They are very old, very "weathered" and wrinkled. One is lame; another is bent and bowed with years; and all three would do without any making up for the husbands of Macbeth's witches. Still they are kindly, guileless old souls, and as full of information as are invariably the intelligent old. For their simplicity and sincerity I have the highest respect. They have not the slightest misgiving about the value and efficacy of the

cure entrusted to them, and jealously guarded; nor could they be reasoned, or coaxed, or threatened into promising its abandonment. If they do no good, they do no harm. Better perhaps to let them die out in peace, poor fellows, not brow-beat and worry them with our assumed superior sense and knowledge.

There is too, let me say, living a few townlands off, another "Doctor" minus the diploma, Lackey Gallagher. He is likewise a specialist, his special line being the cure of the ring-worm. Lackey's birth endowed him with his powers: he is a seventh son. Further, he is the seventh son of a seventh son, *i.e.* his father before him was too a seventh son, and this rare natal peculiarity is supposed to leave a man outside the confines of the merely human, if anything does. He is an old, a very old, man now, just dying in fact of mere old age, and under my special care; I see him every week. As a Doctor, he has cured and kept himself, for one, in good health for nigh on a century, an achievement Sir Christopher Nixon himself might well envy. In all his 95 years he never once was laid up, or knew what sickness was! Some days ago I was shown by his grandson an "alt"<sup>1</sup> beside his house down which ten years ago he chanced to tumble, wild-cat fashion, and he carrying a load of hay on his back. "It was every other fall between the load of hay and himself," said the grandson, "till he soused into the river. Then he got up and climbed up the alt again load and all on his back, and it never took a feather out of him. In fact he put no wonder at all in it."

In February or April of this year I buried a younger brother of his, Peter Gallagher. There were three or four brothers between him and Lackey and he was only 86, but a most robust youngster, the best framed man, for a small man, ever I saw in my life, and the picture of an old veteran of perfect health of merely about 60, hardly a grey hair in his head. Last harvest, I saw him mowing away every day in late summer—the severest labour on a farm—and wet or dry it was all the same to him. A young fellow of about 20 came to me in the

<sup>1</sup> Leitrim term for ravine with a river at the bottom of it.



ordinary course to announce his death, about which I was, I may say, very sorry, for we were great friends. "And what was he to you?" I enquired. "Well," he replied after a thought, "he was my gran'father's gran'uncle!" We are a long-lived race down here among the hills of Leitrim.

To return to the Elf-Doctor. No sooner does he get his "sick call" than he is off hot-foot to his patient, well aware of the kind and fulness of the hospitality in store for him. He does not neglect to bring his precious elf-bag. In this purse are three or four flints, a silver piece called, no matter what it in reality happens to be, a "thirteen-pence piece" and three separate coppers, usually three bad half-pence. The little stones in the pouch are sometimes as many as seven or eight, though one alone is used. They are small flint-stones, some black, but most white. Flint, black or white, is not found in County Leitrim, nor nearer, I think, than Antrim, and hence these stones are here rare. One of the three Doctors has four rather small flint arrow-heads, the reversion of which I am promised. They were found, he states, by his grandfather's father or some other far-away ancestor, near a fort,<sup>1</sup> on a farm which was much subject to the disease; and he shows them once in a while as a very special mark of favour as the identical arrows that are discharged by the "gentry" to drive off too-meddlesome milch-cows from precincts sacred to their honours. Marauding milch-cows alone seem to bother the fairies: they alone are victims to their ire. Innocent calves or sheep they will let alone, roam where they will.

"The thirteen-pence piece" (so called) must be of silver and must have a cross on it. Nothing further is essential. A two-shilling piece would, I am told, answer very well. But cross-marked silver coins that are impassable, or considered so, are in greatest vogue. I should advise those interested in numismatics—or coin-collectors, *old* coin-collectors I mean—to have a look out for those elf-bags. There is a good Queen Anne shilling in mine (that is to be), and the silver coin in another was exchanged with me for a two-shilling piece,

<sup>1</sup> Generic term in Co. Leitrim for any rath, dun, or mound covered with bushes and brambles.

("though it's bekeys it's yerself what's in it," I was told); I hope the spell is not thereby broken.<sup>1</sup>

Well, off goes the "wise-man" with his bag, and his best foot foremost. And he has his eyes sharp about him, Should the first person he meets be a red-haired woman, his heart goes down; but if it be a man of fire-touched locks it is a good omen.

Arrived, first thing is to find out, Has the beast been elf-shot at all? She is ailing, and has gone back in her milk of course. But if, besides, her hair is standing along her back like a porcupine's quills, if her ears are lifeless and hanging, and her tail when twisted fails to manifest its usual anxiety to right itself, she has most of the symptoms of being "struck."<sup>2</sup> To make assurance doubly sure he measures her.

The measuring is a decretorial test, and the manner of it as odd as it is ancient. An eagle is taped across its outspread wings, from tip of flight-feather to tip of flight-feather, and is said to be so many feet across. A steed is ruled by a cunning contrivance hid away in a cane rod, and is appraised as so many hands high. But our patient is spanned from end of last joint of her tail to back of her head at the junction of the horns, if she have such, and the result is carefully recorded in the memory. The scale made use of is none of your foot or metric standards but the space from the mid-finger tip to the knuckle of the elbow (*i.e.* to the "funny-bone"). This is the ell, the genuine and naturally-variable ell evidently

<sup>1</sup>It is a very curious coin. I have never seen the same as it. It is just the size of a Queen Anne shilling, but only half the thickness and weight. On the obverse is a King's head and the Roman figures VI. The face is a good one with a long, peaked beard. The crown is evidently the French crown, crosses and fleur-de-lys alternating. Round the head on the verge of the disc is, as far as I can make it out, CAROLUS : D : G : MA : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX : On the reverse are quartered the arms of France, Ireland and of another nation (three lions *passant*). The cross forms the four quarters of the shield and its points reach a good way beyond it. Only the words CHRISTO...REGNO are distinct round the margin; others intervening have been sheared off.

<sup>2</sup>The unknowledgeable might profanely imagine she was merely out of sorts or "sick."

retained in our out-of-date English system of weights and measures for the express purposes of the Elf-doctor, for by other mortals it is now used never.

The cow is spanned once, she is spanned twice—beginning now at the horns and ending with the tail. She is spanned a third and last time, in reverse order from last time before. If she grows shorter every spanning, or if no two spannings correspond (which let me whisper never does *not* happen), this is a triumphant argument. There is no more about it. Of the calamity that has befallen the poor animal there is any longer “no possible doubt whatever.”

Notwithstanding all, and the finding of even the stroke dints beneath the beast’s body, the doctor is sometimes out. What professional gentleman is there but is now and again at fault? Last year a rather viciously-inclined neighbour of mine played a nasty trick. He brought one of my old friends to his stable and showed him the wrong cow, a cow in fact in perfect health. My friend examined the beast, twisted her tail and spanned her the magic thrice. “Badly sthruck! Badly sthruck!” he emphatically declared. “She’s at death’s doore.” Forthwith he was shown to the byre<sup>1</sup> “doore” rather uncereimoniously indeed and was pelted from it with many aggravating epithets, “quack” and “swindler” being the most parliamentary of them.

It was a mean advantage, a mean, mean advantage!

As against this let me detail another “case.” The lamest and hoariest of my good medical friends often rehearses it, and with it routs, as he imagines, the scoffers and sceptics all, horse and foot. Yesterday evening I had purposely a long chat with him. We sat together on a nice dry-sod “ditch”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The common word for “cow-house” in County Leitrim.

<sup>2</sup>In Connacht, and in Ireland generally, the “ditch” is usually not the trench, but the clay bank or fence. The trench alongside of it we call the “sheugh.”

“It neither grew in syke nor ditch,  
Nor yet in ony sheugh,  
But at the gates of Paradise  
That birk grew fair enugh.”

*The Wife of Usher’s Well.*

under the far-spreading shade of an ancient fairy thorn. He was clad in the royal apparel in which, according to Carlyle, Louis XVI. of France was guillotined, a sleeved waistcoat of white flannel, and he reeked away at a beautifully burnished old stumpy clay pipe, punctuating his clauses by puffs.

"An' do you know Mr. M——, the big grazier?" (Puff.) Yes, I knew him.

"An' do you know Mrs. McSharry, his hurd, his hurd at Cloone?" (Puff.)

Yes, I knew Mistress McSharry too.

"Well, there some years ago, when the praty-stocks were stealin' about the groun', her wan cow got bad. She was badly sthruck, that's what it was (puff); so she sent for myself. (Puff.) Off I goes to the daycent woman and makes the cure. An' what would you have ov it? (Puff.) Next day there she was in the mornin' routing<sup>1</sup> at the stake, wild wid th' 'unger." (Puff. Then the stumpy pipe was taken out of the mouth, the stem politely wiped by the palm of the hand, offered to me, and respectfully declined. This gave time for the wonder to properly impress.)

"That fared well till the Sunday afthur, when lo and behold you! wan ov Mr. M.'s own prize shorthorns got bad—an' a power of them he has. (Puff.)

"'G' off,' says she to Johnny th' son, 'an' tell himself!'

"'An' what may be th' matther wid hur?' says he, as Inglified as you plaze.

"'It's just the peel moral of what was on our own cow,' says Johnny, says he, 'an' troth if I were you I'd get some

<sup>1</sup>"Routing" = lowing, a term never heard in North Leitrim. "Routing" is a Scotticism. But then we in North Leitrim learned our English in a great measure from the Scotch moss-troopers of Sir Frederick Hamilton, the Earl of Arran's grandson. Burns's use of the word corresponds exactly with that of Leitrim:

"Now, auld Kilmarnock, cock thy tail,  
And toss thy horns fu' canty;  
Nae mair thou'lt *rowle* out-owre the dale,  
Because thy pasture's scanty."

(The context assured me that it was the cow, and not the "daycent woman," that was hollering at the stake in the mornin'.)

one to make the cure.' (Puff.) But he wouldn't." (Two or three puffs—as diplomatic as a newspaper controversialist who replies to his opponent of a Saturday—to give me time to appreciate his foolishness.) "Over he trots himself in the evening, and he fasted her and he hurricaned her with this and with that. (Puff.) That was Monday. And on Wednesday he skinned her, so he did, with his nose in the air and his knowledgeableness and all. But next time a baste is sthruick, never fear, he'll not spare shoe-leather. People may be talkin' and talkin', but when it comes to the bit——" The sentence as a sentence hung fire; but the meaning was rendered unmistakeable by energetic head-shakings.

I did not annoy my old friend by telling him that Mr. M. was still as unregenerate as ever, and like very many others had no faith in "cures." What one does not know never bothers one.

As soon as the diagnosis is declared, the proximate preparations for the cure are taken in hand. If you fancy anything of worth can be effected without much trouble, you are but young in the world.

First a runner tears off for the "three-mearne-water," if the Cattle-Doctor has not come provided with a bottleful—a thing a self-respecting professional would rarely do. He is strictly charged to scoop up the water against the stream, and on no account to speak to any one going or coming. Else he would have to make the journey over again.<sup>1</sup>

The messenger so commissioned is usually a "cub" (*i.e.* a young lad)—who is much better away from the intervening little festivities. And it is a curious fact that the "gorsoon" about the place that is "souplest" is never the one whose services are commandeered for this duty.

<sup>1</sup>On this condition they do not insist so much in Leitrim as in parts of Cavan, about Baillieborough, for instance. One too astute old gentleman I know of, who further thinks it right to draw the water up "in the name of the King of the Fairies." His "cure" indeed has no essential resemblance to the one above described, and my own opinion is strong that amongst Elf-Doctors he is a genuine and conscious humbug, and all his passes and mummeries mere devices "to make a fat bit for himself."

Three-mearne-water is used in several obscure rustic rites. The name explains the article: it is running water taken from a spot at which three townlands meet. (I have noted many such eerie places, and in particular, one at the junction of three parishes, whose virtue was formerly famed far and near.)

Its influence is most powerful if it be dipped up before sunrise, in that "darkest hour before dawn." One of my authorities thinks most highly of the moments before sunset, of that interval between the genuine and apparent sinking of the "westerling sun" below the horizon. Doctors indeed, Elf Doctors included, differ on many points, but I will merely follow steadily what I believe to be the safest authorities, and will ignore minor details.

While the light-armed errand-boy is executing his commission of trust, the Elf-Doctor himself steals out softly and alone to gather "erribs"—*vulgo* "herbs." What these "erribs" are is a secret beyond price, and none dare ask it. Still, for the sake of humanity and cattle, I will venture to disclose it.

It springs up profusely in light moss, or in a track where a last year's "whin-bush" (as we call "furze" around here) was burned down. It grows close to the ground with corymbs of yellow-green flowers. Its popular name is Lady's Mantle, (more properly, Our Lady's Mantle), and its botanical one *Alchemilla vulgaris*. It is a modest, pretty little thing to look at, but its beauty is eclipsed by its hardy northern sister, *Alchemilla alpina*, with its serrated leaflets, underlined with grey satin. The two must by no means be confounded.

As soon after the messenger's return as they can detach themselves from the enchantments of good-fellowship, all attention is once more focussed on the stricken cow, and the cure at last is made, with all due solemnity. It is simple enough. In a pail are put (*a*) the expressed juice of the "erribs," (*b*) the coins, copper and silver, and one flint from the elf-pouch, (*c*) a pinch of salt, and (*d*) finally the three-mearne-water, with ordinary spring water *ad lib*.

It is the supreme fact of the cure that the cow takes *three* sups of this concoction. The three sups, as any open-minded logician can see, are implicitly contained in a hearty drink of

it. If she refuse it, it has to be bottled down her throat, three several glugs of it, for her health's sake. The last tinnannikin-full<sup>1</sup> is reserved and sprinkled along her spine, where the hair is most rebellious, with slight massage treatment and a carrying of some of the dirt out of the cleets of the forefeet over the back. Finally, the last drops are tossed into her ears. If she keeps on never minding, it is a very bad sign. But if, on the other hand, she rouses up and shakes herself, the "cure" is already working, and the little festivities are gone back to with a light heart.

Details in the ritual vary slightly with the individual practitioner *in se*, but much with his training, carefulness, and experience. Herbs, however, are invariably used in this as in all other "cures" that I know of, one or two excepted. Seeing this, and noting moreover that in all formulas for particular ailments, particular plants are constants, the present writer is not prepared to say there is nothing in these remedies. But if there be, the whole efficacy of the ceremonial resides, we may admit, in the medicinal properties of these herbs. The knowledge of the specific plant is hidden away with most jealous care, and may not be sufficiently elaborate ceremonial have been devised to still further cloak up from prying eyes the kernel of the cure?

Culpeper,<sup>2</sup> indeed (*Student in Physic and Astrology*, as he modestly describes himself), saith of *Ladies Mantle*, under heading of "Government and Virtues"—"It is one of the most singular wound-herbs, and therefore highly prized and praised by the Germans, who use it in all wounds inward and outward, to

<sup>1</sup> The household name of this useful kitchen utensil is no more liked by the Muse of prose than by her of poetry. It is "porringer."

<sup>2</sup> "The British Herbal and Family Physician, For the Use of Private Families, by Nich<sup>s</sup>. Culpeper, Student in Physic and Astrology"; a very old edition without date front or back, printed by Milner & Co., Halifax, a firm long since, I believe, dissolved.

Parkinson's *Theatrum* (London, 1640) is a storehouse of quaint information on medical plants, as is Gerard's *Herball*, edited by Johnson (London, 1633). Parkinson was the King's Herbalist, and this very year there has been "Faithfully reprinted from the edition of 1629"—as the title-page declares—his notable book, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus terrestris*. It is a perfect facsimile brought out by Methuen & Co.

drink a decoction thereof, and wash the wounds therewith, or dip tents therein and put them into the wounds."

Away back, before even the twilight of history, Diancecht, chief physician of the Tuatha-de-Danaan, had, at the battle of the Northern Moytura, fought in Carrowmore in Sligo, a wonderful bath or fountain "prepared with the essences of the principal healing herbs and plants of Erin." Into this bath the wounded had only to be plunged, and forthwith they were ready for battle once more, more formidable than ever. The story is doubtless but a myth. But that there is such a story proves that there was in ancient Ireland a vast amount of herb-lore. This plant-knowledge was the free property of the many. It is scarcely to be wondered at if there was much that was restricted to but a few. Possibly the rustic "cures" we have been speaking about were of the latter kind: they may be the last relics of the science of pre-Christian Schools of Herbalists, and so have come down to us from the dawn of medical science. In view of this opinion it might, we submit, be worth investigating whether or not there be in the "errib" above revealed some strong medical property, whose influence would help an animal shake off a passing indisposition, whether lassitude from the effects of a burning sun or of too hearty a meal, or a cold, etc. Indefinite ailments of endless variety, I may venture to say, crystallise in the mind of our cattle-medicine-men under the one appellation, *elf-shooting*.

The skill and knowledge of the Cow-Doctor may be but the superstitions of a School of Medicine which had its day a thousand or two thousand years ago. Or they may be the relics of the superstitions—always using the word in its primary sense—of a long extinct Paganism, which expression of opinion is barely another way of presenting the former. But have we not, in either way of regarding them, to admire the energy and hardihood which have lived so long, and live on still in remote districts, despite the uninterrupted persecutions of fifteen or sixteen centuries of enlightenment? Rustic beliefs are as tenacious of life as are the rustics themselves, as my old friends of the Gallagher clan for example.

But they are at last, long as they ran, giving up. They are



dying out even in the most backward districts. They were considered beneath notice and are unrecorded. Unless an effort be made, all trace and memory of them will pass away with the present generation, just as much of the knowledge of the plants used a century ago for dyeing purposes is already irrevocably extinct. So will a chain connecting us with a simple past and the infancy of the nation, perhaps linking us in origin with some of the peoples of Europe, be broken for ever.

JOSEPH MEEHAN.

Creevelea, Drumkeeran, County Leitrim.

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ADDITIONS TO "THE GAMES OF ARGYLESIRE."

(*Continued from supra, page 106.*)

**SELLS.**

(P. 220, after line 26.)

A somewhat similar sell is

**Lifting a Man with a Straw.**

Having found a probable victim, the operator says to him, if he will lie on his back on the ground, shut his eyes tight and hold the end of a straw, with that straw he will lift him to his feet. The victim lies down, firmly holding the straw, the other end of which is held by the operator, and shuts his eyes and probably, in addition his mouth. "It will not do to open your eyes like that," says No. 1, but No. 2, aggrieved by the false charge, repels it, opening his mouth of course, into which No. 1 empties a good handful of salt, which generally has the effect of bringing No. 2 to his feet, and as the other has carefully retained a grasp of the straw, he claims to have performed what he undertook.

(P. 221, after the fifth line from bottom.)

A Uist man would say to another, "Theirig a mach, agus cuir do chorag ann an toll, agus mur a thig thu steach, innsidh mise dhuit co'n corag a chuir thu ann." (Go out and put your finger in a hole, and when you come in I will tell you what finger you put in it.) Out goes the man addressed, and returning asks, "Co 'n corag a chuir mi ann?" (What finger did I put in it?), and the rejoinder is "Corag an amadain" (The fool's finger).

Another of exactly the same sort is,

When one says to another, "Take the poker and tongs and fiddle any tune you like on them, keeping proper time, and I will watch the motion, and when you are done I'll tell you what you played."

The performance having been carefully gone through and the tune ended, the performer asks, "Now what did I play?" and is told, "You played the fool."

(P. 224, after line 6 from bottom.)

Another Uist sell was when one said to another

"Bha sean duin' uair rathad an Obain, aig an robh sealladh an da shuil, agus chunnaic an duine so aon latha crann a' treabhadh, nuair nach robh aon chuid eich 'ga tharruing, neo treabhaiche 'ga stiuireadh." (An old man was once Oban way who had the sight of both eyes (or, second sight), and this man one day saw a plough ploughing when there were neither horses drawing nor a ploughman guiding it.) Persons not knowing that it was a sell generally accounted for it as a case of second sight, and when all had given their opinions, it would be explained that there were two mares in the plough and it was a tailor who was ploughing.

In these games we have not dealt with Hallowe'en amusements, or what are looked upon as amusements now-a-days, and this has been made a reason for animadversion. The performances peculiar to Hallowe'en are generally auguries and

for that reason, though we have given some auguries, they were omitted, the intention being to treat Hallowe'en separately. But

### French Mesmerism

Is practised at this festival. The writer has known it himself since he was a child; there seems, however, to be nothing of the augury about it. The blackened plate used sometimes took the place of the dirty water in an augury formula.

A person having been found who expresses a willingness to be mesmerised after the French fashion, the mesmeriser sits down close in front, each being provided with a plate which is held close to the face. Stringent regulations are laid down that the one to be operated on must gaze fixedly at the operator's face and follow minutely all his movements. The plates are now supplied, the operator's clean on both sides, the other carefully smoked with a candle on the side to be held away from her. The operator, after a few preliminary movements, touching the eyebrows, the point of the nose, or such like, puts her finger in her mouth, the other of course following suit. The operator now draws her finger across the reverse side of her plate, puts it to her face and continues this, always followed by her victim, till the latter's face is thoroughly spotted and streaked with the soot which is on her plate, but not on that of the operator. A reference to a looking-glass will then clearly demonstrate the results of French mesmerism.

A Gaelic play on words with the characteristics of a sell in it is as follows:

One says to another, who of course must have some confidence in him, "An ith thu an ni dh'iarras mi ort?" (Will you eat what I bid you?) "Ithidh" says the other agreeing, and his bill of fare is then recited as follows:—"Ith ciad ubh eirig, clithaobh sgadain, agus ceathramh arain." This is rather a staggerer because by *ciad* he thinks a hundred is meant, by *cli-thaobh* 'a creel' (cliabh) and *ceathramh arain* 'a quarter of bread,' he probably confuses with a measure of bread bearing some proportion to that of the other victuals, in fact he

believes the order is to eat a hundred eggs of a pullet, a creel of herring and quarter of a bushel of oats baked. He answers then, "Co dh'itheadh sin?" (Who would eat that?) And then it is explained to him that all that has been required of him is to eat the first (ciad) egg of a pullet, the left side of a herring, and what is called in the Low Country 'a farrel' of cake, that is the fourth part of a round bannock, and then the one who proposed the meal jeers at the other for not being able for so moderate a repast.

(P. 224, after line 22.)

The statement has been omitted that the fingers on which are the pieces of paper are bent into the palm of the hand and the fingers next them extended and shown as if to them "Jack and Jill" had been attached. Then reversing the process, of course, the fingers without the paper were jerked over the shoulders and folded into the palm of the hand, and the finger on which was the paper extended with "Come back, Jack," and "Come back, Jill."

### SHAM FIGHT.

(P. 225, at bottom.)

A Kintyre version of the above went like this:

"Have you any bread and wine,  
Bread and wine, bread and wine,  
Have you any bread and wine,  
Ma theerie an' ma thorie?"

Yes, we have some bread and wine,  
(Repeat thrice and finish as first verse.)

We shall have one glass of it, etc.

One glass of it you shall not get, etc.

We are King George's loyal men,  
Loyal men, loyal men,  
We are, etc.

What care we for King George's men,  
 King George's men, King George's men,  
 What care we, etc.

Are ye ready for the battle?  
 Ma theerie an' ma thorie, etc.

Yes, we're ready for the battle,  
 Ma theerie an' ma thorie."

### **WRESTLING.**

(P. 227 after line 17.)

There can be no doubt that in all parts of the Highlands this was a frequent pastime and a test of skill and strength. A match was made "Long Grip" or "Short Grip," and it was also determined beforehand whether "the foot," that is tripping, was to be allowed or not. In the "Long Grip" the opponents caught each other with one hand by the collar of the jacket, the other on his side below his arm. In the "Short Grip" the opponents' arms were round each other's bodies, each having one of his arms above one of his opponent's and the other below. The match was usually for the best of three falls.

As in the case of shinty, wrestling matches seem often to have been set about with a certain amount of preliminary ceremony.

### **Reic nan Damh. (Selling the Oxen.)**

Any number take part in the game. Two are set apart, one to represent the owner of the oxen, the other to be the buying drover; the general company of players are the oxen. The arrangement of these latter is as follows. One sits down on the ground with his legs apart, the second sits between the first's legs with his back turned towards him, and so on till all are seated in a straight row; the owner stands at the head of his oxen. The lad representing the drover, who had withdrawn for a short space, now advances, and is addressed by the owner of the oxen:

"Fàilt' ort fhein, fhir crom an fhasaich. Co as an drasd' a thainig thu?"

"Thainig mi a fonn 'us fearann 'us m' fhasach fhein."

"De chuir fonn 'us fearann 'us fasach agadsa, agus sinne gun fonn 'us gun fearann againne?"

"Mo chruas 'us mo luathas 'us mo laidreachd fein, agus gun agadsa, a bheist, na bheir bhuam iad." "De tha thu ag iarraidh air a bheathach so?" putting his hand on one of the oxen.

(Welcome to you yourself, bent man of the wilderness. Whence have you come just now? / I have come from my own land and country and wilderness. / What gave you land and country and wilderness, and us without land and without country of our own? / My own hardihood and my swiftness and strength, and without you (having capacity), you beast, that would take them from me. What are you asking for this beast?)

They then proceed to haggle over the price. "Ten English pounds, or any figure," says the owner, whereupon the drover, pretending anger, and stamping the ground, says, "that is dear, dear, dear" (tha sin daor, daor, daor), to which the other replies equally emphatically, "it is cheap, cheap, cheap" (tha e saor, saor, saor). The bargaining then goes on, but finally ends in a compromise. When the bargain is completed and payment either made or arranged for, the ox is marched off. The wrestling which follows between the drover and the ox representing no doubt the objection of the latter to leave its companions.

In the Long Island virtually the same game is played as follows:

All but one sit down in a row, as described above. The single individual stands in front of the row and addresses the one at the head of it. "Cait an do chuir thu an t-each mor briagh a thug mi dhuit an uiridh?" "Dh'ith am madadh ruadh e, agus cha d'fhag e fuighleach coraig dheth." "Can thusa ris a' mhadadh ruadh gun cuir mise da chluas chearr air."

(Where did you put the fine big horse I gave you last year? The fox ate it and he has not left a remnant of a finger of it. You say to the fox that I will put two wrong ears on him.)

The inquirer then moves off, but when he has gone a short distance, the one at the head of the row cries to him, "Come, come back and you will get porridge and milk." (Till, till agus gheidh thu lite 's bainne?) He returns, and coming to one in the row asks him, "Is it you?" ('n e thusa?). The boy answers, "It is not," and this is repeated till he has gone over two or three, and then he fixes on one, when the struggle takes place, and if the one chosen is overcome he is professedly concealed in a hole, to be eaten by and by, recalling the oxen of the previous game. If the inquirer is able to overcome the whole row, that finishes the game, but according to Gregorson Campbell, if one of the row overcome him (*Argyleshire Series*, v. p. 128), the successful linesman takes his place.

### SKIPPING.

(P. 228, at bottom of page.)

#### **Dropping the Handkerchief.**

The various feats to be performed are called for by those turning (*ca*-ing) the rope, and these having been successfully performed, the swingers add, "Lady, lady, drop your handkerchief," a motion which the skipper goes through, keeping up the jumping. She is then told, "Lady, lady, pick it up," a motion through which she also goes, and finally, the rope still swinging, she is told, "Lady, lady, run out," when she runs out, and the one to perform after her skips into her place.

#### **French Rope.**

Two girls stand opposite each other with a rope in each hand, an end in the right of the one, in the left of the other. The ropes are swung alternately, the swinger's hands, the rope lying on the ground, being moved towards the middle line of their bodies. The skipper has to clear the ropes alternately.

#### **German Rope**

Is the same, except that the swingers start with the rope hanging towards the ground, by moving their hands outwards from the centre of their bodies.

(P. 229, after line 3.)

In some places the rapidity with which the rope is moved is classified in four degrees as "Tea," "Sugar," "Salt," "Pepper," counting from the slower to the faster. The distance of the rope from the ground is also distinguished. "Low Water" is the rope sweeping the ground; "High Water" is when it is as far from the ground as the performer can clear. This test commences with "Low Water" and the rope tightened till "High Water" is reached.

(P. 228, after line 9.)

This is varied sometimes. The skipper herself repeats the letters of the alphabet, moving up and down before the other players, who stand in line until she reaches the initial letter of the name of one of them, when skipping in front of her, say Mary, she throws the rope over Mary's head, who, grasping the upper part of the skipper's skirt, or some suitable point, both being within the sweep of the rope, they continue the skipping together.

### **STRENGTH TESTS.**

(P. 231. Introductory to "Strength Tests.")

In the mouths of the people, we must admit it, there is a strong tendency to exaggeration. The following is simply an impossibility but was told as a fact. There was a nice boy, a student, who used to go to a gentleman's house to dinner along with other students. He was a Highlander. Now there was an Englishman invited to those dinner parties, who for a trick, when shaking hands with the Highlander, used to squeeze him so hard that the blood would spurt out at the ends of the boy's fingers. The boy had an uncle, a very strong man, and next time he got an invitation to one of those dinner parties, this uncle accompanied the lad, and they arranged that, when drinking each other's healths, when it was the particular Englishman who was drinking, the Highland student was to touch his uncle's foot so that he might make no mistake. Our student and the Englishman were taking a glass together, and the



Englishman was going to catch the lad's hand, when the nephew touched his uncle's foot. The uncle got up at once, and taking hold of the Englishman's hand said, "This is the way we do in our country," and with that pulled the fellow's hand down, drawing his arm completely away from the shoulder, then, throwing the limb from him, said, "I did not want your arm, I only wanted your hand."

Another Highland reciter, a woman also it is fair to say, maintained that her father was so strong, especially in the muscles of his hand, that when they killed a Martinmas cow for pickling for winter's use, he could twist the feet off with his hands without any assistance from a knife. She said that the Gaelic expression for this was "fuar dorn" (cold fist). This man's aunt was able to cut through a penny with her teeth. It will be seen on p. 233 that on Loch Awe side they went 'one better,' by twisting off the cow's whole leg.

In Kintyre, Strath Duie was famed for strong men. "I heard auld John tellin' abot yin that cam' yae time tae a smith that wus in Calliburn. The smith wasna belivin' he wus so strong as he wus pretendin'. Tae try him, he put a piece of airain on the anvil an' said tae him tae tak' the forehammer an' try if he could straucht it. Airchie Iver wus his name an' he took the hammer an' geid the airain a slicht blow. 'Try again,' said the smith, He geid it a harder yin, but the smith said that was naethin', tae try again. This time the man geid sic a blow that he split the anvil intae two ha'ves." The "three times is lucky" principle points to this being 'traditional.'

(P. 234 after line 13.)

#### **Ceapan togail**

Is called in Aberdeen and Banffshire "Sweer Tree." The pronunciation is that of the word to swear. Jamieson gives it and describes the competition. A modern Aberdonian described it as follows: "Doon we sat on our doupes on the grun' an syne we cotched a stick wi' oor twa hauns. We must hae haun aboot on the stick, it wadna dae for yin tae hae the twa inside or the twa ootside grups. We pit oor feet tae each other, the yin's soles tae the ither, and the best man wan."

(P. 235, after line 5.)

**Ceangail le d' bhata. (Tying with your walking-stick.)**

This was proposed to one, and he was made to put his hands, supposing him to agree, into his trousers' pockets and keep them there until allowed to take them out. A walking-stick, any stick sufficiently long and strong, was passed between his back and his arms. Crouching down, first the one foot and then the other were put over the ends of the staff. One so treated was unable to set himself free until loosed by another, says our correspondent, who had seen it frequently done—which of course pre-supposes the faithful retention of his hands in his trousers' pockets by the subject of the operation.

(P. 235, after line 31.)

A native of Kintyre describes a feat practised in his young days for amusement sometimes, but oftener as a method of punishment in the country school of his earlier educational experiences. He described it as when done for a punishment.

The teacher made two chalk marks on the floor, perhaps three feet apart, and, handing a ruler to the boy to be punished, made him place his toes to one of the chalk marks and bend forward until he placed the end of the ruler at the other. He had then to put his fore and middle finger of each hand on the other end of the ruler and bear his whole weight on his toes and these four fingers, either for a definite time or until he could hold out no longer. In the latter case he was simply allowed to fall.

**Tionndadh air a' cheapan. (Turning on the pin.)**

The following was described by a Uist man as familiar to him in his youth. The performer took a tether pin—the reciter has seen it done with a barn-door key—and taking hold of the upper end of it with both hands he placed the other end perpendicularly upon the ground, and had then, without removing his hands from the pin, or lifting the pin from the ground, to turn himself round under his arms.

A feat practised in Kintyre was described as follows:

Taking a walking-stick and placing the point of it against his shoulder, the performer stretched his arm along it to its full

extent. Holding the stick where the point of his mid-finger had rested, he placed it to the point of his nose, the arm's length of stick extending above his head. Holding the stick in the position indicated, he had to bend backward without falling till the point of the stick touched the ground.

#### **Up and Down Devilment.**

Outside game played by boys in Kintyre. One boy knelt on his knees and elbows, another standing upright to one side of him grasped a third who hung head downwards, and also grasping him round the body front to front, their faces being between each other's legs. The boy standing laid the one who was head downmost on the back of the kneeling player and shoved him further till he could get his feet on the ground, when he had to lift the boy, who commenced standing till he hung head downwards, their positions in fact being reversed. This having been accomplished, those three who had been performing all kneel as described for the first kneeler, but at such a distance from each other that another pair could pass over three as described. If there were more than five players, the same process was continued till all had had an opportunity of doing the feat, which became more toilsome with every addition to the number of the "supports."

Failure on the part of a "support" was treated indulgently, he being probably merely called upon to give another chance when he had failed in allowing a pair to clear him, but if any couple failed in their part they were punished, either at the moment or when the game had finished, with what was called "Ham and Eggs." They had to lie down on their backs, parallel to each other, heads together. Four of the bigger boys who had succeeded, lifted the two victims by their arms and legs, and swinging them, brought their buttocks against each other with each swing. The knocks themselves would be restricted in number, but their severity depended chiefly on the judgment of the swingers. All failing were so punished. The swinging might be done with a boy at each limb.

#### **Row Boat.**

A boys' outside game in Perthshire. Sides were formed and

the players matched in pairs, each pair sitting down on opposite sides of a straight line, facing each other. The opposing players grasped each other's hands, and planted the soles of their feet against each other's stomachs, and, pulling and straining as if rowing a boat, strove to draw one another across the line and as far beyond it as possible. The side which drew the greater number of their opponents over the line were the winners.

**Cocks and Hens. Cavalry Fighting.**

Two sides being chosen, the half of each side sat on the shoulders of the other half, their legs firmly grasped by the "horses." The two sides then advanced to a dividing line and wrestled with each other with the view of drawing their opponents to their own side, and thus putting them out of action, a result also achieved by dismounting a rider. The game is not always just so orderly as we have described; it may be merely a confused *melée* where they shove and jostle and pull till one side is exhausted or all are dismounted.

(P. 239, after line 7.)

A similar game, but the tug of war being decided between two individual girls, is

**Here we gather Nuts in May.**

Two equal sides are chosen. They stand facing each other on each side of a line drawn. One side starts singing:

"Here we go gathering nuts in May, nuts in May, nuts in May,  
Here we go gathering nuts in May, on a fine summer morning."

The opposite side replies:

"Who will you gather for nuts in May, nuts in May, nuts in May,  
Who will you gather for nuts in May, on a fine summer morning?"

The opposite side then names a girl:

"We'll gather Kate Ramsay for nuts in May, for nuts in May, for nuts in May,

We'll gather Kate Ramsay for nuts in May, on a fine summer morning."

The same process is carried on, beginning now with the other set of players, who finally nominate another girl—say, Grace Bell. Kate Ramsay and Grace Bell toe the line, and, holding each

other's hands, do their best to drag one another over it, the vanquished one remaining a prisoner. The same process is now repeated, and another couple pitted one against the other. The party that has pulled the greater number over the line gain the game.

**Weigh Butter, Big Cheese.** (Note the pronunciation of the word "weigh" is as if it were "wee" = small.)

Two girls stand back to back, then hook their arms at the elbow, and, by bending alternately, raise one another off the ground, humming the while: "Weigh butter, big cheese," as each is lifted off the ground, two words to each lift. In Uist they use the following Gaelic during the same process: "Im's cais, /'s buntat 's sgadain" (butter and cheese / and potato and herrings).

(P. 239 in continuance of line 16.)

Nearly the same game is called

#### **Bull in the Park.**

As described, the only difference is that one of those who have permitted their hands to be separated takes the place of the 'bull,' the one in the centre of the ring, without any chasing.

### **THROWING GAMES.**

(P. 241, after "Duck.")

The skipping a flat stone over water is called in Gaelic, on the authority of Armstrong's *Dictionary*, "Losg-bhra-teine," seemingly comparing the effect to sparks caused by rapidly turning a quern.

(P. 241, after line 30.)

The same game as described above was played in Perthshire under the name of "War."

With some variations, it appears as

**Table the Juck (Duck),** the name applied to it in Cowal. About Lochgilphead this is shortened into "Juckie," and in Lorn it is called "Hammer the Block."

Each of the players having provided himself with such a stone as is described above, they take them to a stone with a fairly large flat surface generally a fixture. This is the "Table." About six yards from the Table a line is drawn, or marked with stones, or in some other way, called the "Dull." It is decided who is to place his stone on the table, technically to "table the juck." Besides doing this, the player fixed remains beside the Table under the term "Block." These preliminaries being all settled, the others strive, throwing from the dull, to strike Block's juck off the table. The first thrower who has knocked the juck off the table, makes a rush for his own stone and then back to the dull, which he must reach before being tigged by Block, or his chances of throwing again in the course of that game are finally disposed of. However, before Block can attempt to tig him he must have replaced his own juck upon the table. Those who have missed the tabled juck, or even if they have hit it but not knocked it off, leave their stones lying till this occurs; then all of them who have thrown try to recover their stone and reach the "dull" without being tigged, Block having his choice of more than one to tig. Supposing Block tigs one, he must at once take his juck off the table before the one tigged can put his on it, which he incontinently tries to do, and if the latter is successful both must leave their jucks on the table, there being now two Blocks. If a thrower knocks one of these two jucks off the table and is tigged, according to the rules above, and cannot place in time his juck on the table before his tigger lifts his, there may be even three jucks on the table and three Blocks, making missing altogether the more difficult. Of course, if Block is successful in all his endeavours he becomes a thrower, and so the game goes on.

### **Dulges,**

Played in the Orkneys, is a game of the same nature, but played by two chosen sides. The side lucky in the toss takes possession of what is called the "Hales," while the "outs," at a distance of eighteen or twenty feet from the Hales, make the "Dulges," that is, a pile of their stones.

They also appoint a keeper of the Dulges, whose duty it is to rebuild it when knocked down. The side in the Hales try in succession to knock the Dulges down by throwing at it, those missing it leaving their stones lying. When it is knocked down, all who have thrown rush to pick up their stones and regain the Hales, before the keeper of the Dulges can rebuild it and any of the "outs" tig them after this has been done. Those tiggered, stand aside till this has happened to all of one party, in which case a new game may be commenced with the former "outs," "ins."

(P. 242, after line 9.)

The description of "Peilisteir" given above, would appear to be that of a simple form of the game. The following is the complete game as described by Mr. Peter Macdonald, Ledaig.

Each player is provided with two throwing stones, and the points to be thrown at are marked at a distance varying from eight to ten yards apart by other two. The term *peilisteir* is applied both to the throwing and the goal stones. The players then throw from one mark to the other, the one whose stone lies nearest it counting one, or, if both stones are nearest, two. Knocking down the mark peilisteir always counts three, and when this happens, the mark is at once replaced, and the successful player gets another chance there and then. The first to score twenty-one is winner, but that twenty-one must be made exactly. If, therefore, a player was nineteen and he knocked down the mark he was throwing at, that would make twenty-two, and he would have to begin again from one. There may be several players who throw in succession.

(P. 238, after line 25.)

The girls also have

#### **Golden Names.**

Two goals are fixed, from ten to fifty yards apart. The mass of the players stand in line at the one goal facing the other. They have a leader who goes down the row and gives a distinctive name beginning with "golden" whispered to each,—“golden

brooch," "golden apple,"—and the leader herself is named correspondingly by the last in the line, and then takes her place beside the others. In front of the party so drawn up stands "Ruggy Dug," a girl chosen for the post. To her the leader says, "Come choose me out, come choose me out, come choose me out, Golden Brooch." Ruggy Dug touches the head of the one she guesses. If the guess is right, Golden Brooch may at once start to reach the other goal, Ruggy Dug's business being to tig her before she reaches it, or she may remain impassive, waiting for a better opportunity. The guesser, supposing herself possibly to be wrong, touches another, knowing however that her first guess may have been right and that Golden Brooch may start at any moment. If Ruggy Dug catches a runner they change places. If the leader sees that those already touched are safe at the other goal, she repeats her question with another name. Ruggy's only chance of relief is tiggig one of the other players running between the goals.

(P. 244, after line 9.)

### **The Girt.**

The Scotch word for a hoop is the word applied by the folk to the hoop trundled with a stick. The hoop itself is generally that of a barrel of some sort, so long as it is sufficiently stout to stand being struck.

(P. 245.)

### **Bodach Beag Bideach. (Little Insignificant Old Man.)**

This game, played in the island of Barra, reminds one more of the story of the man who, having prayed to his saint's image, treating it all the while with the utmost consideration, for suitable weather, finding no satisfactory result, knocked its head off, sold it to a collector of curiosities, and remarked, "He had no use for a god of that sort."

A party of young children put a stick of about the length of a walking-stick upright in the ground. This represents the 'little insignificant old man.' Some rags are tied round the end of the stick, these represent the head and face. A little lower down another rag represents his shirt, below that another stands for his



trousers, and close to the ground others serve for his stockings and shoes. The Bodach being thus attired, the players gather round him and sing with an air of affection :

“Bodach beag bideach,  
Nach sliob sibh a cheann,  
Tha e cho min ris an siod,  
Nach sliob sibh a cheann.”

During the singing of these lines they smooth with the palms of their hands the head-rags, as if smoothing the Bodach's hair. This done, they sing :

“Nighidh mis' aodann,  
'S ciridh mis' a cheann,  
Bodach beag bideach,  
Nach sliob sibh a cheann.”

With the singing of these lines they imitate the washing of his face, combing his hair and smoothing his head as before. This finished, the song proceeds :

“Sguraidh mis' a lein,  
Nach sliob sibh a cheann,  
'S sguraidh mis' a bhriogais,  
Nach sliob sibh a cheann.”

With this verse they remove the shirt and thereafter the breeches, and imitate the scouring of these garments, smoothing the head as before. They then proceed :

“Sguraidh mis' a stocaidh,  
Nach sliob sibh a cheann,  
'S glanaidh mis' a bhrogan,  
Nach sliob sibh a cheann.”

The rags representing the foot-wear are removed the while, the stockings scoured and the shoes brushed, the smoothing of the head being still continued, till suddenly the affectionate attention displayed changes into the most marked detestation ; the Bodach is knocked down, trod on and kicked about in the most unmerciful manner, which finishes the game. The Gaelic verses may be translated :

1. Little insignificant old man, / Will you not smooth his head? /  
It is as soft as silk, / Will you not smooth his head? /    2. I shall

wash his face, / And I'll comb his head, / Little insignificant  
old man, / Will you not smooth his head? / 3. I shall scour  
his shirt, / Will you not smooth his head? / And I'll scour his  
trousers, / Will you not smooth his head? / 4. I shall scour  
his stockings, / Will you not smooth his head? / And I'll clean  
his shoes, / Will you not smooth his head? /

(P. 247, after line 7.)

From Kintyre we learn that instead of the words "a pleasant habitation," the original version gave, "and Christ is my salvation." We have little doubt that this is correct, the version first given being one of these shamefaced variations indulged in by those who fear the appearance of profanity.

Genuine parodies were not wanting; for example:

"Donald Macdonald is my name, Scotland is my nation,  
And for to claw the parritch pot, it is my occupation."

Another is

"If this is borrowed by a friend,  
Right welcome shall he be,  
To read, to study, not to lend,  
But to return to me."

(After p. 245.)

### Potato Races.

The simplest form of this, an inside game, is when the competitors have to lift a potato off the floor with an egg spoon, carry it to the other side of the room and deposit it without letting it fall. Those who do it at once are of course the successful ones.

There is a game, however, in which sides are chosen to play one against the other. The sides stand at opposite walls with three potatoes laid at their feet, and each side is provided with an egg spoon. If the egg spoons are not of the one pattern, or the potatoes look less easy to move in one case than the other, a lot may be cast as to which side of the room either party is to occupy. The side which first transfers the three potatoes assigned to it to the other wall than that from which they started, wins the game, and there being only one spoon,

only one person of a side can be engaged at a time. At a given signal one of each side commences, trying to lift one of the potatoes with the spoon without touching it in any other way, shoving against the wall, or doing anything to make it easier to lift. Having got it on his spoon, he has to stand erect, carry it to the opposite side of the room and lay it gently down from the spoon. If the first player is successful, he hands his spoon to another of his own side, who proceeds to try and carry over the next potato in the same way, but success or failure means passing the spoon to another of his own side. The party that can first show its three potatoes laid, according to the rules of the art, close to the opposite wall from which it started, is the winner.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

(P. 43, after line sixteenth from bottom.)

“How many fingers” is thus played in the Lewis :

The one who has to guess sits on a chair and the one who shows the number of fingers stands behind, striking the sitter on his cheeks with his thumb nails, suddenly released from the pressure of his first finger, as one might throw a marble. During this he repeats :

“Aon mhuchain, da mhuchain  
Maide sùr, cul an duirn,  
Cearc bheag mhineach bhan  
Rug aon ubh air an spar,  
'S thuit e sìos air an lar.  
Tomhais romhad 's do dheigh,  
Cia mheud adhairc air a' bhoc.”

(One flick, two flicks, / Probing (?) stick, back of the hand / A small gentle white hen / Had an egg upon the spar / And it fell down to the ground. / Guess before you and after / How many horns are upon the buck.) The questioner now holds up as many fingers as he wants guessed. If the answer is wrong, the same process of pinching and repetition of the lines goes on till the guesser is right.

Description of the two following playthings comes from Barvas in the Lewis :

**Gorag Gaoithe.**

A stick, about nine inches long, of stiff wood is sharpened to a point and thrust into a raw potato, far enough that the potato is capable of turning round on the point of the stick without falling off. Into the potato are thrust a number of stiff feathers, like the wing feathers of a fowl. There may be as many as thirty feathers depending on the size of the potato. The youngster then holding the other end of the stick and running against the wind, repeats :

“Gorag gorag gaoithe,  
Beiridh mise 'h-uile latha,  
Is cha bheir thusa 'choidh.”

(Fool, fool of the wind, / I will lay every day / And you will never lay.) This is the Gaelic equivalent of a toy that was frequently carried round the country in the Lowlands in exchange for rags and bones, made of two pieces of thin stick arranged like a St. Andrew's cross with a small square of coloured paper glued on each arm of the cross, a strong pin being thrust through their points of junction, and stuck into the end of a piece of stick, sufficiently loosely to permit the cross to spin round on the pin when run with against the wind.

**Bodach Sabhaidh. The Sawyer.**

A piece of light box-wood—match-boarding I think would describe it in the south—is roughly shaped into a man's body and head, to which are loosely attached other pieces of the same wood representing arms and legs. This figure is suspended, where there is a draught, from a rafter in the house, by a string fixed to its head, and where the figure can whirl about, shaking its legs and arms to the amusement of the youngsters.

R. C. MACLAGAN.

*Finis.*

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### TRANSLATIONS OF FOLKLORE PUBLICATIONS.

The Annual Report of the Council for 1905 contains the statement that Mr. Bower's *Ceri of Gubbio* is the first publication of the Society to be translated into a foreign language. This is not so. Mr. W. G. Black's *Folk-medicine* has been translated into Spanish; Dr. Gregor's *Folk-lore of the North-east of Scotland* into Italian; several articles by the late Mr. Coote, also into Italian; the articles on the *Science of Folklore*, which appeared in the *Journal* for 1885, into Chinese; and the *Handbook of Folklore* into several languages, including Japanese.

It is a pity that the Council should not have made themselves acquainted with these facts before committing themselves to a definite statement.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

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### THE LEGEND OF MERLIN.

(Vol. xvi., p. 462.)

Surely Dr. Gaster has forgotten that Layamon was a priest! Whence did he derive his material—the stories of Merlin's birth, the Fairies' prophecy of Arthur's future greatness, the wild account of the founding of the Round Tables, and all the extraneous matter with which he "farced" Wace? Surely not from his liturgical books!

With regard to the relative priority of the poetic and prose romances, those who had the pleasure of hearing Dr. Gaster's

paper will be interested by the following extract from the prose *Merlin* (MS. of the *Bibl. Nat. fonds Français* 337, fo. 6).

Arthur has sent messengers to Kings Ban and Bohort; on their way they are attacked by the men of Claudas de la Deserte, then at war with Ban, who would take their steeds and armour; Arthur's men, of course, get the better of the skirmish, and, as they ride off, address their discomfited foes in these words:

"Seignors chevaliers pensez de menacier, li congié vos otroi de ce chemin gaitier. S'en prenez le treu quant foire ert e marchiez, por tant que vos aiert ne trop ne bargaingnier. Vos autres compaignons soventes fois proier qu'en chest chemin ne soit marchaans despoillier; ici de votre gaaing ne quier avoir denier. Par covoitise est home trop sovent domagié li forfaiz abat l'asne 'ce dit l'en ce sachiez. Ce dit le miens compains 'venez, si desploier les tronsiaus qu'en menons, et si les desliez, e faites nos raison, puisqu'en estes proiez.' De ce rist Urfins qui mult en estoit liez." (I give the text as it stands, without rearrangement or correction.) Similar passages are found elsewhere, e.g. on p. 52. Now, are we to believe that the writer of these prose romances "dropped into verse '*promiskus*,'" like the immortal Silas Wegg, or that they were utilizing "*tant bien que mal*" previous poems on the subject? Personally, I have no doubt as to which is the correct solution. I commend the above extract to Dr. Gaster's careful study.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

P.S.—Freymond has devoted an article to the subject of the verse-interpolations in the *Merlin*, but I cannot be sure as to the reference. I believe it is *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, vol. xvi., but am not certain.

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MR. CLODD ON CRYSTAL-GAZING.

(Vol. xvi., p. 479.)

In a review of Mr. Thomas's *Crystal Gazing*, and of my introduction to that book, Mr. Clodd writes (*Folk-lore*, vol. xvi.,

No. 4, pp. 479, 480): "Crystal-gazing is as 'old as the hills'; Æschylus attributed its discovery to Prometheus, Zoroaster to Ahriman, and the Fathers of the Church to the Devil. Modern explanations are less concrete: they refer the phenomena to the vague pseudo- or quasi-supernatural. When Mr. Thomas rebukes Professor Ray Lankester for daring to speak of telepathy as a 'thing' (does Mr. Thomas contend that it is a person?), and when Dr. Lang confesses belief that there is evidence (ingathered, it is presumed, by the Society for Psychical Research) in support of the survival of human personality, the uneasy feeling arises that both of them are in the movement which arrests the explanation of the occult on scientific lines."

As to my confession of belief, I learn from Mr. Clodd that he does not refer to anything in Mr. Thomas's book.

Next, leaving Mr. Thomas out of the question, Mr. Clodd says that in consequence of my alleged "confessed beliefs," "the uneasy feeling arises that I am in the movement which arrests the explanation of the occult on scientific lines." Now my essay is an appeal to psychological science for an explanation of the fact of crystal-gazing, "on scientific lines." But, first, what *are* the facts? I do not, of course, offer the results of my own experiments and observations as "facts" to be explained by science. I say "these experiments were, of course, unscientific, and undertaken for mere idle amusement." The only laboratory experiments which I have witnessed were made to test the effect on the crystal picture when viewed through various refracting mediums. I wrote, "the proper persons to make experiments are accredited professors of psychology, and nobody else," (p. xxxv.). "The questions at issue can only be settled after many long series of experiments conducted by psychological specialists, working with sane and healthy subjects,"—not hysterical subjects, as in some French investigations (p. xlvii.).

Do these remarks justify "an uneasy feeling" that I am "in the movement which arrests the explanation of the occult on scientific lines"? The word "occult" might be left to the newspapers; I am attempting to induce trained psychologists to investigate a psychological problem. Mr. Clodd suspects me, therefore, of "arresting the explanation" of that problem "on

scientific lines." Are his assertions and his "uneasy feeling" justified? I have been so unlucky as to detect no certain allusion by Æschylus to crystal gazing. Will Mr. Clodd oblige me by offering the exact reference to the Æschylean passage?

ANDREW LANG.

DOES THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY EXIST FOR THE STUDY OF  
EARLY INSTITUTIONS?

(*Supra*, p. III.)

MR. ROSE asks this question in the last number of *Folk-lore*. As an old member of the Society, I take leave to answer him as follows:

The Folklore Society "exists for the study of" *folklore*; that is, as defined in its *Handbook* (published 1887, as the outcome of discussion in the *Journal* in previous years), of the *Superstitions* (or let us say *Beliefs*), *Customs*, *Stories*, and *Sayings* prevalent among the more backward races, or surviving among the more backward classes of advanced races. The means it adopts to further this study are, as set forth in the rule quoted by Mr. Rose, "the collection and publication of Popular Traditions, Legendary Ballads, Local Proverbial Sayings, Superstitions and *Old Customs* (*British and Foreign*), and *all subjects relating thereto*." (The italics are mine.) The wording of this rule, formulated in the earliest days of the Society, has perhaps now become itself somewhat of a "survival," and might easily be improved; but it nevertheless indicates clearly enough, though roughly, the limits of the subject studied. It excludes, by implication, not only early arts and industries (which the wider German term *Volkskunde* covers), but language, physical anthropology, and the material side of archæology; while it equates with the sub-title of the present publication, "The Transactions of the Folklore Society; a Review of *Myth, Custom, Institution, and Legend*," and adds *Proverbs* thereto.



Agreeably to these principles, the Folklore Congress of 1891 was organized in three sections, Folktales, Mythology (including Myth, Ritual, and Magic), Institutions and Customs. (A perusal of its published *Transactions* would answer many of Mr. Rose's questions.)

Taking folklore then to be, briefly, the non-material side of Anthropology, the objects for which it is studied will depend on the individual bent of the student. It may be studied for the sake of the evidence it affords of the former savage or barbarous condition of races now civilized. This, the starting-point in the History of Culture, is the first and main point proved by the study of folklore, and practically, by it alone. Or the worker may use folklore to elucidate sociological problems, or questions of Ethnology. The precise amount of assistance which folklore can give to the study of ethnology—how far, that is, folklore may be accepted as evidence of race, is a point which needs further investigation, and on which Mr. Rose and his colleagues could doubtless supply valuable evidence. The historian of Culture may study folklore as a part of the history of Literature, tracing *King Lear* and *Faust* back to their sources in mythology and magic: or for the sake of the history of Medicine, tracing the stages by which scientific observation has gradually disentangled itself from magic and empiricism; or again, for the history of the development of Religion and Philosophy, the sides on which it has perhaps attracted the greatest attention during the last few years. And that it is simply impossible to investigate the early history of Social or Legal Institutions without the assistance of folklore, seems to me a self-evident proposition.

I can hardly agree with Mr. Rose that this side of the subject has been neglected in *Folk-lore* of late years. No subjects surely have occupied more space in recent volumes than those of Taboo, Totemism, Exogamy, and so forth; but if Mr. Rose thinks that institutions have not due prominence in our pages, it is for him and his fellow-workers to redress the balance by their contributions. From no point of view can the study of folklore be of more importance than from that of the ruler, the legislator, or the social reformer. Mr. Rose doubtless recollects—or if not he will thank me for recalling to him—the weighty

words of Sir Richard Temple, enforcing the value of a knowledge of folklore to the representatives of Great Britain among subject races, to the effect that : " Knowledge begets understanding, and understanding sympathy ; and sympathy begets good government, and good government begets stable empire." Mr. Rose will have all our sympathy in his endeavours to extend the knowledge of our study and its methods in the Anglo-Indian world.

I trust that our next number may contain the list of books on this branch of folklore for which Mr. Rose pleads. I will now only suggest the following, as works likely to create an interest in the whole subject, and to show the principles and methods of the study.

Hartland (E. S.) *Folklore : What is it and what is the good of it?* D. Nutt. 6d.

Lang (Andrew). *Custom and Myth*. Longmans. 3s. 6d.

Gomme (G. L.) *Folklore Relics of Early Village Life*. Elliot Stock. 5s.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

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## REVIEWS.

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THE SECRET OF THE TOTEM. By ANDREW LANG. Longmans, Green & Co. London, 1905. 10/6 net.

THE Arunta in some points of their totemic system differ from all other Australians. If, therefore, the secret of totemism is to be discovered, we must first of all know, or rather make up our minds, whether the Arunta, alone of Australians, have retained the original form of totemism, or whether they have departed further from the original form than any other Australians have gone.

The Arunta have male kinship, with Headmen hereditary in the male line. That is to say, when a boy is born among the Arunta, they recognise him as the child of his father, and as inheriting from his father. The Arunta then may be classed with those Australian tribes which recognise male kinship. And male kinship is now taken by most of those competent to judge to have been secondary amongst the Australians, that is to say, to have been preceded by female descent. The reasonable conclusion then is that which Mr. Lang and Mr. Hartland incline to, namely, "that the Arunta are the most advanced and not the most primitive of the Central Australian tribes."

But though the Arunta recognise male kinship and though they inherit other things (*i.e.* things other than their totems) in the male line, they do not inherit their totems in the male line—indeed they do not inherit their totems from either father or mother. The question, what totem is to be ascribed to a child, is not answered, among the Arunta, by asking what is the totem of the child's father or mother, but in another way. There is, it is important to note, amongst the Arunta, no doubt and no

possibility of doubting, who is the mother of the child that is born ; no doubt or possibility of doubting that the child had a father. The only difference between the Arunta and other natives is that, whereas amongst other natives the question what is the totem of the child is decided by the simple consideration of what is the totem of the father or the mother, as the case may be, amongst the Arunta that consideration does not weigh.

From the fact that amongst the Arunta that consideration does not now weigh, Mr. Spencer and Mr. Frazer draw the inference that it never did weigh, either amongst the Arunta or, originally, amongst other natives. In order to prove that it did not weigh, Mr. Spencer and Mr. Frazer seek to show that it could not weigh. Now, to prove that it could not weigh, it is only necessary to make one assumption, viz. that the Arunta do not, and other natives originally did not, know that the woman who bears a child is its mother, or that the man who begets it is its father.

The assumption is contradictory to the facts as far as the Arunta are concerned, and may be rejected. We will, therefore, take it that the Arunta, like all the other natives, know that the woman who bears a child is its mother, and that the woman's recognised husband has the duties and rights of paternity. The position of affairs then is that the Arunta, knowing the totem to which the father belongs and the totem to which the mother belongs, disregard both and assign a totem to the child on a different principle. The principle on which the Arunta are said to go is that a child is the re-incarnation of an ancestral spirit : necessarily therefore the ancestral spirit retains, when re-incarnated, the totem to which it belonged before it was re-incarnated—which totem may or may not be the same as that of one of the parents. How then is it possible to know what is the totem of the ancestral spirit thus re-incarnated? It so happens that the Arunta believe that spirits, awaiting re-incarnation, wait at "certain definite spots," and that the spirits waiting at any one spot all belong to the same totem. When, then, the wife becomes aware that she is about to become a mother, it is evident that a spirit has entered her from the nearest spirit-haunt ; and that the spirit, who has entered her and will in due time be born as her child, belongs to the totem of the spirits who haunt that spot. It is

obvious, therefore, as Mr. Lang points out, that this Arunta belief could only originate when and where a district had its local totem, and "a district can only have a local totem if the majority of the living people are of one totem only," and only where male descent prevails can the majority of the inhabitants of a given district be of the same totem. The Arunta belief therefore postulates the pre-existence of the custom of inheriting one's father's totem: it is a consequence and not the cause of that custom. It is a departure from that custom, not the origin of it. The opposite view, entertained by Mr. Spencer and Mr. Frazer, is self-contradictory; for it postulates that the Arunta believe in ancestral spirits but do not believe in ancestors.

It seems, however, now open to doubt whether all the Arunta do believe in the re-incarnation of ancestral spirits, or in re-incarnation at all: the spirits of the dead go off and are finally annihilated, according to Mr. Strehlow (vol. xvi., pp. 430-1), and therefore cannot be re-incarnated. On the other hand, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen state definitely and beyond the possibility of doubt that the doctrine of re-incarnation is found amongst the Arunta, e.g. *Northern Tribes*, p. 273. Until, therefore, our authorities have cleared up this point, the wise thing seems to be to accept the statements of both authorities and to hold, for the present, that amongst those Arunta studied by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen the belief in re-incarnation does, and amongst those Arunta studied by Mr. Strehlow the belief in re-incarnation does not, exist. That view will enable us to understand not only the points of difference between Messrs. Spencer and Gillen on the one hand and Mr. Strehlow on the other, but also the points of agreement. For there are more points of agreement than of difference. There is agreement on the point that a *churinga* is somehow connected with a deceased person: Mr. Strehlow asserts this, and Messrs. Spencer and Gillen say a *churinga* "is regarded as something much more than a piece of wood or stone. It is intimately associated with the ancestor and has 'feelings'" (*N.T.* 265, n. 1), "with them (*churingas*) the spiritual part of their former possessors is associated" (*N.T.* 159, cf. 138). We may, therefore, take it that the association of the deceased with his *churinga* is found amongst all the Arunta; and that the belief

in re-incarnation, which, where it exists, is bound up with the *churinga*, is found only amongst some of the Arunta. Thus the area of the re-incarnation belief shrinks; and as it shrinks the probability that it is primitive decreases.

Accepting the fact on which our authorities are agreed, that the deceased is intimately associated with his *churinga*, we can understand that, whenever the belief in re-incarnation arose, it would follow that the *churinga* was the *churinga* both of the deceased and of the new-born child, for both are manifestations of the same personality. Next, the belief in re-incarnation is found elsewhere than among the Arunta: it is not the case that belief in re-incarnation can only grow up where *churingas* are found. Amongst the Arunta therefore, as amongst other, non-Australian, peoples, the re-incarnation belief may have originated from the fact that children do resemble their grand-parents in appearance. It would then be a logical inference that the child did not need to be provided with a *churinga*: it would be entitled, as of right, to the *churinga* of the ancestor of whom it was the re-incarnation.

When it came to be an article of belief that not only children resembling their grand-parents but all children were re-incarnations of their ancestors, it would no longer be necessary to "constate" a personal resemblance between the child and one of its ancestors. It would indeed no longer be necessary to wait until the child was born. The mere fact that it was going to be born would be evidence that an ancestor was in process of re-incarnation, but what ancestor? That question is, in the belief of those Arunta whom Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have questioned, answered by the supposition that the ancestral spirit which enters the mother drops his *churinga* on the way; the *churinga* which is or ought to be found indicates which ancestral spirit it was. Now it is obvious that the reason why the *churinga* is found is to be sought in the belief that it ought to be found. The persons who are sent out to find it usually return with a *churinga*. Where do they get it from? The only place from which, amongst the Arunta, they can get it apparently is one of the sacred store-houses or *ernatulungas* in which *churingas* are kept. But the spirit which enters the mother does not live at an *ernatulunga*; he

lives at an *oknanikilla* or local totem-centre. And the first step in the whole process is for the mother to announce what *oknanikilla* she was near when the spirit entered her. Until she does that it is not known what is the totem of the child that is to be born; and consequently those who have to find the *churinga* would not know which *churinga* to take from the *ernatulunga*, for *churingas* of all sorts of totems may be found in one *ernatulunga*. It seems therefore probable that the finding of the *churinga* is an accretion to a previous state of things, in which the mother announced what would be the totem of her child, and no *churinga* was found, sought or wanted. In other words the re-incarnation theory—in the form in which it is found amongst Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's Arunta, that is to say in intimate connection with the *churinga*—would seem to postulate the prior existence of the two conditions which are found amongst Mr. Strehlow's Arunta, viz. the belief that spirits yet to be born congregate at an *oknanikilla*, and the belief that the dead are somehow connected with the *churingas* stored in an *ernatulunga*. These two beliefs are combined by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's Arunta; but they are combined only by means of a pious fraud, viz. that the spirit, which comes, on the authority of the mother, from a certain *oknanikilla*, brings with it a *churinga*. Now, this fraud appears not merely pious but clumsy, for amongst Mr. Spencer's Arunta the place from which the spirit comes is not the place at which *churingas* are stored; yet the spirit is supposed to bring with him from the local totem-centre a *churinga* which is not in the local totem-centre, but in quite another place, viz. the sacred store-house. This clumsiness in the Arunta belief may suggest that it is a survival from an earlier state of things. In an earlier state, if, for instance, there were no sacred store-houses, or *ernatulungas*, but only *oknanikillas*, or local totem centres—as is actually the case among the Worgaia, who have the latter, but not the former (*N.T.* p. 274)—the *churingas* would be kept at the local totem-centres, and so a spirit coming from an *oknanikilla* might be supposed to bring one of the *churingas* with him. On this view then the belief of Mr. Spencer's Arunta would be a survival, or derivative, not primitive.

*Churingas* are not a *sine qua non* of the belief in re-incarnation: even amongst the Australians the belief is found without the *churinga*. In the Euahlayi tribe "the spirits of babies and children who die young are re-incarnated," and may be born again of their first mother or of some other woman (*The Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 51). From the belief that some spirits are re-incarnated to the belief that all spirits are or may be re-incarnated, the passage is easy: if this child is a re-incarnation, that child also may be. A further point of resemblance between the Arunta belief and that of the Euahlayi is that "spirit-babies hang promiscuously on trees until some woman passes under where they are, then they will seize a mother and be incarnated" (*ib.* p. 50). And the Euahlayi belief seems intermediate between that of Mr. Spencer's Arunta and that of Mr. Strehlow's Arunta, for like the latter they believe in incarnation as the general rule, but in the special case of children who die young they believe in re-incarnation, as Mr. Spencer's Arunta believe in it in all cases. Mrs. Parker says that the Euahlayi spirit-babies "hang promiscuously on trees," whereas amongst the Arunta it is only on those trees which mark an *oknanikilla* that the spirit-babies hang. But Mrs. Parker's words do not, I think, necessarily exclude the possibility that it is only on certain definite trees that spirit-babies "hang promiscuously." Be that as it may, the re-incarnation belief, as it exists amongst the Euahlayi, co-exists with the knowledge that the woman who bears a child is its mother (even if the spirit of the baby has in a previous portion of its career animated the child of another woman) and with the knowledge that the man who begets it is its father. It cannot therefore be the case that the re-incarnation belief is incompatible with the knowledge in question or implies ignorance on the point, even amongst the Arunta. But if there is, even amongst the Arunta, no ignorance on the point, the argument that the Arunta exhibit the most primitive form of Australian totemism falls to the ground. The Arunta form of totemism implies the re-incarnation belief. The belief in re-incarnation is the fruit of reflection, and cannot be considered original or self-evident. And the belief is found in an earlier stage of growth amongst the Euahlayi than amongst



the Arunta. In that earlier stage of growth the re-incarnation belief has not modified the totemic system, with the later stage of growth a modification of the totemic system is found amongst the Arunta.

If we may set aside the Arunta as exhibiting a late stage in the evolution of totemism, then on Mr. Lang's theory we start with small "local groups invested with animal names; then the animals become totems, sanctioning exogamy; then, by exogamy and female descent, each animal-named *local* group becomes full of members of other animal names *by descent*," and finally two leading local groups, say Crow and Eagle-hawk, establish pacific *connubium*, and "the inhabitants of a district became an harmonious tribe, with two phratries (late *local* groups), say Eagle-hawk and Crow, and with the other old local-group names represented in what are now the totem kins within the phratries" (p. 151).

The question naturally arises, and Mr. Lang puts it himself (p. 147), "Why do we find in a tribe only two phratries?" To this he replies that there may have been more than two in Australia, as there are in America, but, "though there is no reason why there should not have been more," we must suppose either that there were not originally more than two, or that, if there were originally more, eventually there ceased to be more. Let us admit that we must make that supposition, if we are to believe that what are two phratries were originally two local groups. We have then to ask why are we to believe that the phratries were originally local groups? In effect, the phratry to which I belong includes the women I may not marry; the other phratry includes the woman I may marry. Why then should either phratry have been originally one local group? Why need either phratry ever have had a local habitation and a name? The women I may not marry are scattered about all over Australia, and so are the women I may marry. Even on Mr. Lang's theory, the latter never at any time, however far back we go, were concentrated in any one spot; and the former also must have been scattered pretty widely, when "each animal-named group became full of members of other animal names by descent." At that time, go where I would, I should

find women, having by descent the same animal name as myself, and therefore forbidden to me. In fine, the classification of women into prohibited and lawful, *i.e.* into the two phratries, cannot be the result of the rise of two leading local groups. If it were, then there might be three or more phratries, as Mr. Lang admits: but women can only be divided into the two classes of lawful and not lawful, prohibited and not prohibited, as wives. We may, of course, go back to the period when the jealous sire expelled his adolescent sons; but then we get back to a time when all women were prohibited, for all belonged to some sire or other, and by him were prohibited to all men. The first step forwards, out of this stage of animal jealousy, consisted in recognising that not all women were prohibited, but that some were lawful to men other than the sire: that is to say, the recognition that women (and therefore, by female descent, their children) belonged to one phratry or the other was the condition precedent of those changes which, on Mr. Lang's theory, called phratries into existence. The very first step forwards, out of the stage of animal jealousy, consisted in dividing the primitive local group itself into the two phratries, the two sets of persons. Indeed, the rule, "no marriage within this group," itself contains the principle, for it sanctions or implies marriage between the sire and his women, and forbids all other marriage. The sire is the sole member, at first, of the one phratry. But that phratry grows, for it comes to include his daughters; and if the primitive local group consisted of several sires with their families, then all the sires with their daughters constitute the one phratry, while the wives constitute the other. Consequently the sires' sisters belong to the sire's phratry, and the wives' brothers to the other phratry.

I submit, therefore, that from the time when one man established his exclusive right to certain women, and created a primitive local group, the phratry system was in principle established also. Those women were permitted to him and prohibited to other men. The converse of this rule, *viz.* that some women were prohibited to him, manifested itself when unions between a sire and his daughters were felt to be unlawful. The primitive local group itself thus contained the two phratries from

the very beginning, if we adopt my suggestion that by the two phratries were throughout, from the first to the last, meant permitted spouses and prohibited spouses.

The whole trouble seems to me to arise from the unnecessary assumption that in the beginning the primitive local group did not contain the two phratries, but was itself identical with one of the phratries, or with what eventually became one of the phratries. If we start from this gratuitous assumption, we must either resort to the further hypothesis of a promiscuous horde, out of which just two groups broke—and why it should break into just two groups, as Dr. Durkheim imagines, is, as Mr. Lang points out, an unexplained mystery. Or else we must resort to Mr. Lang's guess that two local groups constituted themselves into phratries, in which case it is again an unexplained mystery why there should not have been, and why there should not be, three or more phratries. But there is no mystery at all, if the two phratries were from the beginning what they are now, viz. the persons permitted and prohibited marriage with me.

And where, now, does totemism come in? Totemism does not prohibit the union of sire and daughter. It reinforces, but can hardly be the original cause of, the prohibition of unions between brothers and sisters. Indeed one is tempted to believe that totemism owes the length of its life to the fact that it appeared to provide a sanction, a supernatural penalty, for violating that prohibition. The prohibition was felt, deeply if dimly, to be fundamental; and the fact that totemism supported it, imparted to totemism an importance which otherwise totemism might not have had.

Mr. Lang, as we have seen, holds that what became a phratry was originally a local group; local groups received names (names of plants and animals) from other groups; and in course of time the groups, not knowing why they were called after plants or animals, concluded there must be some mysterious connection between them and the name-giving thing. But if, as I have argued, the primitive local group contained both phratries, a name given to the group as a whole would not be peculiar to either phratry, that is to say, would not be a phratry name. Neither would it be peculiar to the sire on the one hand or

to his wife and children on the other: it would not be a totem-name. Again, if names were bestowed on a group by persons not belonging to the group, there is no guarantee of unanimity between the outsiders who consist of mutually hostile groups, and who would or might each give a different name to one and the same group. From the point of view that every local group contained within itself the two phratries, I should prefer to conjecture that it was within the local group that names for the two phratries and for the several families (reckoned by female descent) grew up and spread abroad; for it was within the local group that names would be very convenient, and even necessary; and, within the group, names could easily be conferred and accepted—more easily than they would be learnt or accepted from external, hostile groups. An easy way would be to call the woman who was brought into the group after the place from which she came: amongst the Euahlayi, children are named after places or hunting-grounds: “any one who is called a Ghurreburrah belongs to the orchid country; Mirriehburrah, to the polygonum country, and so on” (*Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 12). If the name became hereditary, the belief in a mysterious connection between the orchid or the polygonum and the bearers of the name would arise, in accordance with Mr. Lang’s theory. But totem-names would, on the view suggested, have been originally place-names; and places, though commonly named after the plant or animal common there, might also be named after some inedible thing—a point to be borne in mind when Mr. Frazer calls our attention to the fact that amongst the two hundred and one sorts of totems enumerated in *Northern Tribes*, pp. 767-773, over thirty are things that are not eaten.

On the whole, then, by the time Mr. Lang has done with it, there does not seem to be much secret left to the totem. It reinforces but did not create the prohibition of the unions which it forbids; it does not seem to have much to do with religion; and the connection between a totem-clan and its totem animal or plant became mysterious or mystic chiefly when its origin was forgotten.

One important point, to which attention should be directed, in *The Secret of the Totem*, is this: both Mr. Lang’s theory

and Dr. Durkheim's logically require us to expect to find in each phratry a totem-kin of the same name as the phratry in which it occurs. In America this has been noted by Mr. Frazer and Dr. Durkheim to be the case in three instances. In Australia the two original, or leading, totem-kins of the same names as the phratries have apparently disappeared. Now, in many Australian cases the phratries have lost any names they may have had; and where they have names, the meaning of the names is unknown. Mr. Lang, however, takes the case of certain tribes who give to, or retain for, the usual intermarrying exogamous phratries, the names Mukwara and Kilpara. He then produces evidence tending to show "that Mukwara meant Eagle-hawk, that Kilpara meant Crow, in the language of some tribe which, so far, I have not been able to identify in glossaries." Finally, he shows that "in Mukwara phratry (Eagle-hawk) we almost always find, *under another name*, Eagle-hawk as a totem-kin; and in Kilpara, Crow, we find, *under another name*, Crow as a totem-kin." Indeed, among a sept of the Wiraidjuri, a Budthurung (Black Duck) totem is found in the Budthurung phratry. "Thus," we may say with Mr. Lang, "if only for once, conjectures made on the strength of a theory are proved to be correct by facts later observed."

F. B. JEVONS.

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THE ORIGIN OF WORSHIP: A STUDY IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

By RAFAEL KARSTEN. An Academical Dissertation. Wasa:

F. W. Unggren. 1905. viii., 143 pp.

FINLAND seems to have a natural taste and aptitude for anthropological study, for polyglot reading, and for English as a means of communication with the outer world. Mr. Karsten is not yet a Westermarck or a Hirn, but there is no saying what he may not, with time, become. The present dissertation forms but the first part of an inquiry into the origins of religious worship. It is

therefore impossible to pronounce final judgment upon it. A hand, as Aristotle says, cut off from the body, is a hand in name only. Indeed, were we not expressly warned that this is merely a first instalment, we should be obliged to pronounce the title decidedly misleading. Worship as such is scarcely dealt with, and that though the author in his Introduction—evidently meant as an introduction to the complete work—very sensibly insists that religion is primarily for man a practical concern, so that worship is the essential part of it, and Dr. Tylor's definition of religion as simply a belief in spiritual beings will not do. The main concern of these four chapters is to show that in his general dealings with supernatural powers, including the souls of the dead, man is moved by fear rather than by love. The method of proof followed is that still in vogue amongst English anthropologists, though perhaps they may be said to be gradually becoming aware of its drawbacks. Considerations furnished by psychology—that is, the ordinary psychology which considers the individual mind “in itself” and more or less in abstraction from the social forces that condition it—provide the hypothesis; then the books of travellers are ransacked for confirmatory particulars, little attention being paid, at all events little prominence being given, to such evidence as tells the other way. Granting the rules of the game, Mr. Karsten plays it well enough. At most one might complain that a good deal of his material is of the old-fashioned, uncritical brand; for instance, in regard to the Australians, he quotes Oldfield, Curr, Eyre, Angas, but ignores Spencer and Gillen. Now, unfortunately, it is especially in regard to the class of cases mostly cited, namely, those in which more or less sweeping moral judgments on the motives of savages are passed by Europeans, that the scientific point of view is absolutely essential. Thus when the Rev. W. Ellis, in all other respects an excellent observer, makes the Tahitian approach his gods “to secure their sanction and aid in the commission of the grossest crimes,” one cannot conclude that therefore the Tahitian gods are in the eyes of their worshippers bad and unlovable; for to them—and the morality of natives from the scientific and historical standpoint must be treated as relative—it was the part of good and kind gods to send them, say, a fat white missionary to eat. Or, again,

Mr. Lang will not, I fear, cease to look favourably on savage man's ideas of a creator, even when it is pointed out to him that the notions of the Kamtchadales concerning their supreme being, Kutcha, are "absurd, ridiculous, and shocking to a humanised mind;" indeed I do not think I should dare to submit my own ideas of a creator, unexceptionable as I believe them to be, to a gentleman whose humanised mind provoked him to utter such silly rant. Now, I am afraid that Mr. Karsten is induced by such authorities as these to mistake to some extent the scientific scope of the issue he has raised. Of course savages do not envisage their gods from the serene height of a wholly disinterested reverence and affection. But why oppose fear to disinterested love, and not rather to its psychological counterpart, hope? Were this done it might be found that the earliest gods are reckoned good enough to hope good things from. Doubtless Mr. Karsten would reply that such a hope is, in the case of the savage, "egotistic." What, even if the hope be the common hope of the tribe? Surely, a universal humanitarianism is a little too much to look for here. Did not an archbishop but the other day express the sentiment, "My country, right or wrong"? One more point of another kind. Mr. Karsten says about uncultured man: "His whole attention, all his mental and physical forces, are required for his preservation in the struggle for existence." Let Mr. Karsten study the easy-going ways of the Arunta. The whole biologico-psychological school would do well to ask themselves whether that social animal, man, has not dominated creation, and consequently lived in comparative luxury, for a considerable time back.

R. R. MARETT.

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BANTU FOLK LORE. By MATTHEW L. HEWAT, M.D. Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller.

THIS is an excessively interesting work, dealing almost entirely with the medical and quasi-medical lore of the Bantu, a "great

family extending over all Central and South Africa, south of a line drawn roughly from the Kamerun to the Pokomo River, but excluding the south-west corner—Great Namaqualand and Western Cape Colony—which from time immemorial has been occupied by Hottentots.” The book is small, but simply packed with information, given without any unnecessary padding; indeed compression is its leading characteristic.

As one might expect, a great deal of the medical science—if one may use such a term—of the Bantu is connected with witchcraft, the belief in unlucky things, and in amulets, and a full account of the “smelling-out” of witches in suspected cases, is given. But, in addition to the ordinary “witch-doctors,” it appears that there are a number of other classes of practitioners, some even rising to specialism in divers diseases. That here, as elsewhere in Africa, and indeed in other parts of the savage world, some of these have risen to a real, if empiric, knowledge of drugs is shown by the genuine cures which they are able to effect. Perhaps the most remarkable of those mentioned in the book is the cure of that terrible disease anthrax. Of this the writer says that it is “well known to the natives, and treated by their doctors with great success. It is contracted by the natives feeding on the meat of anthractuouse cattle. So confident are the natives in their power to cure the disease, should it appear, that they have little hesitation in eating the infected meat, a fair proof of the success of their doctors’ practice.” Now the method of treatment here proceeds on ordinary medical lines, for certain drugs are applied internally and externally without the use of any invocations or magic ceremonies. Nor are the doctors less confident than their patients, for it appears that in this, as in other diseases, the rule of “no cure, no pay” applies, and that heavy fees are exacted in the case of success. In other diseases—such, for example, as typhoid fever—drugs are also used, but the pharmacology is false, for it supposes that the disease is due to the entrance of a snake, “In-qumbabane,” which is eating the patient up inside, and the drugs are employed with the object of causing the snake to quit the body of his victim. In surgery, too, the Bantu practitioner has arrived at some



sound conclusions, for all surgical cases are treated in airy, healthy huts, and charcoal is freely employed, and doubtless, from its antiseptic character, is of valuable service. It does not appear that the "doctrine of signatures" has any influence on the choice of drugs, at least no mention of anything of the kind is made by the writer, and I am bound to confess that my knowledge of African botany is not sufficient to enable me to come to any conclusion on this point from the names of the plants forming the Bantu *materia medica*.

On the other hand, we encounter the familiar idea of the transference of disease; the belief being that in some classes of ailment the disease can be compelled to leave the person afflicted as a real entity, a kind of personification of the ailment. Thus the only treatment for mumps is for the patient to find the burrow of a hare—*i.e.*, of the jerboa or "jumping hare" (*Pedetes Caffer*), the *springhaas* of the Boers—and, stooping down to call into the hole "Mumps! Mumps! get away from me." He then walks straight home without looking behind him. In the process of time the mumps disappear, as they would, of course, under any circumstances. A similar idea is met with in the treatment of epilepsy.

Thus we find a very similar mixture of real knowledge and of magic in the Bantu system to that which is revealed by the study of Anglo-Saxon medicine, which was given to the world no long time ago by Dr. Payne and reviewed by the present writer in the pages of this journal.

When one reads the way in which new-born babes are treated one ceases to wonder that out of a given group of 490 Basuto children, noted by Dr. Cassilis, 160 died in infancy. "No sooner is the baby born than the points of its fingers are bled for luck. The infant is then held in the smoke of a slow fire of aromatic woods till it sneezes or coughs to show that it is not bewitched. Then commence its ablutions. It is first thoroughly rubbed all over with a solution of cowdung, and then rubbed clean as possible, and rolled in the skin of a goat or sheep recently killed." Instead of being fed by the mother with her own milk, for three days it subsists on sour curdled milk, which is forced down the throat of the infant by

blowing into its mouth and compelling it to swallow. It is, moreover, treated to strong purgatives during the same period. The Basutos who survive may well be a hardy race.

BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE.

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THE CZECH ETHNOGRAPHICAL REVIEW, vol. xi. Published by the Society of the Cech Ethnographical Museum. Prague, 1905.

WHEN at Prague last autumn it was our good fortune to inspect this museum, founded in 1896, formerly located in Count Sylva-Tarouca's palace on the Prikopy, and since 1902 in a charming villa in the Kinsky garden in the suburb of Smichov. The museum was the outcome of an ethnographical exhibition arranged for the purpose of awakening interest in the ancient manners, customs, and dress of the Bohemians and kindred Slavonic peoples in Austria. The extensive materials are grouped under the heads of models of dwellings, costumes and embroidery, peasants at work, manners and customs, music, song and dance, with sociological, anthropological, and linguistic sections. The museum receives some State and civic subsidies, but is compelled to rely on voluntary effort as well.

The revival of national interest among the Czechs has led to the issue of a vast amount of literary and artistic productions, like the periodicals *Zlatá Praha* (Golden Prague), *Český Svet* (Bohemian World), most of very high merit. In order to see the people in native guise it is advisable to leave "hundred-towered, golden Prague" and visit the country districts. At Pilsen we saw the quaint female head-dress known as *holubinka* (from *holub*, a pigeon). An interesting experience was a visit to a peasant school at Vlašim, where the children in local costumes went through actions illustrative of rural occupations, to the accompaniment of Smetana's pretty folk songs. At the annual fair, youthful swains purchase ornate cups for the damsels who take their fancy, some of the latter amassing a considerable

collection in this way. The Czech resembles his fellow Slav, the Russian, in love of tasteful embroidery.

The volume before us is by Mr. Pavel Sochan, on "Costumes and Marriage at Lopaš," a Slovene community in the Nitran district. Chapter I. contains descriptions of male and female garments. Chapter II. gives the etiquette for wooing, banns, invitations, and the wedding-day, with appropriate songs for those taking part, many with allusions to local natural features. We are not very familiar with the Slovene dialect, but append free translations of two songs.

" May good health be thine,  
 Darling mother mine ;  
 No more your child can with you be.  
 'Tis my time to go.  
 Gone are years of virgin bloom,  
 I a husband's state assume.

May good health be thine,  
 Ancient father mine ;  
 No more your child can with you be.  
 'Tis my time to go.  
 Gone are years of virgin bloom,  
 And wifely cares I now assume."

The following shows the Slavonic fondness for diminutives of affection.

" May the Lord God grant us dear little health,  
 May the Lord God grant us health,  
 In this our dear little country,  
 In this our country !"

We have tried over some of the airs, which are all of that plaintive melody characteristic of the Slav temperament, even when the words are joyous. This is a feature of Russian and Czech folk-songs.

The pictures at the end of the volume illustrate coiffure, single figures and groups, and bridal dress, and are very clearly executed.

FRANCIS P. MARCHANT.

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DER SAGENKREIS VOM GEPRELLTEN TEUFEL. Von AUG. WÜNSCHE. Leipzig und Wien, Akademischer Verlag, 1905.

DR. WÜNSCHE claims the cycle of the *Devil Outwitted* as specially German. He traces its origin partly to Christian sources. Not merely the Gnostic view of the Atonement, but those of Irenæus, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and a line of subsequent Fathers of the Church, makes it in some sense, he contends, a cheating of the devil. What, however, he sees chiefly in the stories is the influence of the old Teutonic religion with its giants, gods, and elves, all of whom are tricked in turn. His study of the cycle is consequently confined almost entirely to German sources. He seems not to be aware that similar tales occur everywhere in Europe and over a very wide area beyond. The latest I have read was obtained by the Rev. John Campbell, in 1820, from a chief of the Koranas, in South Africa. In their myth of the origin of their race the primeval Bushman plays the part of the devil, and the primeval Korana that of the devil's successful opponent. Cases of this kind, and they are numerous, render Professor Wünsche's theory untenable.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE VERSUCHE UND VORARBEITEN, herausgegeben von ALBERT DIETERICH und RICHARD WÜNSCH. Gieszen: J. Ricker. I. Attis: seine Mythen und seine Kult, von Hugo Hepding. (1903.) M. 5. II. 2: De Mortuorum Iudicio, scripsit Ludovicus Ruhl. (1903.) M. 1. 80. II. 3: De Poetarum Romanarum doctrina magica quaestiones selectae, scripsit Ludovicus Fahz. (1904.) M. 1. 60.

THESE books contain collections of sources, and therefore belong to a most useful class. The one indispensable merit of such collections is accuracy; and, so far as we have been able to test them, these books are accurate. The first chapter of

the Attis collection is also very full, and ranges from Herodotus to the Christian fathers; it also includes a number of Greek and Latin inscriptions, ranging from the second century B.C. to A.D. 390. The succeeding chapters of the book discuss the myths and cult of Attis from a comparative point of view. The other two pamphlets are chiefly materials for study. We give these books a hearty welcome, tempered with regret, for the first volume is not sufficiently indexed—the other two parts have no index at all. Almost incredible, but true. Mr. Fahz, we may note, has a grammatical error in his title-page.

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THE LITTLE BLACK PRINCESS: A TRUE TALE OF LIFE IN THE NEVER-NEVER LAND. By JEANNIE GUNN. Alexander Moring, Ltd.

IF this delightful child's book is written, as it appears to be, from first-hand knowledge of the blackfellows of the Northern Territory of Australia, Mrs. Gunn ought certainly to give us the benefit of her observations with details suited to the needs of the student. No more graphic picture of blackfellow life has yet reached us. It shows us the actual working of what others describe.

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ANIMISM: THE SEED OF RELIGION. By EDWARD CLODD, London: A. Constable & Co. 1905.

MR. CLODD'S "booklet" (as he himself styles it) is constructed to meet the needs of the larger public. Nor does his practised hand fail him. The general reader is given just what he is likely to want, namely, the classical view of Animism and of its place in the history of religion.

Personally, however, I mistrust the classical view. I cannot

believe the "seed" of religion to consist merely in this or that way of conceiving something. That is the intellectualist fallacy. Mr. Clodd, however, is aware that religion is something more than creed. He sees that the something conceived pre-exists as something felt. The uncanny is feared before it is invested with the spirit or soul that man, thanks to reflection on his dream-experience and so on, has previously discovered in himself. Nay more, Mr. Clodd distinguishes between this somewhat elaborate anthropomorphizing of the object of man's mystic fear and a vague kind of anthropomorphizing that yields a notion better rendered by "power" than by spirit proper; and in this context quotes a very interesting passage from Mr. Risley, *Census of India* (1901), Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 352. Had he worked out this side of the subject more fully he might, I think, have found reason to acquiesce in a very considerable curtailment of the sphere of Animism (understood as the recognition of spirit proper). As it is, many instances he quotes to prove attribution of spirit seem more or less beside the point; for example, the old story about the Koussa Kaffirs who saluted the anchor, or that about the Kukis who revengefully cut down the tree from which one of their number had fallen (p. 43). I cannot here go into the matter further, but would refer Mr. Clodd to that pamphlet of Dr. Preuss which I reviewed in the last number of *Folk-Lore*; there he will find a good case made out for the existence of a type of non-animistic anthropomorphizing of the uncanny, namely, the attribution of *mana*, that threatens to deprive animism at one fell swoop of a good half of its kingdom. Finally I would add that, even when all I have referred to has been duly taken into account, we are still on psychological ground. But psychology by itself cannot lay down the law about the seed or essence of religion, if, as I believe, religion primarily consists in cult, a social fact.

R. R. MARETT.

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ANTHROPOS: INTERNATIONALE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR VÖLKER- U. SPRACHENKUNDE. Edited by P. W. SCHMIDT. Band I, Heft 1, 2. Salzburg: Zaunrith'sche Buch- Kunst- und Stein-druckerei. 15 kr. p. a.

THIS new periodical is differentiated from other folk-lore publications by several special features. It is projected by certain Austrian and German Missionary Societies for the purpose both of giving to the world the ethnographical observations of Roman Catholic Mission-priests in every quarter of the globe, and of providing ethnographical information for the use of the missionaries themselves. It is a polyglot publication. The Latin preface tells us that communications from missionaries will be printed in the language in which they are received, whether Latin, German, Italian, English, or Spanish; books will be reviewed in the language in which they are written; articles dealing with the native races of a region in which some European language is generally known will appear in that language, (*e.g.*, articles on India in English, on South America in Spanish, etc.); and other matter will be duplicated in German and French.

We could wish to see the opening article, *Le rôle scientifique des Missionnaires*, by the Superior of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit at Paris, circulated among missionaries of every denomination, so well does it set forth the importance of ethnographical study to mission-work itself. Other articles deal with the Religious Rites of the Dyaks, the Folk-Tales of Brazil, the Sorcerers of Equatorial Africa, the Songs and Music of the Ewe Negroes, Chinese Hairdressing, etc., giving definite first-hand information in a way that suggests a high standard of cultivation among Roman Catholic as compared with Protestant missionaries. The weak point is the apparent unconsciousness of the existence of any ethnographical work outside that of the authors' own colleagues. However, the Bibliography and Reviews go far to neutralize this blemish.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

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*Books for Review should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF Folk-Lore*  
c/o DAVID NUTT, 57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON.

# Folk-Lore.

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**WEDNESDAY, 25th APRIL, 1906.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE) IN THE  
CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of Mrs. Nora Chesson was announced.

The election of Miss Ashton Rigby, Mrs. Hulst, and Mr. L. J. Pritchard as members of the Society was also announced.

Mr. W. L. Hildburgh exhibited a collection of Spanish amulets and *ex voto* offerings; and read a paper thereon. A discussion followed in which Mr. Tabor, Mr. Nutt, and the Chairman took part.

Mr. N. W. Thomas read a paper entitled "The Scapegoat in Europe" [p. 258] which was followed by a discussion in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. Nutt, and Mr. Gomme took part.

The Meeting terminated with votes of thanks to Mr. Hildburgh and Mr. Thomas for their papers.



## THE SCAPE-GOAT IN EUROPEAN FOLKLORE.

BY N. W. THOMAS., M.A.

(*Read at Meeting, 25th April, 1906.*)

TO those who are familiar with the customs of savage and semi-civilised nations, the idea of evil in its various forms as something concrete which can be transferred to a living being, or an inanimate object, is by no means surprising. It is in fact one of the most fertile of primitive ideas, and lies at the root of many customs which survive, in a more or less disguised form, up to the present day among civilised nations. In its more specialised form of the Scapegoat the idea is equally familiar to the average educated man, thanks to the fact that the ritual of the Jews, handed down in the Old Testament, has enshrined this memento of a rude past, and borne witness to the vitality of the underlying principle.

Dr. Frazer has shown in the *Golden Bough* that there is in Europe a widely-spread custom of burying or casting out, in effigy or otherwise, a personage known as Death, the Carnival, Lent, Winter, or some similar name, and these ceremonies take place in spring for the most part. Among the Slavs the rites are obviously connected with the cult of spirits of vegetation, or are magical practices intended to promote the revival of plant life or to stay its decline; it is therefore a reasonable hypothesis that the customs among non-Slavonic peoples are of similar origin. In support of

this view Dr. Frazer points to the fact that in many cases the effigy of Death is destroyed or buried and its place in the returning procession taken by a tree or branches dressed in gay attire, while elsewhere a primitive dramatic contest, typical of the revival of vegetation, takes place between Summer and Winter. He goes on to show that there are features in these ceremonies which cannot be explained on the hypothesis that we have to do with nothing but ceremonies connected with the death and revival of vegetation. "The solemn funeral, the lamentations, and the mourning attire, which often characterise these ceremonies," says he, "are indeed appropriate at the death of the beneficent spirit of vegetation. But what shall we say of the glee with which the effigy is often carried out, of the sticks and stones with which it is assailed, and the taunts and curses which are hurled at it?" These latter features Dr. Frazer interprets on the theory that the Death was "not merely the dying god of vegetation, but also a public scapegoat, upon whom were laid all the evils that had afflicted the people during the past year." He sees in these rites a combination of two customs which were at one time distinct and independent—the killing of the human or animal god in order to save his divine life from being weakened by the inroads of age on the one hand, and on the other hand the annual expulsion of evils.

The popular idea of the Scapegoat is that it is a living being driven from the habitations of man and bearing with it the sins of the community. But although this description holds true of some cases, it does not apply, as Dr. Frazer points out in a footnote to his Scapegoat chapter in the *Golden Bough*, to the scapegoat of the Jews, which seems to have been thrown over a crag near Jerusalem instead of being set free and driven into the wilderness, as the popular version of the

ceremony has it.<sup>1</sup> However this may be, it is abundantly clear that a scapegoat must, for purposes of folklore, be defined as a living being to whom are transferred evils of any sort in order to get rid of them; it is in no way essential that the animal or man should be set at liberty. As a matter of nomenclature it may be convenient to restrict the use of the term "scapegoat" to such cathartic ceremonies as are characterised by the setting free of a living creature; but then we must recognise that these ceremonies form only a part of a much larger whole and can only be interpreted with reference to that whole. This is particularly essential in dealing with the subject from the point of view of European folklore; for the original intention of many of the customs with which I deal has been obscured, and would not be discoverable, were I to restrict my researches to the scapegoat proper. It is clear that cathartic ceremonies, as I have defined them, include not only rites intended for the purification of whole communities, but also the magical rites for the benefit of individuals to which we more commonly apply the term "transference of evils"; and it is perhaps an open question how far the term "scapegoat" should be used of such individual cases. But no logical distinction can be drawn between individual and collective cases; if therefore in what follows I restrict myself in the main to collective rites, it is in the interests of brevity and not because I discern any line of demarcation between the two classes.

If we cannot with accuracy assert that fear is the origin of religion, it is at any rate true that this motive lies at the root of a large number of ceremonies practised in nearly all stages of culture. If we look at the Australian natives, who are certainly as primitive, so far as we can see, as any people now on the face of the globe, we find

<sup>1</sup>Two animals were provided, of which one was sacrificed: cf. the purification for leprosy, Lev. xiv. 48.

that their fears are aroused mainly by two classes of objects—spirits and magicians. A slight acquaintance with the beliefs of the Australian blacks shows that he divides spirits into two classes—non-human and human. When he ventures beyond the circle of light thrown by the camp fire, the Australian is careful to carry with him a fire-stick, as a means of keeping at a distance all the host of spirits with which he peoples the bush. The spirit of the dead man inspires him with equal terror, though we may see traces of another attitude towards the dead in the custom of keeping a fire lighted on or near the grave, no less than in the custom, formerly practised in New South Wales, of actually sleeping upon the grave. Perhaps these variations point to a distinction between the corpse and the ghost of the dead man, perhaps they are due merely to the fact that one set is practised by the relatives of the dead, who are to some extent exempt from his hostility, while the stranger's fear of a ghost is measured by the avoidance of the grave practised by the general public. However that may be, the important point is that fear of the dead is very widespread in Australia; and the only custom analogous to the expulsion of evils in other parts of the world has, in Australia, exclusive reference to the ghosts of the dead.

The Rev. W. Ridley has recorded from the Barwon a ceremony of expulsion of ghosts which consisted in a mimic battle between a party of warriors as representatives of the living and their invisible foes, and the victory of the human actors in this scene was regarded as equivalent to the expulsion of the ghosts of the dead.<sup>1</sup>

If Ridley has correctly reported the object of this custom, it is a somewhat curious thing that the Australians, who dwell in the midst of malevolent spirits, as they believe, and dare hardly stir from the camp fire

<sup>1</sup> Lang, *Queensland*, p. 441.

at night without a fire stick, do not seem to have hit upon the device, common in other parts of the world, of an annual expulsion of evil spirits and evils in general. On the other hand, if the Australian type is the primitive one, we have no European examples exactly on all fours with it; but when once the idea of expelling other evils or evil spirits had been adopted, the expulsion of ghosts might easily fall into the background.

I may here point out in passing that though the animistic idea is prominent in many ceremonies having for their object the expulsion of evils, we are hardly justified in regarding them as necessarily animistic. If I may for a moment turn aside from my path to illustrate this, I will quote the Celebes belief as to the cause of lycanthropy. The view seems to be that some kind of poison, a toxin as it were, infects the soul of the human being; but this toxin is hardly conceived animistically; it is a power, not a spirit, of evil.

Dr. Frazer has given many examples from all parts of the world both of immediate expulsions of evils and of the expulsions by means of scapegoats, with which I am more immediately concerned; I need not therefore go over familiar ground; but I will call attention to the fact that two of the chief seasons mentioned in his collection of facts as chosen by the European peasantry for the expulsion of evils, witches, or whatever they happen to call the ills of which they seek to rid themselves, are the winter solstice and May day, which in many cases is to be regarded as the original season for the celebration of many Easter customs. Another Christmas custom, to which Dr. Frazer does not allude, but which obviously bears the same interpretation, was the so-called "Klopfleinsnacht" of South Germany, when young people went round with whips and sticks, exactly as did the Cherokee Indians at their annual festival of purification.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Panzer, *Beitrag*, ii. 118.

some of our own Christmas customs are a survival of similar ceremonies.<sup>1</sup>

Besides this direct expulsion of invisible evils, there are, as Dr. Frazer has shown in great detail, various forms of indirect expulsion. The invisible evils may be conceived as loaded on the back of an animal or human being; in this form, from the best known example, the custom is known as the Scapegoat; or where the evil principle is regarded as spiritual and personal, it may be compelled to enter into the body of an animal or bird, and is thus removed from the midst of the community.

Corresponding to these ceremonies we have the expulsion of evils in visible form. Dr. Frazer quotes the Esthonian custom of driving out the devil; if it is rumoured that he has been seen about a village, the whole population turns out to give chase; the object of the hunt is usually a wolf or a cat. Of considerable interest from the point of view of my paper is another European custom cited by Dr. Frazer. In Westphalia there is a form of the expulsion of evils known as the driving out of the Sommervogel or Suentevogel, *i.e.* the butterfly. On the 22nd of February the children go from house to house knocking on them with hammers and singing doggerel rhymes in which they bid the Sommervogel depart. An alternative form of the practice is for the inmates of the house to drive the Sommervogel out.<sup>2</sup>

A similar custom prevails in Barcelona at Easter. The children, armed with wooden mallets, amuse themselves with beating the pavements and the walls of the houses. The blows are supposed to kill any Jews who may be hiding in the houses.<sup>3</sup>

Closely connected with the former case, in which the

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xxxviii. 335; Burne, *Shropshire Folklore*, pp. 410, 484-8: cf. *Guisers' Play and Songs from Staffordshire*, same author, in *F.L. Journal*, vol. iv. (1885).

<sup>2</sup> *G.B.*<sup>2</sup> iii. 92 n.

<sup>3</sup> *N. and Q.* 9th series, v. 315.

expelled animal is the evil thing itself, is the practice of expelling animals connected in popular belief with magicians. In West Africa the owl is the messenger of the wizard, and when one is caught it is the custom to break its claws and otherwise maltreat it, under the belief that its human counterpart is suffering in like manner<sup>1</sup> The expulsion of ghosts may take this form also, for it is a widespread belief that the human soul after death assumes animal form or that it enters into an animal, either for a time or permanently. In the South of Australia it was the custom to drive away a certain bird with black plumage, known as *mooldtharp*, on the alleged ground that it was an evil spirit; in reality it was believed that the souls of the dead assumed that form.<sup>2</sup>

This primitive example of immediate expulsion of evils in concrete form might suggest that the custom of the scapegoat proper is not primitive, and that the mediate expulsion of evils in this manner is of secondary character, being rather of the nature of an aetiological myth, invented to explain a custom no longer understood. But against this must be set the fact that the scapegoat is only one form of the mediate expulsion of evils, for we also find disease boats; further, the scapegoat itself is sometimes regarded as divine, or is at any rate respected, which, on the supposition that it was originally regarded as a power of evil and not as a vehicle on which was laden the evil, would hardly be probable.

At this point it may be well to indicate the areas in which the cathartic ceremonies are found. It is not easy to state with precision the distribution of the cathartic sacrifice; for in too many cases we are left in the dark as to the meaning of the ceremony described by an author. On the other hand, it is fairly simple to show where ceremonies of expulsion of evils are found in connection with the expulsion of an animal or human

<sup>1</sup> *Les. Missions cath.* 1884, 249.

<sup>2</sup> Angas, *Savage Life*, i. 96.

being from the community or from human society, temporarily or permanently. If therefore the present list errs, it errs on the side of including too few and not too many peoples.

In the Old World scapegoats seem to have been known, not only among the Semites, but also in Greece and Rome. Dr. Frazer quotes many examples of them from East and South Asia; and they were not unknown in mediaeval Europe. In Africa, on the other hand, they seem to be rare, on the west coast, unless indeed, we include customs of setting free animals or birds, which however may in many, if not all cases, with equal or greater probability be connected with totemism.

Turning to the New World, we have the well-known case of the sacrifice of the white dog among the Iroquois in connection with an annual expulsion of evils; it is true this sacrifice is said to be of late origin; but on this point further evidence seems to be necessary. In South America, we have a very interesting case of the scapegoat among the Piaroas of the Orinoco and perhaps the custom was more widely found; but our information about the southern half of the New World is extraordinarily sparse; and I do not presume to say whether similar customs are likely to be widely found or not.

Before I turn to the European facts with which I am specially concerned it will be well to take from another area an illustrative case, for in Europe the ceremonies are either ambiguous in their interpretation or subsist only in a truncated form. As my example I choose a South American ceremony, not only because it has been described with some fulness, but also because it presents features closely allied to some of the European customs to which I shall call your attention.

It is a well known European and African belief that a new house is tenanted by an evil spirit; in some parts a cat or other animal is thrown into the new



house and is supposed to fall a victim to the evil spirit. The Piaroas, according to Marcoy, have the same belief and the same custom in what is probably a more primitive form. They, too, conceive that a new hut is occupied by an evil spirit, which must be dislodged before they can take possession of their new abode. They proceed to capture some bird, by preference a toucan, and wrap it up in leaves; they then place it across the threshold; this is supposed to have the effect of preventing the spirit from making its escape. This done, the men of the family set to work to dance, gesticulate, and menace the evil spirit according to the familiar methods of savage rites of exorcism. At last the evil spirit attempts to leave the hut, but it cannot pass over the body of the toucan, and is compelled to enter it. The bird, terrified as well it may be, by the noise and confusion, struggles within the covering of leaves; an old woman keeps her eye upon it and at the proper moment sets it free and herself escapes at full speed into the forest. The bird makes use of its recovered liberty and carries away the evil spirit.<sup>1</sup>

This description is confirmed by a later traveller, Chafanjon, who adds some details of considerable interest. I abridge his description of the ceremony. The evil spirit has to be driven out of a newly finished hut, which from the description is evidently of the communal type found elsewhere in South America. The community which is to inhabit it goes out in quest of a bird, by preference a toucan, which is put near the door in a basket. Then the oldest man plucks from its tail and wings three feathers, which he fastens to the top of a stick taken from a tree termed by our author "*l'Arbre aux Demons*." Holding this in his left hand he enters the hut and lights as many fires as there are families to inhabit it. Then he plants his stick and the fire-brand

<sup>1</sup> *Tour du Monde*, 1888, 348.

in the middle of the hut and rejoins the remainder of the community. Each man then removes from the toucan as many feathers as there are women and children in his family and fastens them to the top of a stick with resin ; this he plants in the earth near the fire assigned to him, the order of the fires being determined by the seniority of the men. Then, decked out with all his ornaments, necklaces, armlets, etc., each man makes for a fire tended by the oldest woman, who serves out a liquid called *bruquilla*. They enter the hut and each takes possession of his own fire ; while this is going on the women and children retire to the forest, the only exception being the old woman who takes charge of the toucan, wraps it in leaves (banana) and places it across the threshold to stop the passage for the escaping evil spirit. Meanwhile the men dance, swing their sticks, and shout, till the evil spirit attempts to escape ; but on the threshold the toucan stops it and compels it to enter its body ; if it does this it must remain there as long as the toucan lives. The old woman already mentioned keeps her eye on the toucan, and when it shows signs of uneasiness she concludes that the spirit has entered it, and sets it free. The feather-ornamented sticks with which the men have put the evil spirit to flight are carefully preserved ; the feathers serve to make feather headdresses, and the stick itself is put on the roof.<sup>1</sup>

I pass over the details of the ceremony, some of which are closely paralleled in the Old World ; but I will digress for a moment and deal with the subsequent use of the magical stick. The wood of it is perhaps sacred ; but it is certain that a part of its cathartic virtue comes from the toucan feathers ; now in another ceremony, that of the initiation of girls, there is carved on a post the grimacing face of the evil spirit, which the flagellation inflicted on the unfortunate young woman is supposed to expel ; in

<sup>1</sup> Chaffanjon, *Orenoque*, p. 202.

the case of the feather stick, therefore, the carving would perhaps, if it were carved, be that of a toucan's head. The Piaroas have not, as a matter of fact, taken this step; but though I can point to no exact American parallel to the European custom of carving horses' heads and other designs upon the gable heads,<sup>1</sup> we seem to have its first cousin in the Caraya practice, found also in Guiana, of putting on the gable the figure of an archer; the meaning of this is however conjectural.<sup>2</sup>

We have of course in Europe, concurrently with the carving of heads on the gable ends, the hanging up of skulls, and in Africa the sacrifice of a human victim; we cannot therefore assume that a custom like that of the Piaroas is necessarily the lineal ancestor of the horses' heads on the gable. At the same time, bearing in mind that the skulls are put everywhere *but* on the gable, the explanation suggested here cannot be dismissed as impossible or improbable. Both the skull and the gable head are amulets intended to protect the house; but we cannot assume that the skull was the earlier, the gable head the later custom, when we see in South America a practice which indicates that the gable decoration may have been unconnected with sacrifice.

Returning now to the scapegoat, I think it will be admitted that in the Piaroan custom we have an excellent example of the cathartic ceremony of the type with which I am dealing to-night. Equally clear in intention is the Dahomey custom recorded by the Jesuits nearly forty years ago. It appears that the serpent-god Danbe was brought out every three years and carried round the city in order to rid the community of its ills and diseases. There is here, it is true, no subsequent expulsion of the serpent; and it may be argued that the object of the ceremony was rather to annihilate the evil influences by diffusing the holy influence; it is certainly of importance

<sup>1</sup> *Folklore*, xi. 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Veröff. kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, ii. 75.

to note in this connection that the Dahomey custom required that the god should be carried round, whereas in other scapegoat ceremonies the animal does not possess a specifically sacred character, nor even in all cases undergo any rite of sacralisation such as is often held indispensable to fit the victim for sacrifice. Perhaps, however, we have only to thank the imperfection of our records for this apparent indifference to the character of the scapegoat.

In this connection I may perhaps quote an account of an Indian festival which is in other respects parallel to some of the European customs to which I am going to draw attention. The Mhars are said to celebrate the Dusserah festival in order to appease the evil spirits. A young buffalo is driven in front of the temple of Bhawani and certain prayers are said; these are perhaps a consecration of the animal. Then the chief wounds the animal with his sword in the neck and it is set free and hunted; in the course of the chase the participants try to strike it either with their hands or with a weapon; and it is believed to carry away the sins of all those who are successful in touching it. After it has been driven round the walls and in at the entrance gate again, the head of the buffalo is cut off and this must take place at one blow. Thereupon the Mhars throw themselves upon the victim and each takes possession of a piece of the flesh; this done, they go in procession round the walls calling on the spirits and demons and asking them to accept the offerings, which are thrown backwards over the wall.<sup>1</sup>

I now pass to the European practices with which I am more especially concerned in this paper. The view is, as we have seen put forward by Dr. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*, that there is a scapegoat element in many of the springtide vegetation customs, and one or two unmistakeable examples of such a practice are there brought

<sup>1</sup> *Globus*, xvii. 24.

forward. There are other customs which seem to me capable of no other interpretation. Thus, in more than one village in Holland the last day of the Kirmess, which has in many cases absorbed elements from other festivals, was known as "Kat-uit"; and old people say that down to 1815 the custom existed, at any rate in Wambeck, of throwing a living cat out of the gates.<sup>1</sup>

I showed in a former paper read before this society<sup>2</sup> that the cat figured in a number of annual ceremonies, among which was casting it down from a tower or other high place; we have seen that there is reason to suppose the Biblical scapegoat to have been thrown down a precipice, and we seem to have here another case of the same rite; other parallels might readily be quoted, but I pass on to better known customs.

Prominent among European animal customs is the hunting of the wren. I need not retrace the ground already covered by Dr. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*; it will be sufficient for me here to call attention, first, to the fact that, like the serpent of Dahomey, the wren is taken in procession round the village or town; secondly, that as among the Piaroas the feathers are distributed and kept; and, thirdly, that in many cases the end of the whole ceremony was the burial of the wren. More significant, however, for my purpose is the custom at Entraigues quoted by Dr. Frazer; at this place the wren was hunted on Christmas Eve; when they caught one alive, they humbly presented it to the priest, who, after the midnight mass, set the bird free in the church.<sup>3</sup> In Nivernais one of the landowners had to come every year and kneel bareheaded without sword or spurs on the threshold of the principal gate of Champ d'Ioux; and in this position to set free a wren brought to him for that purpose.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Volkskunde*, vi. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Folklore*, xi. 228.

<sup>3</sup> *G.B.*<sup>2</sup> ii. 445.

<sup>4</sup> Rolland, *Faune*, ii. 297.

These practices are by no means confined to France; for at Kirkmaiden in Scotland there is a custom of catching a wren on New Year's Day and setting it free after decking it with ribbons.<sup>1</sup> This recalls a French custom; to keep a swallow in a cage is said to bring misfortune;<sup>2</sup> anyone who catches a swallow ties a ribbon to its foot and sets it free; this is said to bring good luck.<sup>3</sup>

In the West of Germany we find at Liepe near Eberswald an Ascension Day custom which closely resembles the setting free of the wren. The young men of Liepe and the neighbouring village of Lower Finow used to go into the forest, where two "eagles" always built their nest; two of the young ones, one for each village, were taken and kept till Whitsuntide on a fish diet. Then they were made fast to a handbarrow or other means of carrying them and a hoop set over them; on the second day they were carried in procession from house to house, just as the wren frequently is; as in the case of the wren a song was sung:

Wi brengen ju en jungschen Jänse-oar

Wi hebben en utjenoam!

Wi sin mit uwer Berch un Toal jekoam.

Band! Band! Band!

Thereupon the girls brought out ribbons and made them fast to the hoop; subsequently they were divided among the young men. The day after this procession they wore the ribbons in their hats and after a few days the "Jänseoar" was set free.<sup>4</sup>

We have already seen that the butterfly is called the "Sommervogel" and driven out. The same name is given in Grosselfingen to the pigeon which is made fast

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Ass. Ethnog. Survey*, No. 199.

<sup>2</sup> *La Tradition*, v. 199.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. des Trad. pop.* iv. 229, cf. Rolland, ii. 321.

<sup>4</sup> *Kor.blatt für niederd. Spr.forschung*. vi. 43.

the Thursday before Fastnacht to a pole at the side of the bridge. The pole is surrounded by the "Butzen" or wearers of masks, and the dancers, who defend it against robbers; in the end, however, the latter succeed and carry off the bird, while the Butzen and the rest of the people break out into lamentations: "The Summer-bird is stolen; now it will never be summer again," until the thieves are caught and thrown into the pond. Then the Narrenvogt solemnly sets the pigeon free.<sup>1</sup>

We have in this ceremony, I think, an excellent example of the mixed motives of many popular festivals; on my interpretation the "Sommervogel" was originally set free to remove the accumulated evils; the thieves who carry it off represent the powers of evil; consequently they must be conquered; hence the bird which acts as the scapegoat must actually be recaptured and brought back. The ducking of the thieves is doubtless a rain-charm; and the introduction of the ideas of a contest between summer and winter has finally metamorphosed the ceremony and made it appear that the bird is a precious possession and not the embodiment of evils.

Although there is little actual suggestion in any of the cases to which I have so far called attention, that the rite is one of purification or expulsion of evils, the form of the ceremony strongly suggests that this was the original meaning of the liberation of the animal. In the case of the wren this conclusion is supported by the fact that it figures in another part of France in a ceremony which has already been shown by Dr. Frazer to form part of Indian purificatory ceremonies; this is the tug-of-war, which is seen in a modified form in the contest for the pigeon. At Laguenne, near Tulle in Lower Limousin, the inhabitants elected a person who bore the name of Roi de la Tire-vessie. He had to strip before his fellow-citizens and a crowd of curious

<sup>1</sup> Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.* p. 134.

visitors and then throw himself into the water; then he had to pass three times underneath the bridge with his head under water. This done he proceeded to the town; but before he did so, he mounted a waggon, holding on his wrist a wren, its head covered with a hood such as is used in falconry, and silk tassels on its feet. To one side of the waggon were assigned the people who had married within seven years of the ceremony, to the other side those who hoped to enter into the bonds of matrimony; and the two parties then struggled till one pulled the waggon over to its side. Then the king entered the town with his wren and seated himself on a large stone; three times in succession he called upon the Seigneur de Laroche or his representative to receive his homage. Then he plucked feathers from the wren and threw them in the air. This done, the Seigneur or his representative took the place of the king, received from him the wren and his homage. In the early part of the seventeenth century a wooden wren was made fast to a pole after the homage had been rendered, and each inhabitant of the town had to shoot an arrow at it; if it was not hit they had to give to the Seigneur a silver bow of the value of sixty livres.<sup>1</sup>

It is apparent at a glance that these ceremonies are by no means of simple origin. Perhaps we may interpret the dipping and walking in the water as a rain charm; the shooting at the wren, a point to which I shall return later, is usually a distinct ceremony, unconnected with the hunting, which, we may suppose, preceded the rites here described; or perhaps it is rather an alternative form to the hunt. The association of the custom with the homage to the lord of the manor can hardly be anything but late; perhaps it is the nucleus round which other, previously-disconnected, ceremonies have focussed. It may be that the tug-of-war between

<sup>1</sup> *La Tradition*, iv. 166.



the married and unmarried was not originally connected with the wren custom at all; and I do not, therefore, lay much stress on that feature as a proof that wren customs are connected with ceremonies of expulsion of evils. There are, however, elements both in the hunting of the wren and other birds or animals on which some stress may be laid as proof of the cathartic nature of the rites. We have seen that at the Dusserah festival the Mhars endeavour to strike the buffalo, believing that each person who does so relieves himself of the load of sin. Similar rites are a feature of more than one human sacrifice. One of the features of the hunting customs is that the animals are struck at by those who take part in the rite. It may be said that this a necessary feature of any hunt and does not bear any esoteric meaning. That is so, but the beating is not confined to hunting ceremonies only. In many cases the animal or bird is shut up or made fast to a pole, as in the Laguenne custom; here too, it may be said, the choice of a king, which is usually the end and aim of the contest at the present day, involves a trial of skill of some sort, and the throwing at cocks and similar customs is no more than a trial of skill. It might indeed be argued that it was very much more in its primitive form. In fact, in some of the forms of Blind Man's Buff, which, as I showed in my former paper, are a reproduction with human performers of the games of sacrifice of which throwing at cocks is a typical example, the players strike the "blind man" as often as they can and he attempts to guess who hit him. That this was a very early form is clear from the fact that it is mentioned among Greek games by Pollux in his *Onomastikon*.

But is unnecessary to produce collateral evidence of this sort except in proof of the wide-spread character of the element in these customs to which I am calling attention, viz., the striking or beating either of the

performer or of an animal. For in the Welsh form of the custom, known as *mwgwd* or blindfold, a young man was blindfolded on Shrove Tuesday and beaten with switches as he ran about the streets; sometimes the custom was varied, and here we see the connection of the blindfolded man with the cockthrowing, he had a fowl attached to his shoulders.<sup>1</sup>

From this it is clear that the custom of striking or beating animals was not simply a part of the process of securing them either in the chase or in a trial of skill, but something apparently more intimately connected with the central idea of the rite, as indeed has already been shown by Dr. Frazer in another connection. If, therefore, the *primâ facie* interpretation—the scapegoat theory—of the liberation of the wren and other birds is correct, we can with some probability regard the hunt and similar customs as based upon the same idea.

I have already pointed out that it is no necessary feature of the cathartic rite that a scapegoat should be set free; and, in fact, it seems arguable that many of the annual sacrifices to which I called attention in my former paper are explicable as cathartic sacrifices. But it may be well to give some examples which admit of no doubt. Near Maubeuge a ram was formerly led in procession in the same way as in the ceremonies already described, and the object of the ceremony is expressly stated to have been the removal of the sins of the people; but instead of the ram being set free it was killed by a gentleman of the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

Equally clear is the cathartic intention of the Jewish sacrifice on the eve of the Day of Atonement. The father of the family knocks the head of the cock thrice against his own head; then he kills it, cuts its throat, throws it down and so on; all these elements of the ceremony are or have been interpreted symbolically. Formerly it

<sup>1</sup> *Montgomeryshire Coll.* x. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Rolland, *Faune*, v. 206.

was given to the poor ; but they are said to have refused it because it was laden with iniquities, and from that time onwards only the money value of the bird was given.<sup>1</sup>

It is therefore clear that the cathartic intention explains not only scapegoat ceremonies proper but also sacrifices. I will cite further examples where the intention is less clear.

There was a custom prevalent in Wales at the end of the 18th century, of throwing a victim over a precipice when a murrain broke out among the cattle.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the Jewish scapegoat, precipitation from a height seems to have been the important point in the rite. We may, therefore, perhaps regard that Welsh custom as a ceremony intended for the expulsion of evil ; so too, the sacrifice of a cat at Ypern in Belgium and at Attendorf in the Mark, where a cat was thrown from a church tower or other edifice ; in the same way a goat was sacrificed at Liepa and among the Wends.<sup>3</sup>

The intention of these ceremonies is, it is true, nowhere explicitly stated, but in similar customs elsewhere the object of the rite is not yet forgotten. In the Oberpfalz a goat is thrown from the church tower on September 1st, *i.e.* about the time of harvest ; and at Jičín in Bohemia a goat or ram is decorated with ribbons and wreaths during the Kirmess and thrown from the church tower in order to secure a good harvest the following year. This custom is widely practised in Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia.

Ceremonies of this kind, practised from time immemorial by the uncultured classes, are not and never were intended as sacrifices to this or that deity, any more than the customs of the harvest-field and sowing-tide, which formed

<sup>1</sup> *G.B.* iii. 109 n.

<sup>2</sup> Owen, *Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*, p. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Coremans, *L'Année*, p. 53. *Zeits. f. D. M.* ii. 93. *Mitt. des Nordböhm. Excursionsclubs*, xxiii., 108. Sommer, *Sagen aus Thüringen*, p. 179.

the subject of Mannhardt's epoch-making researches, are to be interpreted as relics of the cult of this or that god.

But there is a practice, also found in Bohemia, of killing a cat on Christmas eve and burying it in the cornfield or under a fruit-tree in order that the evil spirit may not damage them.<sup>1</sup> This may perhaps be taken as casting some doubt on my interpretation of the sacrifices previously considered. It cannot indeed be said that the cat is buried as the representative of the corn-spirit; nor indeed is it probable that, as in some cases of the foundation sacrifice, it is killed to provide the field or the orchard with a tutelary spirit, tempting as this theory of the origin of the animal corn-spirit might be. It may, however, legitimately be argued that the evil spirit whom the Bohemian seeks to propitiate is not a mere aetiological personage but a chthonic deity, and that the slaughter of an animal is to serve the same purpose as was believed by the Khonds to be attained by the sacrifice of the Meriah.

But it is less easy to explain in this way the custom of precipitation from a height; still less can the simple expulsion of the cat or other animal be regarded as a propitiation of chthonic deities. Even therefore in the case of rites connected with the crops, some sacrifices may be cathartic.

However that may be, it is abundantly clear that purely cathartic sacrifices are known. That being so, I now pass on to argue the cathartic character of certain customs in which animals figure but are not set free. These are (a) rites connected with the first of the species seen after the new year and (b) wedding customs.

In my former paper<sup>2</sup> I mentioned some examples of killing the first butterfly, wasp, or snake, for luck. It is true that the explanations given of these particular practices do not explicitly confirm the view that this is

<sup>1</sup> Grohmann, *Aberglaube*, no. 367.

<sup>2</sup> *Folklore*, xi. 228.

another case of cathartic sacrifice ; but when we consider the corresponding customs with the living birds and insects this view is seen to be highly probable. From Aristophanes onwards many authorities may be quoted for customs connected with seeing the first swallow, stork, butterfly or snake, or hearing the first cuckoo. At the present day the interpretations are very varied ; but even now we see distinct traces of what I take to be the primitive idea and foundation of the customs. For example, you must greet the first stork, if you desire to be free of backache during the year ; another recipe is to roll on the ground, but in this case the object is unspecified. Sometimes it is said to be lucky to see the first stork in flight ; and here, perhaps, the idea may be that it removes ill fortune from you.<sup>1</sup> In the same way when the first swallow is seen, the proper thing to do is to wash your face, for then you will not be troubled with freckles ; another authority says it is well to jump, but assigns no specific advantage to the person who carries out the recommendation ;<sup>2</sup> when the first cuckoo is heard, rolling is equally in place ; and the Huculs, when they see a snake for the first time in the year, spit and say : "Go into the forest, I am going into the field."<sup>3</sup> Those who wish to find a swarm of bees are variously recommended to set free the first butterfly or to catch it ; but it is clear that the latter case must be a mutilated version of the former ; very significant in this connection is the practice of letting the first butterfly escape through the arm of one's coat.<sup>4</sup> But as absolute evidence of the cathartic intention of these customs I will quote the North German custom of catching the first gosling, taking care to preserve silence during the ceremony, and solemnly

<sup>1</sup> *Baltische Studien*, 33, p. 119 ; Straus, *Die Bulgaren*, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Globus*, xxxviii. 314 ; *Folklore Jl.* v. 187.

<sup>3</sup> *Folklore Rec.* ii. 88 ; *Rev. der Trad. pop.* iii. 345 ; *Globus*, lxix. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Strackerjan, *Aberglaube*, i. 105 ; *Melusine*, iv. 478 ; *Folklore*, xii.

stroking the face with it and then letting it go; this too is a remedy for freckles.<sup>1</sup> Many other similar customs might be quoted both with regard to animals and to phenomena such as the rainbow, thunder,<sup>2</sup> and so on; but the mere heaping up of examples will not establish the suggested explanation, if it is not justified by those already cited. I therefore pass on to my second point.

I have suggested above that the custom of throwing at cocks is a variant of the scapegoat. One period at which it is or was largely practised was the spring, a time of year which, on other grounds, we have reason to connect with cathartic practices. But throwing at cocks is also a feature of marriage customs in many parts of Europe; and it seems possible that here too the same explanation may apply. In this connection the part taken by the newly-married in many spring customs, their share in the tug-of-war mentioned above, and especially the ducking of the newly-married man, and the carrying of the wren to the house of the newly-married, may perhaps be significant. At any rate as evidence of the belief that purificatory ceremonies are desirable at such a juncture I may cite the widely-found practice of beating the bride or bridegroom; the *Polterabend*, in its primitive form, seems closely allied to expulsion ceremonies.

Throwing at cocks is not the only form of the customs dealt with earlier in this paper which is practised at weddings; occasionally we find that the male guests are privileged to raid the neighbouring hen-roosts<sup>3</sup> and farm yards; possibly this may be the survival of a hunt. Another wedding custom, which I discussed some years ago, is that of the mimetic dance; the mimetic dance seems to be of unmistakeable cathartic intention in some cases, and, if the suggestions made in this paper as to

<sup>1</sup> Bartsch, *Sagen*, ii. 363, cf. 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrb. Schlesw. Holst.* viii. 102; Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Ehsten*, 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, ix. 554; *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien*, vi. 639, vii. 37.

the meaning of the connection of animals with weddings are valid, it is possible that the mimetic dance at weddings may also be interpreted in the same manner.

As showing the connection of the hunt with European marriage ceremonies a Poitou custom is of interest. The newly-married had to pursue a ram in a large field.<sup>1</sup> More obscure is the "bachelette" of Chatillon-sur-Seine; here on Good Friday the young husbands and wives had to perform a ceremony known as "fesser le mouton." A cask was set up with a cloth on it; and on the cloth bread and wine which a sheep had to eat. When it had made a good meal the last-married woman took a stick and drove it three times round the cask; then each of the husbands put it on his shoulders and twisted it three times round his head.<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this custom is not clear, but it is tempting to connect the eating and drinking of the sheep with the idea of sin-eating.

Some features of the wren customs tell in favour of the cathartic meaning of marriage customs. Whereas in Wales the wren is taken to the newly-married,<sup>3</sup> in Berry it is the newly-married who have to take the wren to the lord of the manor.<sup>4</sup> The two customs combined seem to make it clear that the association of the wren with the newly-married cannot have been accidental.

But these by no means exhaust the wedding customs connected with animals. There is the well-known custom of the "Brauthahn"; before I deal with this, however, I may refer to a South German practice. In the Upper Palatinate, pork is an essential dish at the wedding breakfast; in order to remove the odour from the meat the animal is rolled from the roof before the butcher slaughters it.<sup>5</sup> The same practice is found, though not in connection with weddings, in the Kurile Islands and in Nias,<sup>6</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Soc. Antiq. France*, i. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Byegones*, Ap. 22, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> *La Tradition*, iv. 364.

<sup>5</sup> Schönwert, *Aus dem Oberpfalz*, i. 98.

<sup>6</sup> *Globus*, lix. 373.

we learn nothing as to the intention of the ceremony. Possibly it may be the same as that of throwing objects over the roof; in the Jewish Atonement Day ceremony, the entrails of the cock are thrown over the roof; in Cornwall a pig's nose is thrown over the house for luck;<sup>1</sup> just as we find dead lambs thrown into the trees in England, the Esthonians throw kids and lambs on the roof;<sup>2</sup> and it must be remembered that there is reason to regard many ceremonies for the removal of diseases as in reality ceremonies of transference or expulsion. A cock is killed in Russia on January 13th in order that the fowls may do well; its head is cut off and thrown on the roof.<sup>3</sup> When a hen crows like a cock one remedy is to kill it and throw it over the roof; the same should also be done with a so-called cock's egg, which produces a basilisk.<sup>4</sup> There is, therefore, some ground for connecting these practices also with cathartic ceremonies; and if this is so, the Palatinate custom goes to show that the removal of evils was one of the objects sought in European marriage customs.

We are on more uncertain ground when we come to the "Brauthahn." But even here there are traces of similar ideas. In Poland the bride of a widower has to enter through a broken window, by which a cat has previously been thrown into the house;<sup>5</sup> taken in connection with the throwing of a cat into a new house, this custom seems very significant. Elsewhere the cat is rocked on a table before the bride, or cooked and given to the newly married couple,<sup>6</sup> but as a rule the animal so offered is a cock, partridge, goose, swan, sheep or other ordinary article of food, as I shall show below; from this it might be concluded that the eating was the essential part of the rite;

<sup>1</sup> *Folklore Jl.* v. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Boecler-Kreutzwald, *loc. cit.* p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Globus, lvii. 269.

<sup>4</sup> Grimm, no. 583; *Zts. d. Myth.* iii. 339.

<sup>5</sup> *La Tradition*, v. 346.

<sup>6</sup> Haltrich, *Zur. V.* 290; Rolland, *Faune*, vi. 102.



but this view neglects the cock-throwing and other customs, which are sometimes only a preliminary to the eating of the bird, and may well have been the important feature at the outset. Thus a cock is burnt in Podliassie on the occasion of a wedding;<sup>1</sup> but in the Government of Siedlitz a living cock is carried by its claws, when the newly married couple come out of church, and swung in the air; it is subsequently taken into a field and fastened to a post wrapped in straw to which they set fire; only the feathers of the cock are burnt, however, and the flesh is eaten.<sup>2</sup> If we compare these two customs it is clear that the burning is far more likely to be the original custom than that it should have been developed out of the practice of eating a cock at the wedding breakfast.

The same may be said of a custom practised in the department of Indre. A young man before his marriage takes a cock to the house of his intended but stops at the door to pluck it. The custom is on all fours with the plucking of the wren and may be regarded as the essential element; at the same time its significance is not quite clear.

Thus, though the "Brauthahn" is apparently a side issue, there are some grounds for regarding wedding ceremonies, including the "Brauthahn," as cathartic. I will, therefore, offer no excuse for giving at this point a brief survey of the group of analogous practices.<sup>3</sup> In parts of Germany the cock no longer figured, though the name "Brauthahn" survived; sometimes there was a pat of butter on the table in the form of a cock; sometimes the name was given to the custom of offering a present of some sort, as in the well-known Welsh custom. Similarly in Great Russia the young wife the day after the wedding was presented with a cake on which were figures of cocks, ducks, etc.<sup>4</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> *Globus*, lxix. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Anthropologie*, iii. 543.

<sup>3</sup> *Globus*, xlii. 244; *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien*, vii. 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Anthropologie*, ii. 423, n. 1.

east of France the custom has become so far symbolical that the cock is white and is given only to a virtuous bride.<sup>1</sup> Among the South Slavs it is the bridegroom who receives from his mother-in-law the cock and a cake.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes it is the guests who eat the cock, sometimes the married couple, either in public or private.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the cock is kept all night in the nuptial chamber.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes it is only brought on the morrow and introduced alive. In the Middle Ages there was a German custom which faintly suggests something of the nature of a tug-of-war between the newly-married couple. A cock was brought, whose wing had been cut in a manner to permit of the bride separating it from the body of the cock, while the husband held the other wing. It is, perhaps, not unimportant that the bride had to throw the wing away or get rid of it in some manner.<sup>5</sup>

The cock is not the only animal which figures in these ceremonies. In Pojk, Illyria, the bride receives from her husband or his brother an ox, cow, or sheep; she takes it by the horns, and then one of her near relatives must lead it three times round in a circle.<sup>6</sup> Among the Crim Tartars a lamb is given; in Bulgaria a goat or a sheep, which is eaten.<sup>7</sup> In the Caucasus, on the other hand, the sheep are offered to the gods.<sup>8</sup> In La Creuse a cat and a fowl are killed and cooked together for the newly married.<sup>9</sup> More remote from the original custom is the Vosges practice, according to which the younger sister who marries first must give a white goat to her elder sister.<sup>10</sup>

In Moscow geese, which have perhaps replaced swans, are presented to the newly-married.<sup>11</sup> In the Ukraine an

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. der Trad. prop.* iv. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Krauss, *Sitte*, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> *Bavaria*, i. 390, 394; Rolland, vi. 102; Krauss, p. 487; Soester Danneil, p. 119; Pröhle, *Harzbilder*, p. 87, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Soester Danneil, 113.

<sup>5</sup> *Russ. Rev.* xii. 268.

<sup>6</sup> *Die ill. Prov.* p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> Holderness, *New Russia*, p. 236.

<sup>8</sup> *Anthropologie*, v. 287.

<sup>9</sup> Rolland, *Faune*, vi. 102.

<sup>10</sup> *Melusine*, i. 454.

<sup>11</sup> *Rev. Trad. Pop.* iv. 324.

owl adorns the *korovai*, or wedding-cake, and is the perquisite of the father.<sup>1</sup> In Podolia pigeons are on the cake, and a living pigeon is given in Poitou.<sup>2</sup> In Naabburg and Normandy the pigeon was eaten by the newly-married.<sup>3</sup> Among the Letts the husband had to carve a partridge on his wedding day.<sup>4</sup>

From this epitome of wedding customs it will be apparent that the "Brauthahn" ceremony is found in many different forms; in fact, if we had no other animal customs connected with weddings, it would be rash to speculate as to its significance. But it seems to me to be a fair hypothesis that in this group of customs also we find the idea of a transference of evils as the primitive feature, which has subsequently been transfigured out of all recognition. As an explanation, therefore, of many wedding and annual sacrificial customs in which animals figure I suggest that they are cathartic. And if this hypothesis seems to labour under the familiar disadvantage of seeking to explain too much by one key, may I point out that, so far as I know, the customs in question do not exist outside Europe and perhaps a portion of North Asia; they may well, therefore, have spread from a single centre. On the other hand Dr. Frazer has, I think, demonstrated the immense importance of this idea of the expulsion of evils in all parts of the world; it is, therefore, by no means improbable *a priori* that they should be widely spread in Europe, nor yet that they should have survived till our own day.

But the annual customs, hunt, sacrifice, liberation and so on, are only one side of the attitude of the folk towards animals. Side by side with these annual customs is the belief that the animal is sacrosanct, and popular

<sup>1</sup> *Anthropologie*, ii. 558, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Baumgarten, *die kom. Mysterien*, p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Anthropologie*, ii. 423, n. 1; Dumine, *Tenchebray*, p. 483.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Trad. Pop.* iv. 324.

superstition holds it to be unlucky to kill or even injure many animals or birds. Here I do not wish to suggest that one explanation covers the whole of the cases; probably the belief in the sanctity of certain animals and birds may be traced back to more than one origin. At the same time it seems possible that this very cathartic function, with which we have been occupied in this paper, is the origin, at least in part, of the sacrosanctity of these species. For clearly if a bird or animal is set free to carry away the sins or evils of a community, it is a highly dangerous thing to come in contact with it; and from this may well arise the belief that it is inviolable; it is a commonplace that cleanness and uncleanness, holiness and impurity, are not distinguished by primitive man. In this connection I may call attention to the fact that although there is no suggestion that these birds or animals are malevolent in the ordinary course of things, it is expressly held to be very unlucky to bring them into a house—precisely what we should expect if they were regarded as beneficent but laden with the ills of the community. To this it may be objected that in many cases the presence of birds in or about houses is regarded as lucky; this may, of course, be due to the operation of some completely different set of ideas; but, on the other hand, it may also be due to the belief that precisely through their cathartic influence do they benefit the house; and it is on this ground that the cock, the hoopoe, the pigeon, the donkey and other species are often valued in popular superstition. In Wales, for example, it is expressly believed that a cock of a certain colour attracts all the evil influences that are in the house; and other examples could readily be cited.

It seems, therefore, possible that the sacrosanctity of some species may be accounted for on the supposition that as the bearers of the ills of community they are, in popular belief, dangerous, or at any rate may be so, for

there is clearly no means of distinguishing an animal charged with contagious ills from one which bears no such burden. At the same time this solution leaves unsolved the problem of why one animal or bird came to be chosen rather than another; it is possible that the selection of the scapegoat was determined by some deeper-lying cause to which we cannot now penetrate; whether this cause was some physical peculiarity of the species, something in its habits—migratory birds might well seem specially suitable—or some subjective foundation which it is hopeless to try to discover, these are questions which lack of the essential data compels me to pass over, and perhaps we can hardly expect to arrive at any conclusion upon them.

The facts adduced here make clear the wide prevalence of cathartic ceremonies in Europe and thus bear out Dr. Frazer's views as to the presence of this element in the custom of "carrying out Death." Dr. Frazer holds that it was on the one hand customary to kill the human or animal god in order to save his divine life from being weakened by the inroads of old age. With this custom was combined, he supposes, one of annually expelling the accumulated evils and sins of the community. In the cases we have been considering, however, when the animal scapegoat is killed, it seems to bear no marks of the dying god. So far as we can see the animal was selected as a convenient vehicle on which to load the burden of evil. It is, of course, possible that the divine character of the victim has been gradually effaced in the course of ages, but there does not seem to be any foundation for the view in the European facts which are here adduced. But whether the animal was originally regarded as divine or not, it is evident that there was a practice of killing the scapegoat, and this suggests that Dr. Frazer's theory of the dying god may not be the true explanation of the spring customs

in which a victim figures. These are questions which open a wide field of controversy and I will not attempt to deal with them here. I will merely suggest that if a representative of this vegetation spirit is killed it may be that it is killed as a cathartic victim and not to save its life from the inroads of old age.

N. W. THOMAS.

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## NOTES IN REPLY TO MR. HOWITT AND MR. JEVONS.

BY A. LANG, M.A., LL.D., ETC.

IN reply to Mr. Howitt's paper, I must express my sincere regret for having, as I am informed, misunderstood and misrepresented him.

I quote, from his *Native Tribes of South East Australia*, p. 500, the passage on which my difficulty hinged.

Mr. Howitt, after giving the geographical limits, as he knows them, in which the All Father belief prevails in South Eastern Australia, writes: "That part of Australia which I have indicated as the habitat of tribes having that belief" (I understand the belief in the All Father to be meant) "is also the area where there has been the advance from group marriage to individual marriage, from descent in the female line to that in the male line, where the primitive organisation under the class system has been more or less replaced by an organisation based on locality; in fact, where those advances have been made to which I have more than once drawn attention in this work."

When I read this passage, and I read it frequently, I understood Mr. Howitt to mean that the All Father belief "in that part of Australia" existed *only* in the area where tribes have made both what he calls "the advance from group marriage to individual marriage," and also the advances from descent in the female to descent in the male line, and thence to local organisation. I ask the reader whether this was not a natural, if erroneous, interpretation? I am aware that I was not alone in accepting

this as the meaning of Mr. Howitt. I therefore, in *Folk-Lore* and elsewhere, as in *The Secret of the Totem* (pp. 197-200), said that Mr. Howitt's statement that there was no All Father belief among tribes with female descent (so I understood it), "seems in collision with his own evidence as to the facts."

To cut a long story short, I now gather from Mr. Howitt's recent paper that he did not mean what he seemed to mean. He now says: "The All Father belief is not found in such primitive tribes as the Dieri, but in other tribes which have advanced to individual marriage, while yet retaining traces of primitive structure, such as the two-class organisation" (*Folk-Lore*, p. 186). To this relic of "primitive structure" we must add female descent and absence of local organisation.

Mr. Howitt asks me "what I desire to prove?" I desire to prove *that*; namely, that tribes so far backward as to lack "sub-classes," and to reckon descent in the female line, have the All Father belief. My misfortune was to suppose that Mr. Howitt implied denial of this fact in his book, p. 500. I explain the source of my error, which, here and elsewhere, I withdraw.

In the preface to *The Secret of the Totem* (p. ix.) I wrote, "Since critics of my *Social Origins* often missed my meaning, I am forced to suppose that I may in like manner have misconstrued some of the opinions of others. . . . I have done my best to understand, and shall deeply regret any failure of interpretation on my part." I apologized in advance for any such errors as I fell into about the meaning of Mr. Howitt in his page 500.

The whole importance of the matter is this: I supposed Mr. Howitt, on p. 500, to mean that the All Father belief is a concomitant of advance from "group marriage" to individual marriage, and from female descent to local organisation. Perhaps I again misinterpreted him? I do not know. I therefore, understanding him as I did, said



that his argument overlooked the northern and central facts in tribes with all the social advances, but with no All Father belief. Here a strange confusion arose. Mr. Howitt (*Folk-Lore*, p. 175) cites me as quoting Messrs. Spencer and Gillen for the central and northern facts, while on the same page, and on page 188, he says that I represented the facts of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen as parts of his "own collection of facts."

Surely Mr. Howitt might have seen that I could not intend to ascribe to him the authority for facts which he says that I quoted as given by two other authors? The truth is that a comma, accidentally standing where it ought not (*Folk-Lore*, Vol. xvi. No. 2, p. 223), caused the impression in Mr. Howitt's mind that I attributed to him the facts for which I also referred to Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.

The sentence runs—erroneously punctuated—"We are here on the ground of facts carefully recorded, though strangely overlooked, by Mr. Howitt . . ."

Delete the second comma!<sup>1</sup>

However, probably I should not have said that Mr. Howitt "strangely overlooked" the northern facts. I should have said that, if he really was arguing, as I supposed, for the All Father belief as a concomitant or result of certain social advances, he might explain why, in a very large area, we have all the social advances without the belief. For the sake of brevity, I shall not discuss Mr. Howitt's theory of what *he* calls "group marriage," and *I* call *pir-rauru*, till he completes the general criticism which he promises, and for which I thank him in advance. As he sometimes misconceives my meaning in his recent paper, and fails to understand my reasoning, I venture to wish myself better fortune in his promised critique; and I

<sup>1</sup>[We apologise for the misleading comma. Mr. Lang is so exact in such matters that we are in the habit of leaving his punctuation entirely unaltered; hence the unusual error, whosever it were, escaped correction in proof.—Ed.]

repeat my assurance of my regret for my misapprehension of his page 500, and for the misplaced comma. To the best of my power, I have forwarded my correction to every quarter in which it is likely to be published, have placed slips containing the *corrigendum* in the *Secret of the Totem* and the *Euahlayi Tribe*, and have withdrawn the criticism based on the misunderstanding.

In Mr. Jevons' review of my *Secret of the Totem*, I cannot conceal from myself that those who differ from him and from me have a parry and *riposte* to some of his arguments. But there is a passage concerning a very difficult question, in which, perhaps, he does not understand my view of the question (*Folk-Lore*, xvii. No. 2). I quote Mr. Jevons: "We have to ask why are we to believe that the phratries were originally local groups? In effect, the phratry to which I belong includes the women I may not marry; the other phratry includes the women I may marry. Why then should either phratry have been originally one local group? Why need either phratry ever have had a local habitation and a name? The women I may not marry are scattered about all over Australia, and so are the women I may marry. Even on Mr. Lang's theory, the latter never at any time, however far back we go, were concentrated in any one spot; and the former also must have been scattered pretty widely, when 'each animal-named group became full of members of other animal names by descent.' At that time, go where I would, I should find women having by descent the same animal name as myself, and therefore forbidden to me. In fine, the classification of women into prohibited and lawful, *i.e.* into the two phratries, cannot be the result of the rise of two leading local groups."

Here Mr. Jevons has in his mind, I think, the society, of the Australia of to-day, a society of inter-tribal peace on the whole, with frequent inter-tribal marriages. But my theory deals with a presumed remote past, with no

organised tribes, and rests on the hypothesis (of course incapable of verification), that local groups were in a state of hostility. This hypothesis is essential to my theory. "Go where I would," outside the limits of my local group, I should find "an iron welcome"—or rather a palaeolithic welcome—a spear in my viscera in place of a bride. For this reason I regard a "phratry," not as any set of men with women whom I might legally marry, but as, at first, one local set with whom my set had made *connubium*, so that it was safe and pleasant to go a-wooing among them. There were no phratries at all, on my theory, before this pacific arrangement, though Australia was full of women whom I might legally marry; namely, all the women who had neither the name of my local group, nor (perhaps), my animal name of descent. Legal brides they all were, but my life was apt to be the bride-price! My local group, as I state (*S.O.T.*, pp. 145, 146), did not contain, as Mr. Jevons supposes me to mean, any women whom I could marry. Even the women in my local group, not of my animal name of descent, were barred by the original rule, "not in local group named Emu," or whatever its name might be.

I find it very difficult to make critics understand that this rule, explicitly stated by me, is an essential part of my theory. Again, critics suppose, with Mr. Jevons, that, in my system, the two phratries are identical with "the classification of women into prohibited and lawful." But there were, at the period contemplated by my theory, thousands of "lawful" brides not in the phratry opposite to mine. Such brides, however, had to be wooed with the spear, whereas in the phratry allied with mine, I "speered after" a bride *peacefully*; the phratries having been ordained for the very purpose of getting a lawful bride without the chance of having to fight for her.

It was not then the case, as Mr. Jevons thinks, that

"women can only be divided into the two classes of lawful and not lawful, prohibited and not prohibited, as wives." My theory contemplates the existence

1. Of unlawful women.
2. Of lawful women *not* in the phratry with which mine is allied, but in hostile groups.
3. Of lawful women *in* the phratry with which mine is allied.

These last, unless I love danger, I court. The second class I *may* court, but, personally, I would avoid them. To-day a man of tribe A, phratry B, need not marry a woman of the allied phratry C. He may go to tribe D and marry a woman of phratry E. In times of old, with inter-tribal hostility, he would not find this sort of wooing safe or easy; nor would a hostile group betroth a child to him. I might clear up other points, but if these are now understood, it suffices. Of course they are only points in my hypothesis, still there they are.

These remarks are offered on the chance that Mr. Jevons may not have noticed that my theory is concerned with an hypothetical state of pre-tribal society, not with the present tribal condition of such tribes as survive contact with our race.

Dr. Gregory says that there are now only about 150 Dieri, all under a German missionary. Let us hope that if the Urabunna are more numerous and less sophisticated, an effort will be made to clear up the unsettled problems of their institutions.

A. LANG.

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## DR. HOWITT'S DEFENCE OF GROUP-MARRIAGE.

BY N. W. THOMAS.

ONE of the main difficulties of controversy is to get an intelligible reply to a criticism, and this is nowhere more true than in the sphere of anthropology. Especially in the field of social organisation are misunderstandings frequent; at the root of most of them lie "terminological inexactitudes." In dealing with totemism some authorities use all terms interchangeably; the terminology of marriage is equally vague, and the term "group-marriage" is applied to two forms of sexual relations which should be kept entirely distinct, if logical fallacies and complete failure to deal with the real points at issue are to be avoided. In his recent communication,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Howitt, in a reply to Mr. Lang, treats *pirrauru* marriage as identical with group-marriage; he speaks of *tippa-malku* marriage as an encroachment on the *pirrauru* group right; and finally asserts the former existence of group-marriage wherever the classificatory system of relationship is in use. The classificatory system, however, is not more closely connected with the *pirrauru* system than with *tippa-malku* marriage, and the validity of Dr. Howitt's identification of the *pirrauru* relation with the kind of group-marriage for whose former existence he argues may justly be challenged.

In certain tribes of the Lake Eyre district—the Dieri, the Kurnandaburi, and the Urabunna—individual marriage,

<sup>1</sup> *Folklore*, xvii. 174 sq.

known in the former tribe as *tippa-malku* marriage, but nameless, so far as we know, in the two latter—is combined with modified polygamy. In his work on the tribes of South-East Australia, Dr. Howitt asserts, in the most unqualified manner,<sup>1</sup> that a woman must enter into the *tippa-malku* relation before she can receive a *pirrauru* or accessory spouse. This statement he qualifies in his reply to Mr. Lang, but without explaining on what grounds he does so. It would be interesting to learn whether more recent observations have thrown doubt on the information which he published in 1904, for, unless my information is misleading,<sup>2</sup> the social organisation of the Dieri has been decadent for the last thirty years, and we cannot lay much stress on modern observations. So far as I know, the earlier information, gathered by an inaccurate observer, Mr. Gason, does not throw any doubt on the priority of the *tippa-malku* relation. Unless, therefore, Dr. Howitt relies on very recent information, I am unable to find any basis, and in no case any substantial basis, for the modification of his phraseology.

The *pirrauru* relationship, which is properly speaking modified polygamy, is established by a special ceremony performed by the head or heads of the totem-kin or kins concerned (I do not understand why Dr. Howitt suggests that only one totem-kin may be concerned; under the exogamic rule the *pirrauru* spouses must obviously be of different totems);<sup>3</sup> in the case of the woman it has always been supposed, up to the time of Dr. Howitt's recent communication, that the *tippa-malku* relation necessarily precedes the *pirrauru* relation; for the man a *tippa-malku* spouse is not necessary before he enters into *pirrauru* relations with a woman. The essential feature of the *pirrauru* relation is that certain men and women have

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 177-179, *N.T.S.E.A.*

<sup>2</sup> Gregory, *Dead Heart*, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Many other questions arise in connection with Dr. Howitt's account of *pirrauru*. With these I deal in a work now in the press.

sexual relations with each other, firstly, at times of tribal ceremonial ; secondly, when the *tippa-malku* spouse of the woman permits it ; and thirdly, in the absence of that spouse.

Both *tippa-malku* and *pirrauru* relationships receive tribal recognition and sanction ; all who enter into either of these relationships must stand to one another in the relation termed by the Dieri *noa*, which may be translated "marriageable." But not all who are *noa* to each other become either *tippa-malku* or *pirrauru* to each other. The group-marriage, whose prior existence is asserted by Dr. Howitt, not only for the whole of Australia, but also for all countries in which the classificatory system is in use, cannot, with any propriety, be termed marriage at all ; its proper name is "modified promiscuity." According to this view, all the people who stood in the *noa* relation to each other were *de jure* and *de facto* husbands and wives. At the present day *noa* undoubtedly means no more than "marriageable," and nothing which Dr. Howitt has put forward in his reply to Mr. Lang goes to show that it ever meant anything else.

In Europe we use the descriptive system of relationship ; it is essentially based on consanguinity ; if two persons are stated to stand in the relation of father and son, we assert a physiological fact. The classificatory system, on the other hand, is essentially a legal system ; the term which a boy applies to his father, whose identity is often no more in doubt among these peoples than it is among peoples using the descriptive system, he also applies to a number of other men, any of whom was *eligible* to marry his mother ; similarly he applies to his mother the same term that he applies to a number of women, all of whom were *eligible* spouses for his father ; it is sufficiently clear that the identity of the real mother is not in doubt.

Some tribes, of whom the Dieri is one, apply a special

term to the own father or the primary husband; others have a distinctive name for the real mother. But the presence or absence of the special term does not mean that the relation of parents and children differs in the tribes in question. In the same way there are tribes which recognise the existence of sisters or cousins in blood, whose position differs from that of the other members of the tribe who stand in the same (legal) relationship to their brother or cousin. From our point of view, group-terms are not, and never can have been, adequate expressions of certain relationships, such as mother and child, but it cannot be argued that the absence of terms to express those relationships means that the relationship did not originally exist. With these introductory remarks, I pass to a consideration of Dr. Howitt's remarks in detail.

Dr. Howitt gives a long list of "marital terms." By this he means the terms which are applied to each other by persons eligible to marry. These terms, with the exception of *pirrauru* and *piraungaru*, of which I have already spoken, correspond to the Dieri term *noa*; in some cases they differ according to the sex of the speaker; in others, as among the Dieri, they are the same for both sexes. Now, in the diagrams on page 182, and in the text of the following page, Dr. Howitt asserts a correspondence in meaning and use between *pirrauru* (Dieri) and *maian-bra* (Kurnai), and on this alleged correspondence turns the whole of his argument for group-marriage. But in point of fact, unfortunately for Dr. Howitt, no such correspondence exists. *Maian-bra* corresponds not to *pirrauru*, but to *noa*; they do not imply sexual relations between the parties who apply these terms to each other; and they do not mean that any ceremony has been performed to constitute the relationship between the man and woman. In what sense then does Dr. Howitt assert the parallelism of the two sets of terms?



Not content with asserting a non-existent equivalence, Dr. Howitt, by choosing the Kurnai as the tribe with which to compare the Dieri, has invited reference to a difficulty in the way of interpreting *noa* as a survival of group-marriage. On p. 170 of his *Native Tribes* he says of the "fraternal terms" of the Kurnai that they are "far wider than those of the Dieri, and appear to point to a time prior to the making of those restrictions which necessitated the use of (different) terms to distinguish between a man's own children and those of his sister . . ." in other words, that they point to a period of absolute promiscuity within the generation, to a time when brother and sister marriage was universal and individual marriage unknown. This inference, however, Dr. Howitt refuses to draw; he will not admit that the Kurnai ever had more than "group-marriage," *i.e.* modified promiscuity. He argues that *maian-bra* is a relic of group-marriage; but if the philological basis, which is all that this argument possesses, is adequate, we are entitled to ask why Dr. Howitt refuses to draw the appropriate conclusion from the fraternal terms. Either the philological argument is reliable or it is not. If it is not, the theory of group-marriage (modified promiscuity) finds no support in any of the relationship terms adduced by Dr. Howitt; it rests at best on a fancied identity of the *pirrauru* and the *noa* relationships. If, on the other hand, the philological argument holds good, why does Dr. Howitt refuse to pursue it to its logical conclusion? It would be especially interesting to hear the grounds on which he thinks these fraternal terms cannot be regarded as a legacy of the age of the Undivided Commune.

Dr. Howitt says on p. 185, "marriage between them as *pirrauru* or *piraungaru* is group-marriage [*i.e.* polygamy], and is defined by the terms of relationship. Such being the case, these must have originated when group-marriage [*i.e.* modified promiscuity] existed." These statements will not bear examination.

I have already pointed out that to use the term "group-marriage" of *pirrauru*, is confusing. *Pirrauru* is (1) not a necessary relation in any single case; (2) is entered upon by a definite ceremony; (3) is entered upon by individuals, no more and no less than the *tippa-malku* relation; and (4) is for the woman, so far as we know, subsequent to *tippa-malku*.

The other group-marriage (modified promiscuity) is (1) held to be a necessary relationship, exactly as is *noa*; (2) it is consequently entered into by no ceremony, collective or (3) otherwise; and (4) is of necessity a relation antecedent to all marital relationships. In a sense, of course, the people standing in the relation of *pirrauru* are a group; the relationship is a combination of polyandry and polygyny, and if Dr. Howitt chooses to say that either or both of the latter are also group-marriage, his assertion is just as true as it is of *pirrauru*; but the group-marriage thus asserted to exist has in neither case any relation to the assumed modified promiscuity to which the name of group-marriage is also applied.

In saying that *pirrauru* is "defined by the terms of relationship," Dr. Howitt seems to mean no more than that the *pirraurus* must also be *noa* to each other, exactly as must the *tippa-malku* husband and wife. But any inference which can be drawn from the one case can also be drawn from the other. That a man may marry only such women as are marriageable proves no more in the case of *pirrauru* than it does in the case of polygyny, or of individual marriage, *tippa-malku* or otherwise.

By a singular piece of reasoning Dr. Howitt goes on to infer that group-marriage must have existed when the group-terms were invented. This conclusion does not follow from his argument as to *pirrauru*, for I have shown how far *pirrauru* is from resembling the assumed group-marriage. In fact, Dr. Howitt himself admits as much in his next paragraph (p. 185), where he speaks of his

assertion of the prior existence of group-marriage as an assumption; he devotes eleven pages to matter connected with this assumption, but apparently recognises that at the end it remains an assumption still. Except in so far as the assertion of the identity of *pirrauru* and group-marriage (= modified promiscuity), and of the validity of the philological argument for group-marriage, can be reckoned as serious attempts at proof of their position, it may truly be said that believers in group-marriage have confined themselves to affirming that their view must be right. They never deign to consider in detail the arguments of the other side; at most they pass them over with the remark that the man on the spot understands all this much better than we can in England, quite ignoring the fact that, if they are thought fallible, it is erroneous logic, not mal-observation, which is laid at their door.

As to group-marriage being a necessary inference from the use of group terms, we may ask: (1) Has Dr. Howitt or any one else ever produced any direct evidence that people in the *noa* relation were ever *de facto* and *de jure* in the position of husbands and wives to each other in any way in which they are not at the present time? (2) Has Dr. Howitt or any other believer in group-marriage ever taken any notice of the argument that *noa* means "marriageable" not "married"? (3) Has Dr. Howitt or anyone else ever replied in detail to any of the objections<sup>1</sup> which have been urged against the group-marriage theory? If so, will he oblige me by giving the reference?

In asserting the validity of the argument from terminology, Dr. Howitt strangely overlooks more than one fact. (1) He has himself asserted, *apropos* of the Kurnai, that terminology is an uncertain basis; (2) an alternative rendering of *noa* ("marriageable," instead of "married") has been proposed; (3) if we conclude from the absence of terms for father and other individual relationships that the

<sup>1</sup> Lang, *Secret of the Totem*, pp. 38, 39.

father did not exist as an individual, we must also conclude that there were group-mothers. Will Dr. Howitt accept this view? Will he admit that group-motherhood as well as group-marriage existed? If not, will he tell us wherein lies the essential difference between the cases?

On p. 186 Messrs. Spencer and Gillen are cited to show that *pirrauru* is not an abnormal development. In reply to this I will point out (1) that in the Lake Eyre tribes alone does a name exist for polygamy; all the other tribes cited by Dr. Howitt have terms corresponding to *noa*; none has anything corresponding to *pirrauru*, *dilpa malli*, and *piraungaru*. That alone is conclusive evidence of differential evolution among the Lake Eyre tribes; (2) in two of these three cases there is a special ceremony of allotment which cannot have existed if modified promiscuity were ever the practice. If the *kandri* ceremony occurs elsewhere, it is unfortunate that Dr. Howitt has not discovered it. If it does not, we have additional evidence that *pirrauru* is something out of the normal course.

Dr. Howitt holds (p. 187) that the *jus primae noctis* is also group-marriage. If I am right in supposing that a woman must be *tippa-malku* before she is *pirrauru*, this constitutes a marked difference between the Dieri custom and the Kurnai practice in question. Dr. Howitt does not, it is true, tell us whether the right of access of the *brogan* is exercised before or after that of the husband. If the former, as is usually the case, the practice cannot be put on a par with the *pirrauru* relation, which it resembles in no single important particular, and, as Mr. Lang has pointed out, the custom is not marriage at all. It is a mere guess that it has anything to do with the supposed state of group-marriage. Dr. Howitt twits Mr. Lang with guessing, and with not observing that *tippa-malku* is an individual relationship. If he will look at p. 53 of Mr. Lang's *Secret of the Totem*, he will see that

the latter charge is erroneous. With far more truth Mr. Lang can retort that Dr. Howitt has overlooked the fact that although motherhood cannot be a group-relationship, the Australian often has no individual term which he applies to his own mother. It is conceivable that none of the group-terms on which Dr. Howitt lays such stress bears the meaning he puts upon them; in the case of "mother" it is inconceivable that his interpretation should be right. If, therefore, anyone has overlooked the important point of individual terms and relationships, it is Dr. Howitt, not Mr. Lang. On p. 184 Dr. Howitt asserts "that the aboriginal terms (of relationship) include relationships as understood by us, and at the same time include persons who under the universal conditions of the Australian tribes are considered, for instance, to be 'fathers' or 'sons,' etc., as the case may be."

So far as I know it has never been denied that the aboriginal terms include relationships as understood by us; Mr. Lang has certainly never denied it. What he *has* done is to deny that the aboriginal terms can properly be translated by our terms. In reply to this Dr. Howitt asserts that all persons embraced under the term which includes our "father," are by the Australians regarded as fathers. Let us examine this statement in detail.

Fatherhood in our sense is a consanguineous relation; it expresses a physiological fact. Does Dr. Howitt assert that the Australian tribes mean this when they speak of a "father"? If so, what explanation does he offer of the Arunta denial of fatherhood in our sense? So far as I can see, the Arunta deny that anyone is a father in our sense. If so, in what sense can Dr. Howitt assert that they regard all men of a certain tribal status as fathers of a given child?

If Dr. Howitt asserts physiological fatherhood to be the underlying idea, does he assert the same of the term which includes "mother" in our sense? If he does, it is

clear that motherhood for him means something very different from what it usually means. If he does not, and if by "father" he does not mean father in our sense, what is the point of his reply to Mr. Lang's objection, namely, that in using the term "father" Dr. Howitt is making use of a word which includes but does not denote the relationship as understood by us?

Dr. Howitt's position appears to be—that in order to make us in Europe understand the meaning of *mungan*, to take his own example, he is obliged to tell us that it means father, whereas it does not mean anything of the sort. But that is precisely what Mr. Lang argued in this passage just quoted. If Dr. Howitt does not mean that, if he means that the term father was originally applied to a number of men because the real father could not be distinguished, will he say if he is ready to draw the same inference from the use of a group-term for mother? If he is not, what differentiates these two cases?

This brings me to a point in connection with which I may emphasise my previous contention that first-hand knowledge of the natives is no panacea for erroneous reasoning. Dr. Howitt cites against Mr. Lang the Dieri use of different terms for the primary and secondary spouses.

If this case proves anything, it proves that *ngaperi* does not mean father, for the terms are applied in the same way whether the primary or the secondary spouse is the real father. *Ngaperi* clearly does not mean father in our sense, but refers to status in the family, if Dr. Howitt's statement of the case is correct. It seems, however, that *ngaperi* is applied to all the brothers, own or tribal, of the primary spouse; if this is so, the term *ngaperi waka* has nothing to do with the *pirrauru* relationship at all; or have the Dieri yet another term for those who are not, but might legally be, *pirrauru* to the mother? However that may be, out of Dr. Howitt's own mouth I am able to quote words

which show that *ngaperi* and *ngaperi waka* do not refer to physiological fatherhood. Yet Dr. Howitt cites the distinction as parallel to the Kurnai distinction between the "actual" and "nominal" husbands of a woman; in other words, he makes two cases parallel, though in one of them the terms refer to the status within the family, both *ngaperi* being possible fathers, in our sense, of the child, whereas in the other case the difference in terminology means that the *mungan* is the husband of the child's mother, while the *breppa mungan* is merely a man of the same tribal status who has no marital rights over the mother. Thus Dr. Howitt has been guilty of a grave confusion in his statement of the case against Mr. Lang's view.

But putting this aside—and I have cited it merely as an example of the errors from which first-hand knowledge will not save one—What does Dr. Howitt's contention at this point amount to? He admits that *thundung* and the corresponding Kurnai terms include all men of a certain tribal status, and the legitimate inference from this, if the philological argument is trustworthy, is that we have to do with an Undivided Commune, though, as we have seen, Dr. Howitt shrinks from this conclusion. Dr. Howitt himself admits that tribal status and not relationship, as we understand it, is expressed by these terms; yet although he declines to interpret the Kurnai terms in the same way as those of the other tribes, he insists that his interpretation of the terms of these other tribes is the only possible one; that anyone who declines, as does Mr. Lang, to accept this interpretation, is a mere theorist, an ethnologist of the study, who shows his ignorance at every turn and yet will not take the opinions of first-hand observers. If Dr. Howitt may decline to draw the logical inference from the Kurnai fraternal terms, why may not Mr. Lang decline to draw from the terms of the other tribes the inference which he regards as illogical?

Perhaps the most singular thing about Dr. Howitt's argument at this point<sup>1</sup> is that he nowhere puts forward facts, or correct statements as to present-day facts, which are not fully in accord with Mr. Lang's contention. Mr. Lang says, for example, that the terms of relationship now denote tribal status; Dr. Howitt supports this by arguing that the term for father means "nominal father" in every case but one. I cannot therefore conceive why Dr. Howitt charges Mr. Lang with guessing at the meaning of the terms. Mr. Lang is also accused of guessing at their origin; I am not sure to what words of Mr. Lang's allusion is here made by Dr. Howitt; but whatever they are, the view put forward is not inconceivable; but, as I have shown above, Dr. Howitt's view is inconceivable, if we apply it to the term which he would presumably translate into English as group-mother. *Prima facie*, therefore, Dr. Howitt is no less guilty of guessing; and his guesses are contradicted by common knowledge, while Mr. Lang's will bear examination.

A few lines above this<sup>2</sup> Dr. Howitt asks Mr. Lang to look at the Dieri terms, and says, "he will see their present meaning and that they are applied . . . to individuals . . . living under *pirrauru*." If this statement were correct, the Dieri would be living, not under *pirrauru*, but under modified promiscuity; for this passage clearly suggests that all who are *noa* to each other are also *pirrauru*. What Dr. Howitt actually means, however, is that some people who are *noa* are also *pirrauru*—a very different thing. In the following sentence he asserts that the group terms of the other tribes mentioned by him denote not individual but *pirrauru* marriage. But the group terms of other tribes as little denote *pirrauru* among them as does *noa* among the Dieri; up to the present Dr. Howitt has not even produced a *pirrauru*-practising tribe outside the Dieri nation. If Dr. Howitt's

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 183-185.

<sup>2</sup> P. 184.



statements were correct, Mr. Lang would certainly need to modify the passage quoted by his critic; in point of fact Dr. Howitt has merely shown that first-hand knowledge no more confers immunity against errors of fact than it does against errors in logic.

Put briefly, Dr. Howitt's points are as follows :

(1) *Pirrauru is a survival of group-marriage.* This is arguable, but far from proven, even if it be shown on other grounds that group-marriage ever existed.

(2) *The term pirrauru is equivalent to the group terms of other tribes, pirrauru denotes a group relationship, and consequently the group terms of other tribes must do so too.* I have shown (a) that *pirrauru* is not equivalent to the group-terms of other tribes and (b) that it is not a group-relationship in the same sense as group-marriage.

(3) *Group-terms necessarily imply a former group relationship.* I have shown that (a) Dr. Howitt declines to accept the philological argument where it does not fit in with his views; (b) if the group-father is accepted on this ground, we must likewise accept the group-mother, and up to the present no believer in group-marriage has had the courage to do more than assert that the argument is unworthy of notice.

(4) *If individual relationships were known, individual terms of relationship would have survived.* But the individual mother was of necessity known; yet no term for the individual mother is found in most tribes; hence it is not necessary that individual terms should have been known or have survived.

Anthropologists have every reason to be grateful to Dr. Howitt for his work in the field; a great part of our knowledge of Australian tribes is due to him. But he overlooks the fact that field-work and interpretation are two entirely different spheres of activity. If the field-work has been well and truly done, if the results have been accurately set forth, the work of synthesis must be begun;

and as a rule it falls to the lot of others to deal with the materials accumulated by the field-anthropologist. If the latter is to make good his views as to origins against the anthropologist of the study, it must be, not by the assertion that the man on the spot can alone judge of these things, but by the more skilful use of his materials, that he must gain the day. How far Dr. Howitt has, in fact, done so, is a question on which the present controversy provides some materials for judgment.

N. W. THOMAS.

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## THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

### VI. THE CELTS (*continued*).

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

HITHERTO we have confined our attention almost exclusively to Ireland and the Isle of Man. It may next be shown that partial parallels to the foregoing Irish and Manx beliefs can be traced elsewhere among the Insular Celts.

Corresponding to the Gaelic *Bile* is the British *Beli*,<sup>1</sup> whose son Avallach<sup>2</sup> was called after the apple or the apple-tree.<sup>3</sup> This Avallach appears to have given his name to Avallon or the Isle of Avallon,<sup>4</sup> which was the British counterpart of the Gaelic Emhain of the Apple-trees. Avallon was early identified with Glastonbury, whose hill (Glastonbury Tor) surrounded by swamps came to be looked upon as an Elysium or Otherworld.<sup>5</sup> If Avallach, son of the dark sky-god and king of the Other-world, was thus connected with apples, it can hardly be

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 55, 59, 68, 70.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 336 cites from cod. Harl. 3859 fol. 193b a pedigree ending 'son of Eugene, son of Aballac, son of Amalech, who was the son of Beli the Great, and his mother was Anna, who is said to have been cousin to the Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ,' and justly observes that *Aballac* and *Amalech* are only two forms of the same name, adding that *ib.* fol. 194a *Aballac* is made son of Beli and Anna without any allusion to *Amalech*.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh *afal*, 'apple,' or *afall*, 'apple-tree,' which would be in Old Welsh spelling *abal* and *aball* respectively. Old Irish *aball*, 'apple.' See further A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. \*ab-áll-os.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys *Arthurian Legend*, p. 337.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 328 ff.

doubted that he had one apple-tree of peculiar sanctity resembling that of the Irish tales. Nor is this a matter of mere conjecture. William of Malmesbury in his account of the founding of Glastonbury<sup>1</sup> relates how a certain Glasteing passed through the midlands following his sow till he found it suckling its young under an apple-tree close to Glastonbury church. Hence, he says, the apples of that tree are called *Ealdcyrcenes epple*, that is 'apples of the Old Church,' while the sow, which had eight legs, was known as *ealdcyre* [sic] *suge*, 'The sow of the Old Church.' Glasteing settled there and his descendants peopled the place.

Whether the British king had a branch of the Elysian apple-tree comparable with the branches borne by Bran, Cormac, and Conchobar, we cannot say. But in the Welsh tale of *Branwen the daughter of Llyr*, Bendigeid Vran, son of Llyr and king of Britain, sought to compensate Matholwch, king of Ireland, for an insult done to him by offering him 'a staff of silver, as large and as tall as himself, and a plate of gold of the breadth of his face.'<sup>2</sup> Lady Charlotte Guest *ad loc.*<sup>3</sup> compares the Laws of Hywel Dda, where the fine for insult to a king is fixed at a 'hundred cows on account of every cantrev in the kingdom, and a silver rod with three knobs at the top, that shall reach from the ground to the king's face, when he sits in his chair, and as thick as his ring-finger; and a golden bason, which shall hold fully as much as the king drinks, of the thickness of a husbandman's nail, who shall have followed husbandry for seven years, and

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, cited by Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 332 n. 1 from Gale *Historia Britanniae* etc. Oxford 1691 p. 295, states that he took this narrative 'de antiquis Britonum libris.'

<sup>2</sup> *The Mabinogion* trans. Lady Charlotte Guest, publ. J. M. Dent, London, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 303.

a golden cover, as broad as the king's face, equally thick as the bason.' In another MS. cited by Lady Charlotte Guest the payment is said to be of gold throughout: 'a golden rod as long as himself, of the thickness of his little finger, and a golden tablet, as broad as his face, and as thick as a husbandman's nail.' This silver rod with three knobs, or golden rod as the case may be, reminds us forcibly of Conchobar's silver wand with three golden apples on it<sup>1</sup> and of Cormac's silver branch with nine (or three) golden apples.<sup>2</sup> We shall not be far wrong, if we suppose that the silver rod and the golden bason are analogous to the silver branch and the golden cup of the Irish king.<sup>3</sup>

At Glastonbury, as elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> the apple-tree may have been a substitute for an oak. For Professor Rhys points out that Malmesbury's *Glasteing*, i.e. *Glastenig* or *Glastenic*, 'is clearly derived from the *glasten*, which in Breton meant "oak": cf. Cornish *glastanen*, "an oak."<sup>5</sup> On this showing, *Glasteing*, the eponymous founder of Glastonbury, who built his town round the apple-tree, was himself called 'He of the Oaks.' Professor Rhys further makes it probable that another name of Glastonbury, used from motives of piety, was *Lojt coyt*, the 'Grey Trees.'<sup>6</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 159 ff., 169 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 57, 61, 153, 159, 170.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys *Arthurian Legend* p. 333 n. 2. The Celtic *glasto-*, the root of *glasten* and *glastanen*, was a colour-word denoting 'green,' 'blue,' 'grey' (Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. *glasto-*). Hence also *glastum*, 'woad.' Since *vitrum*, the Latin for 'woad,' also meant 'glass,' and since *Glastenic* would readily suggest 'glass,' the belief arose that Glastonbury was somehow connected with glass. Malmesbury states that another ancient name for the place was *Ynesuitrin*, 'Insula Vitrea.' See O. Schrader *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* Strassburg 1901 s.v. 'Waid,' and Rhys *Arthurian Legend* pp. 330, 333.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* quoting from Cod. Harl. 3859 fol. 194b the gloss *unni' st. glastenig. qui uener' [q; uocat] lojt/cojt*, which he emends into 'unde sunt glastenig qui uenerabiliterque uocantur lojt coyt.'

so, the oaks after which the place was called must have been objects of veneration.<sup>1</sup>

Glasteing, 'He of the Oaks,' following a monstrous sow till it lay down beneath a sacred tree, recalls not only the sow with thirty teats found at last by Aeneas beneath the oaks of the Alban Mount,<sup>2</sup> but also the Welsh tale of *Math, the Son of Mathonwy*.<sup>3</sup> Math and Gwydion together made a wife for Llew Llaw Gyffes ('the Lion of the Sure Hand'), who was the son of Arianrod ('Silver-wheel') and prince of Dinodig. They called her Blodeuwedd ('Flower-face'), for she was a lovely creature formed of the blossoms of the oak, of the broom, and of the meadow-sweet. But she was fickle and, through love of

<sup>1</sup> Glastonbury has been distinguished for a sacred tree of one sort or another from its earliest foundation to the present time.

The Glastonbury walnut never put forth its leaves before St. Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24, but on that festival was covered with them (Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough i. 59). According to others, it never budded before the feast of St. Barnabas, June 11 (R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 63, from Collinson's *History of Somerset*). Or again, it put forth young leaves at Christmas (J. Aubrey *The Natural History of Wiltshire* ed. J. Britton, London 1847. p. 57). The credulous, including Queen Anne, King James, etc., gave large sums of money for small cuttings from it (Folkard *loc. cit.*).

The Glastonbury cornel or hawthorn budded on Christmas day (Camden *loc. cit.*). It was even more sought after (R. Warner *An History of the Abbey of Glaston* Bath 1826 p.c. ff., Hildeic Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 i. 193 f., Folkard *op. cit.* pp. 62 f., Mrs. J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 166 ff.).

With these trees should be compared the Cadtenham oak in the New Forest, which budded always on Christmas day and was regarded by the country folk with peculiar veneration (Folkard *op. cit.* pp. 63, 470, J. Nisbet and the Hon. G. W. Lascelles in the *Victoria History of Hampshire* ii. 465). The same is said of the King's oak in the New Forest (Aubrey *op. cit.* p. 57); of an old pollard oak within the trenches of Malwood castle, from which a basket of young leaves used to be sent every Christmas to King Charles I; and of two other pollard oaks growing not far from the King's oak (*id. ib.* p. 53 f.). Cp. also Philpot *Sacred Tree* p. 167 on two apple-trees blossoming at Christmas.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-lore* xvi. 281 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Charlotte Guest *Mabinogion* ed. 1904 p. 58 ff.

Gronw Pebyr ('the Strong'), got from Llew Llaw Gyffes his life-secret. He could be killed only by a spear that had been a year in the making; and nothing must have been done to it except during the sacrifice on Sundays. He could not be killed within a house or without, on horseback or on foot, but only when he stood with one foot on the edge of a thatched cauldron beside a river and with the other foot on the back of a buck. Blodeuwedd revealed the secret to Gronw, who slew him thus. Llew Llaw Gyffes in the form of an eagle flew up and disappeared. His uncle Gwydion made search for him by following a sow, which set off with great speed and made for the brook now called Nant y Llew. Here she halted under an oak-tree and began to eat putrid flesh that dropped from the boughs. Looking up, Gwydion saw perched there an eagle, from whom fragments of flesh kept dropping. He charmed the eagle with song to descend to his knee, and, striking him with his magic wand, restored him once more to the form of Llew Llaw Gyffes. Gwydion next pursued after Blodeuwedd and changed her into an owl; while Llew killed Gronw, even as Gronw had killed him, and so recovered his principedom.

In this important myth we notice, to begin with, that the hero's name, as Professor Rhŷs<sup>1</sup> has shown, was originally not *Llew*, but *Llu*, the Welsh equivalent of *Lug*, the Irish sun-god.<sup>1</sup> Again, Llew or Lleu reigns as a king over the cantrev of Dinodig, having his palace at Mur-y-Castell.<sup>2</sup> Further, after death he comes to life again, and for the second time takes possession of his kingdom under the same name.<sup>3</sup> These indications point to the conclusion that the British, like the Gaelic,<sup>4</sup> king personated the sun-god, who was believed to be re-incarnate in the royal line.

<sup>1</sup> Rhŷs *Hibbert Lectures* p. 237 n. 1, pp. 398-409, *Arthurian Legend* p. 97, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 542 f.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Charlotte Guest *Mabinogion* ed. 1904 p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Folklore* xvii. 159.

Once more, Llew passes at death into the form of an eagle haunting an oak. With this transformation of the king into a bird we are already familiar from Greek, Italian, and Irish sources.<sup>1</sup> Sundry other examples of it occur in Welsh, Breton, and Cornish legends, *i.e.* in all the subdivisions of the British Celts. In Cornwall it is believed that King Arthur is still living in the form of a raven, having been changed into that bird by magic, but that some day he will become a king once more.<sup>2</sup> Here too, as in the case of Llew, metamorphosis into a bird precedes re-incarnation as a man. Later Welsh literature gives us a dialogue between Arthur and his nephew Eliwlod, son of Madog, in which Eliwlod—again like Llew—appears as an eagle seated among the branches of an oak.<sup>3</sup> Similarly a Breton ballad,<sup>4</sup> at least as old as the end of the fourteenth century, tells how Bran, grandson of a yet greater Bran, in the form of a crow (for *Bran* means ‘crow’ in the Breton language, as it does also in Welsh<sup>5</sup>) haunts an oak on the battlefield of Kerloän, where a famous fight was fought in the tenth century between the Norsemen and the Bretons under Ewen the Great. Part of this ballad is translated by Mr. Tom Taylor:

‘On the battlefield of Kerloan  
There grows a tree looks o’er the lan’:  
There grows an oak in the place of stour,  
Where the Saxons fled from Ewen-Vor.  
Upon this oak, when the moon shines bright,  
The birds they gather from the night.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* xv. 385 ff., xvi. 312, xvii. 165.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, viii. 618, cited by Mr. Gomme in *The Archaeological Review* 1889 iii. 226. See also R. Bosworth Smith *Bird Life and Bird Lore* London 1905 p. 147 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhys Arthurian Legend* p. 56 n. 2, *Celtic Folklore* ii. 610.

<sup>4</sup> T. Taylor *Ballads and Songs of Brittany* London 1865 p. 51 ff., M. Maclean *The Literature of the Celts* London 1902 p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 166.



Sea-mews, pied-black and white are there,  
 On every forehead a bloodspeck clear.  
 With them a corbie, ash-grey for eld,  
 And a young crow aye at her side beheld.  
 Wayworn seem the twain, with wings that dreep,  
 As birds that flight o'er sea must keep.  
 So sweetly sing these birds, and clear,  
 The great sea stills its waves to hear,  
 And aye their songs one burden hold,  
 All save the young crow's and the corbie's old.  
 And this is ever the crow's sore cry,  
 "Sing, little birds, sing merrily."  
 "Sing, birds o' the land, in merry strain,  
 You died not far from your own Bretayne."

Another anonymous Breton ballad<sup>1</sup> translated by Mr. Taylor dates from the sixth century. It tells the tale of *The Lord Nann and the Fairy*. Lord Nann gripped his oaken spear and sallied out into the wild-woods to get venison for his bride. While pursuing a snow-white hind he intruded upon the grotto of a Corrigaun, who challenged him to wed her on pain of pining away for seven years or dying within three days. True to his young wife he refused temptation, and the Corrigaun laid a spell upon him. He at once fell sick and died. His wife came suddenly upon his grave:

'She threw herself on her knees amain,  
 And from her knees ne'er rose again.  
 That night they laid her, dead and cold,  
 Beside her lord, beneath the mould;  
 When, lo!—a marvel to behold!—  
 Next morn from the grave two oak-trees fair,  
 Shot lusty boughs high up in air;  
 And in their boughs—oh, wondrous sight!—  
 Two happy doves, all snowy white—  
 That sang, as ever the morn did rise,  
 And then flew up—into the skies!'

<sup>1</sup>T. Taylor *Ballads and Songs of Brittany* p. 7 ff., Maclean *Literature of the Celts* p. 240 ff.

The regalia of Greek and Italian kings marked them out as vice-gerents of the sky-god or sun-god. On the one hand, they had a golden crown of oak-leaves;<sup>1</sup> on the other, an eagle-tipped sceptre, which represented an original tree or branch.<sup>2</sup> The British imperial crown is now closed in by two arches of golden oak-leaves and acorns, richly studded with diamonds and pearls,<sup>3</sup> while the so-called 'rod of equity' is a sceptre surmounted by a dove.<sup>4</sup> It is, moreover, possible that the royal 'orb,' like the apple of the Irish prince,<sup>5</sup> stands for the sun itself. The Scottish crown likewise has golden arches enriched with enamelled oak-leaves: these leaves were in all probability added about the year 1536 by James V.,<sup>6</sup> the Stuart badge being the oak.<sup>7</sup> The Scottish sword of state, presented to James IV. in 1507 by Pope Julius II., has the arms of the latter enamelled on its scabbard, *vis.* 'on a cartouch azure, an oak tree eradicated and fructuated or': the handle and guard of this sword are decorated with silver-gilt oak-leaves and acorns, while the scabbard is adorned throughout with a similar design.<sup>8</sup> Lastly, the head of the Scottish sceptre is formed by a globe of rock crystal,<sup>9</sup> which again may have symbolised the sun.

We have seen reason to suppose that the life of the Irish king was bound up with the *bile* or sacred tree that grew in or near his fort.<sup>10</sup> For instance, in *The Lay of*

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvi. 302, 307, 312.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* xv. 370 ff., xvi. 302, 307, 312.

<sup>3</sup> R. Chambers *The Book of Days* London 1864 i. 614 f. with woodcut.

<sup>4</sup> *The Encyclopedia Britannica* ed. 9 xx. 340 s.v. 'Regalia.'

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 147, 154, 159, 169.

<sup>6</sup> A. J. S. Brook 'Technical Description of the Regalia of Scotland' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* New Series xii. 83.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* p. 15 f.

<sup>8</sup> A. J. S. Brook *loc. cit.* p. 105 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 98 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 169 ff.

*the Wife of Meargach*,<sup>1</sup> Ailne is thus forewarned of the death of her husband and two sons :

‘ I knew, by the eagle’s visit  
Each evening over the Dun,  
That ere long I would hear  
Evil tidings from my Three !

I knew, when the huge tree (*bile*) withered,  
Both branch and leaves before the Dun,  
That victorious you would never return  
From the wiles of Fionn Mac Cumhaill !’

Similarly, in the tale of *Arthur and Gorlagon*,<sup>2</sup> the Welsh king has in his garden a young tree (*virga*), which sprang up when he was born, has grown with his growth, and exactly matches him in height. He keeps it most jealously guarded, because a blow from the slender end of it will turn him into a werwolf. In Scotland too the life of the king or local magnate was bound up with that of a tree, especially an oak-tree. This sympathetic relationship comes out in a folk-tale from Argyll.<sup>3</sup> There was once a big man called the Strong Man of the Wood. One day he cut a large oak, which fell on him and gave him his death-hurt. But, before he died, he bade his wife plant an acorn of the tree in the midden-stead by his door. When the acorn appeared above ground, a son should be born of her.<sup>4</sup> She was to nourish him with the sap of her

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* Dublin 1859 iv. 173.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. L. Brown in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Boston 1903 viii. 153, 171.

<sup>3</sup> J. Macdougall *Folk and Hero Tales from Argyllshire* London 1891 p. 187 ff. Somewhat similar is the Irish tale of the giant cow-herd, who pulls up an oak-tree by the roots, does the bidding of Finn in a series of desperate adventures suggested by Finn’s men, who are afraid of him, and at last proves to be no cow-herd but the son of the king of Alba (J. Curtin *Myths and Folk-lore of Ireland* London 1890 p. 292 ff.). For other parallels see Grimm’s *Household Tales* trans. M. Hunt London 1901 ii. 16 ff., 383 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. the oak of Mughna, which was ‘hidden’ till the birth of King Conn (*Folk-lore* xvii. 60, 68).

breast and side until he could uproot the tree thus planted. In due time the woman had a son, and sure enough the seedling of the acorn was just breaking from the ground. She nourished her son seven years, and then took him out to try the tree; but he could not move it. She gave him another seven years of the breast, and then told him to try the tree again; but, though he shook it terribly, he still could not lift it. Again she gave him suck for seven years; and this time he uprooted it, and left it as a heap of firewood before her door. Hereupon his mother sent him out into the world with a bannock and her blessing. Others, scared at his strength, were anxious to be rid of him, and set him one impossible task after another with that end in view. But he easily performed them all, and in the end carried off his mother to live with him in a fine place from which all the previous inhabitants had fled in dismay.

Perhaps the most remarkable case of vital sympathy between man and tree is that of the Hays, formerly earls of Errol on the Firth of Tay.<sup>1</sup> The family legend is thus given by the Rev. Adam Philip in his *Songs and Sayings of Gowrie*.<sup>2</sup> During the Danish invasion of Scotland in 980 A.D. the Scots were all but worsted at Luncarty, when a countryman and his two sons rallied them and armed with mere plough-coulters defeated the Danes. After the battle the old peasant, named Hay, was taken to King Kenneth, who gave him at a parliament held at Scone as much land on the Tay in the district of Gowrie

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Frazer drew attention to this case in his *Golden Bough* ed. 1, ii. 362, ed. 2 iii. 448 f.; but unfortunately the newspaper-cutting, on which he relied, did not give the full facts.

<sup>2</sup> A. Philip *Songs and Sayings of Gowrie* Edinburgh and London 1901 p. 67 ff. The author duly notes that Milton proposed to found a drama on this legend, and that Shakspeare (after Holinshed *History of Scotland* p. 155) has utilised it in *Cymbeline* 5. 3. 1 ff. Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough iii. 394 arms Hay with a yoke, not a plough-coulter.

as a hawk let off at Kinnoull should fly over before it settled. The hawk alighted at the Hawk's Stane in St. Madoes' Parish, all the intervening land becoming the property of the Hays. John Hay Allan, a member of the family, in his 'Lines Written upon coming in sight of the Coast of Scotland'<sup>1</sup> exclaims:

'And sooth there was a time, howe'er 'tis now,  
O'er thy wide realm they held the regal sway.  
The blood which yet beneath this breast doth flow,  
Was from thy Stuarts drawn in olden day:<sup>2</sup>  
But with their race all! all! is fallen away—  
Yet mourn I how my name withstood their foes?  
Cursed had it been to fail them in the fray,  
Aye in their weal it shared as in their woes,  
And aye the misle spray shall blend it with the rose.'<sup>3</sup>

Commenting on the last line, the poet himself writes as follows:<sup>4</sup> 'Among the Low Country families the badges are now almost generally forgotten; but it appears by an ancient MS. and the tradition of a few old people in Perthshire, that the badge of the Hays was the mistletoe. There was formerly in the neighbourhood of Errol, and not far from the Falcon stone, a vast oak of an unknown age, and upon which grew a profusion of the plant: many charms and legends were considered to be connected with the tree, and the duration of the family of Hay was said to be united with its existence. It was believed that a sprig of the mistletoe cut by a Hay

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Allan *The Bridal of Cawlchairn; and other Poems* London 1822 p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the supposed connexion between J. H. Allan and Prince Charlie, on which see the Rev. A. Philip *op. cit.* p. 142 ff. and Mr. F. Hindes Groome's article on 'John Sobieski Stolberg Stuart' in the *National Dictionary of Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Allan *Bridal of Cawlchairn* p. 232 in 'The Gathering of the Hays' writes:

'Dark as the mountain's heather wave,  
The rose and the misle are coming brave.'

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 337 f.

on Allhallowmas Eve, with a new dirk, and after surrounding the tree three times sun-ways, and pronouncing a certain spell, was a sure charm against all glamour or witchery, and an infallible guard in the day of battle. A spray gathered in the same manner was placed in the cradle of infants, and thought to defend them from being changed for elf-bairns by the fairies. Finally, it was affirmed, that when the root of the oak had perished, "the grass should grow in the hearth of Errol, and a raven should sit in the falcon's nest." The two most unlucky deeds which could be done by one of the name of Hay was, to kill a white falcon, and to cut down a limb from the oak of Errol. When the old tree was destroyed I could never learn. The estate has been some time sold out of the family of Hay,<sup>1</sup> and of course it is said that the fatal oak was cut down a short time before. A white rose is the badge of the Clan Stuibhard.'

Thomas the Rhymer is credited with the following: <sup>2</sup>

'While the mistletoe bats on Errol's aik,  
And the aik stands fast,  
The Hays shall flourish, and their good grey hawk  
Shall nocht flinch before the blast.  
But when the root of the aik decays,  
And the mistletoe dwines on its withered breast,  
The grass shall grow on Errol's hearth-stane,  
And the corbie roup in the falcon's nest.'

So then the fortune of the Hays was bound up with an immemorial oak. And the white falcon that haunted the spot was very possibly regarded as an ancestral spirit

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 334 f. explains that the name De la Haye is a translation of the old Gaelic name Mac Garadh. Garadh, *i.e.* 'Dike' or 'Barrier,' was the appellation bestowed on the ancestor of the Hays for his conduct at the battle of Luncarty. Hence his descendants were known as the *Clann na Garadh*, and their chief for the time being as *Mac Mhic Garadh Mòr ann Sgithan Dearg* or 'the son of the son of Garadh of the red shields.'

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. B. Pratt *Buchan* ed. 4 Aberdeen 1901 p. 57 n. *Id. ib.* p. 50 ff. gives many interesting details concerning the Hays, the *Saxum Falconis*, the Luncarty Stone, etc.

in bird-form.<sup>1</sup> The Falcon's stone near the old oak recalls the Pillar of the Living Tree near the oak of Mugna.<sup>2</sup> Both Greeks and Italians, as we have already seen, connected oak-mistletoe with the sun:<sup>3</sup> it is *à priori* probable that the Insular Celts did the same. In Ireland, however, the mistletoe is not a native plant and was only introduced in the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Hence in the ritual of Allhallowmas Eve the Irish sun-charm was performed with apples, not mistletoe.<sup>5</sup> Now it was precisely on Allhallowmas Eve that mistletoe was cut from the oak at Errol by a Hay, who surrounded the tree three times sun-ways. We can hardly deny that the cutting of such a plant on such an occasion in such a way had a definitely solar significance. I conjecture that the Hay with the sprig of mistletoe in his hand was the Scotch equivalent of Bran or Cormac or Conchobar with his silver apple-branch. In other words, that he represented the sun-god and as such bore the sun-god's fruit. The mistletoe sprig was 'an infallible guard in the day of battle.' Why? Simply because it filled its bearer with the sun-god's strength. Placed in a cradle, it proved a powerful prophylactic. What agencies of darkness dared touch the *protégé* of the sun?

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 231 in 'The Gathering of the Hays':

'The standard of Errol unfolds its white breast,  
And the falcon of Loncartie stirs in her nest.'

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 61, with n. 4. Beside an ancient oak near Kingston Lisle in White Horse Vale stands a remarkable stone known as the Blowing Stone. It is a brown Sarsen block, three feet high, honeycombed by sinuous cavities. By blowing bugle-wise down one of these a deep-toned note is produced, which is audible at Faringdon Clump six miles away. The original site of the stone was on the crest of the downs, above White Horse Hill; and it is said that King Alfred used it for the purpose of summoning his troops. (*The Daily Graphic* April 2 1906 p. 13 and *The Wide World Magazine* May 1906 xvii. 206 f., both with illustration.)

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 424 ff., xvi. 284 f.

<sup>4</sup> P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* London 1903 i. 236.

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 58.

This is not the place to dwell on the obvious parallelism between the cutting of the mistletoe by the druids and its cutting by the Hays. Of that I shall have occasion to speak later. For the moment it must suffice to have found the solar chief, whose fortunes were bound up with the ancestral oak-tree, defying his foes through the virtue of the mistletoe that he holds in his hand. Even in death he would not be buried without it, if we may judge from a find made at Gristhorpe near Scarborough in 1834 A.D. A tumulus was opened, and in it was discovered the trunk of an oak-tree containing a very perfect skeleton of a supposed Brigantian chief with his spear-heads, etc. Mr. Williamson, one of the excavators, writes of it: 'A quantity of a vegetable substance, which was first believed to be dried rushes, was also found in the coffin; some of it has since been macerated, and though the greater portion of it is so much decomposed that nothing but the fibre remains, in one or two instances we have been so far successful as to clearly distinguish a long lanceolate leaf, resembling that of the mistletoe, which plant it has probably been: a few dried berries were amongst the vegetable mass; they were very tender and most of them soon crumbled to dust;—they are about the size of those of the mistletoe.'<sup>1</sup>

The Hays, as we have seen, claimed kinship with the Stuarts, of whom the Rev. Hilderic Friend<sup>2</sup> says: 'The

<sup>1</sup>J. Allies *Antiquities and Folk-lore of Worcestershire* ed. 2 London 1852 p. 164. The oak-log with its contents was then preserved in the Scarborough Museum. There may have been similar oak-kings at Glastonbury. For, according to Giraldus Cambrensis *Speculum Ecclesiae* 2.9 f. cited by Camden *Britannia* ed. Gough i. 59, Henry II. made search for King Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury and discovered 'a coffin made out of the trunk of an oak hollowed, in which were lodged the bones of this famous champion.' It should also be observed that mistletoe is particularly frequent in all the orchards about Glastonbury (R. J. King *Sketches and Studies* London 1874 p. 48).

<sup>2</sup>Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* p. 12, after King, *Sketches and Studies*, p. 53.



Oak formed the badge of the Stuarts. As, however, it was not evergreen, the Highlanders regarded this as ominous of the fate of the royal house.' Among the many Scottish armorial bearings in which an oak-tree figures Sir James Balfour Paul Lyon gives those of Reginald Macdonald Steuart (1813) as 'Arg. an oak tree vert surmounted of a double-headed eagle displayed or.'<sup>1</sup> Again, in the grounds of Dalhousie Castle, some two miles from Dalkeith, is the famous Edgewell Oak, so called because it stands on the edge of a fine spring. Local tradition has it that a branch falls from the tree whenever a member of the [Ramsay] family dies.<sup>2</sup> The original oak fell early in the eighteenth century; but a new one sprang from the old root, and the tree was still flourishing in 1889.<sup>3</sup>

In England too special sanctity attaches to the mistletoe-bearing oak. At Croydon there used to be a great forest of oak-trees called Norwood, in which at a point where four parishes met stood an ancient tree known as the Vicar's Oak. One of the oaks in this forest bore mistletoe, 'which some persons were so hardy as to cut for the gain of selling it to the apothecaries'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Balfour Paul Lyon *Ordinary of Scottish Arms* Edinburgh 1903 p. 371 No. 5466. See *ib. s. vv.* 'Oak,' 'Oak-slips,' 'Tree.'

<sup>2</sup> If a branch was blown down off certain old ash-trees at Manor Farm, Hill Deverill, in South-west Wilts, this was held to portend the death of one of the family living there (*Folk-lore* xii. 72). Cp. J. Aubrey *Remains of Gentilisme* ed. J. Britten London 1881 p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Mackinlay *Folk-lore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* Glasgow 1893 p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* ii. 378 f. 'Bacon says the Mistletoe upon oaks is counted very medicinal,' etc., J. Brand *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* ed. Ellis London 1849 i. 525 'The mistletoe of the oak, which is very rare, is vulgarly said to be a cure for wind-ruptures in children,' Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* p. 442 'The powder of an oak-mistletoe was deemed an infallible cure for epilepsy,' etc., V. S. Lean *Collectanea* Bristol 1903 iii. 505 'The mistletoe of the oak, a capital thing for a sick cow.—Lees.' See further J. Aubrey *Remains of Gentilisme* p. 89.

of London, leaving a branch of it to sprout out. But they proved unfortunate after it, for one of them fell lame and others lost an eye. At length, in the year 1678, a certain man, notwithstanding he was warned against it, upon the account of what the other had suffered, adventured to cut the tree down, and he soon after brake his leg.<sup>1</sup> But further the oak, if not the mistletoe,<sup>2</sup> stood in a relation of mysterious sympathy to royal or noble personages. In Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, it is said that the old oaks lost their tops when Lady Jane Grey, who resided at Bradgate Hall in that neighbourhood, was beheaded.<sup>3</sup> Eastwell in Kent is the seat of the Finches, Earls of Winchelsea; and Aubrey tells how grave misfortunes overtook the family, when Lord Winchelsea felled a curious grove of oaks near his house and gave the first blow with his own hand.<sup>4</sup>

But it is in Cornwall, if anywhere in England, that we should look to find clear traces of Celtic superstition. Painter's Oak in the hundred of East, Cornwall, and an oak in the parish of Probus, near Truro, are both said to have had leaves speckled with white; and in the case of the Probus oak it was added that, if the leaves appeared all of one colour, it betokened the death of the owner.<sup>5</sup> Since oak-mistletoe is not found in the

<sup>1</sup> Lean *Collectanea* ii. 1. 207, quoting Cox *Magna Britannia* v. 374. Cp. Aubrey, cited by Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* p. 442 and by King *Sketches and Studies* p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> A tomb in Bristol Cathedral belonging to the great family of Berkeleys has its spandrils filled with sprays of mistletoe—apparently the sole example of mistletoe in British ecclesiastical sculpture (King *Sketches and Studies* p. 49). Is there a family tradition to explain it?

<sup>3</sup> *County Folk-lore*, i. 3 Leicestershire and Rutland, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Aubrey, cited by Mackinlay *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* p. 237 f.

<sup>5</sup> Carew *History of Cornwall*, cited by Mr. Gomme in *The Archaeological Review* 1889 iii. 231. See also Heath *Description of Cornwall* 1750, cited by Miss M. A. Courtney *Cornish Feasts and Folk-lore* Penzance 1890 p. 104 f. :

'In Lanhadron Park there grows an oak that bears leaves speckled with

county,<sup>1</sup> it may be that these oaks with white-spotted leaves were the Cornish substitute for mistletoe-bearing oaks; and it is of interest to note that they were thus related to their owners. Still more significant is that relation, when the speckled oak is said to be in sympathy with a king. 'At Boconnoc, near Lostwithiel,' says Miss M. A. Courtney,<sup>2</sup> 'not long ago stood the stump of an old oak, in which, in 1644, when Charles I. made this seat his head-quarters, the royal standard was fixed. It bore variegated leaves. According to tradition, they changed colour when an attempt was made to assassinate the king while he was receiving the sacrament under its branches. The ball passed through the tree, and a hole in its trunk was formerly pointed out in confirmation of the story.'

We have now passed in review the scattered indications, which go to prove that among the Insular Celts, Gaelic and British alike, the king was originally believed to discharge the rôle of the sky-god or sun-god and that in this capacity he was thought to stand in a peculiar relation to the sky-god's tree (apple or oak), a portion of which (apple-branch or oak-mistletoe) he was entitled to bear.

In Christian times the divine king was succeeded by the saint.<sup>3</sup> As the former mounted guard over his sacred tree, so the latter dwelt beneath its hallowed boughs. The records of Celtic saints, if searched for the purpose, would probably yield many details of pagan import. For example, Bres, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann and successor of Nuada,<sup>4</sup> was married to the ancient Irish

white, as another, called Painter's Oak, grows in the hundred of East. Some are of opinion that divers ancient families of England are preadmonished by oaks bearing strange leaves.' Cp. J. Evelyn *Silva* York 1776 p. 75 ff.

<sup>1</sup> R. Polwhele *The History of Cornwall* Falmouth 1803 i.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Courtney *Cornish Feasts and Folk-lore* p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. *Folk-lore* xvii. 42 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 45 f.

goddess Brigit, daughter of the Dagda.<sup>1</sup> St. Brigit or St. Bridget, her canonical name-sake, is said<sup>2</sup> to have loved and blessed a certain very high oak-tree, the trunk of which was still standing at the close of the tenth century and was regarded as so sacred that no one dared to cut it with a weapon. Under this oak St. Brigit built her cell, calling it Kildare, *i.e.* *Cill-dara*, 'the Church of the Oak.' A perpetual fire of extraordinary sanctity was maintained there in her honour down to the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII.<sup>3</sup> St. Brigit's festival falls on February 1, the eve of Candlemas; and the Candlemas bonfires and illuminations, like the fire-ritual of Beltaine and Samain,<sup>4</sup> are almost certainly sun-charms.<sup>5</sup> Note also that in Ireland small crosses, resembling the Maltese, are made of wheaten or oaten straw on February 2 and stuck somewhere in the roof, especially in the angles and over the doors—witness the old couplet:

St. Bridget's cross, hung over door,  
Which did the house from fire secure.<sup>6</sup>

Such crosses are often shaped like the *swastika*,<sup>7</sup> and may fairly be interpreted as solar in character. St.

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 433 f., *Squire Mythology of the British Islands* p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> According to Joyce *Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 109 f., Animosus, the writer of the fourth *Life of St. Brigid* published by Colgan states: 'That cell is called in Scotie, *Cill-dara*, which in Latin sounds *Cella-quercus*. For a very high oak stood there, which Brigid loved much, and blessed it; of which the trunk still remains; and no one dares cut it with a weapon.'

Mr. D. Fitzgerald in the *Revue celtique* iv. 193 cites the distich—

That Oak of Saint Bride, which nor Devil nor Dane,

Nor Saxon nor Dutchman could rend from her fane.—

and observes that 'a lizard appears at foot of the oak, the crest of the Vi Duinn, who claim Saint Brigit as their kinswoman.'

<sup>3</sup> P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* London 1903 i. 335, J. G. Frazer *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* London 1905 p. 222 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 30, 58, 64 f.      <sup>5</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough* ed. 2 iii. 248, 300 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Lean Collectanea* ii. 1. 417 f.

<sup>7</sup> My informant is Prof. A. C. Haddon, who possesses a series of these crosses.

Brigit's life bears out the suggestion. Not only was she expressly compared with the sun,<sup>1</sup> but, as Mr. Squire<sup>2</sup> puts it, 'she was born at sunrise; a house in which she dwelt blazed into a flame which reached to heaven; a pillar of fire rose from her head when she took the veil.' In short, I submit that the pagan deity, whose name and fame St. Brigit has usurped, was a great sun-goddess. Bres, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, mated with her, just as Bran or Connla or Cuchulain or Oisín mated with the goddess who possessed the sun-tree; for every king of Tara must needs wed the sun-goddess.<sup>3</sup> Truly, St. Brigit was well called St. Bride. If I am right in my surmise, the Irish Brigit was strictly comparable to the Italian Diana, and her oak to the famous tree at Nemi. Moreover, Brigit, like Diana,<sup>4</sup> was *triformis*: at least, she had two sisters also named Brigit, the three being regarded as patrons of bards, physicians, and smiths respectively.<sup>5</sup> This triune character reappears in Brigit's children. She was the mother of three gods, who patronized art and literature, *viz.* Brian, Iucharba or Iuchar, and Iuchair or Uar. But these three sons had a child in common called *Ecné*, that is 'Science' or 'Poetry.'<sup>6</sup> Finally, as Diana, originally the partner of a 'Bright' sky-god,<sup>7</sup> became a goddess of fertility, who made the cattle to increase and the crops to grow,<sup>8</sup> so too did Brigit. In the Hebrides her marriage was celebrated on Candlemas eve, she herself being represented by a sheaf of oats in woman's clothing, which was put to bed in a large basket with a wooden club<sup>9</sup>—perhaps the last trace of Brigit's oak.

<sup>1</sup> Douglas Hyde *A Literary History of Ireland* London 1899 p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 163.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* xvi. 279.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 74 f.

<sup>6</sup> D'Arbois *Cycle mythologique* p. 145.

<sup>7</sup> *Folk-lore* xvi. 270 f., 289 n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough* ed. 2. i. 230.

<sup>9</sup> *Id. ib.* i. 223.

Significant, too, are the relations between St. Columcille and the oak. He built a church in the oak-grove of Derry, 'and,' says Dr. Hyde,<sup>1</sup> 'so careful was he of his beloved oaks that, contrary to all custom, he would not build his church with its chancel towards the east, for in that case some of the oaks would have had to be felled to make room for it. He laid strict injunctions upon all his successors to spare the lovely grove, and enjoined that if any of the trees should be blown down some of them should go for fuel to their own guest-house, and the rest be given to the people.' Years afterwards he penned a poem, in which he says:

'The reason I love Derry is for its quietness, for its purity, crowded full of heaven's angels in every leaf of the oaks of Derry. My Derry, my little oak grove, my dwelling and my little cell, O Eternal God in heaven above, woe be to him who violates it.'<sup>2</sup>

Besides Derry, two other famous monasteries were founded in Ireland by St. Columcille. One was Durrow, which like Derry drew its name from the beautiful oak-groves of the neighbourhood (*Dair-magh*, 'Oak-plain'). The other was Kells; and here too the saint resided under a great oak-tree, which stood for centuries and ultimately fell in a tremendous storm. According to the Irish *Life of St. Columcille*, 'a certain man took somewhat of its bark to tan his shoes with. Now, when he did on the shoes, he was smitten with leprosy from his sole to his crown.' The same authority states that on one occasion St. Columcille made a hymn to arrest a fire that was consuming the oak-wood, 'and it is sung against every fire and against every thunder from that time to this.'<sup>3</sup> Again, the name *Columcille*, 'Dove of the Church,' was not inappropriate to a saint thus intimately connected with oak-groves: it recalls the doves on the oaks of Dodona and Libya<sup>4</sup> and Brittany.<sup>5</sup> On one occasion,

<sup>1</sup> Hyde *Literary History of Ireland* p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 170 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 170 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 295.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 7.

when St. Columcille was celebrating the Mass, a ball of fire like a comet was seen burning brightly on his head<sup>1</sup>; and we read more than once that there shone round him a golden light, bright as the sun, descending from the sky,<sup>2</sup> or a gleam as of lightning,<sup>3</sup> or a brilliance that others could not bear to look upon.<sup>4</sup> May we not conclude that the populace regarded St. Columcille as a spiritual successor of the old oak-kings, who personated the sun-god, and ascribed to him miracles appropriate to them? This would suit his descent from Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland,<sup>5</sup> and might account for the extraordinary veneration in which his foundation at Iona was held. Here he inaugurated Aedan, Dalriadic king of Scotland about 570<sup>6</sup> A.D.; and hither for more than a thousand years came kings and chiefs, even from far-off Norway, to be buried, in order that their bones might mingle with the dust of the Holy Isle.<sup>7</sup> Iona, where dwelt the saint of the oak-trees, was to the Christian what Emhain of the Apple-trees had been to the pagan.<sup>8</sup>

St. Kentigern, an older contemporary of St. Colum-

<sup>1</sup> Adamnan *Life of St. Columbkille*, trans. from Dr. W. Reeves' text, Dublin 1875 p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 132.    <sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 133.    <sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 134, cp. *ib.* p. 6 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 4.    <sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 117 f.

<sup>7</sup> The Duke of Argyll *Iona* new ed. Edinburgh 1889 p. 87.

<sup>8</sup> The apple-tree too was connected with St. Columbkille. A certain very fruitful apple-tree near the monastery of Durrow, when blessed by him, changed its fruit permanently from a bitter to a sweet kind (Adamnan *Life of St. Columbkille* p. 63).

St. Serf, when on his way to Fife, threw his staff across the sea from Inchkeith to Culross: it there took root and became the famous apple-tree called Morglas (Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* pp. 130, 219). This incident reminds us on the one hand of the apple-branch borne by the Irish divine king, on the other hand of St. Ninian's staff which, when planted, grew into a considerable tree with a healing spring at its base (A. P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* Edinburgh 1874 p. 19 ff.). See further J. M. Mackinlay *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* p. 235.

cille, planted a small religious establishment on the site of Glasgow. Upon a tree beside his clearing in the forest he is said to have hung a bell for the purpose of summoning his savage neighbours to worship.<sup>1</sup> As a boy at Culross he had restored to life a pet redbreast belonging to his teacher St. Servanus.<sup>2</sup> And, when Queen Languoreth of Cambria lost the signet-ring entrusted to her by King Rederech, St. Kentigern found it for her in the belly of a salmon caught in the river Clud.<sup>3</sup> All these details of his legend are commemorated in the arms of the City of Glasgow, *viz.*: 'Arg. on a mount in base vert an oak tree ppr., the stem at the base thereof surmounted by a salmon on its back, also ppr., with a signet ring in its mouth or; on the top of the tree a redbreast and in the sinister fess point an ancient hand-bell, both also ppr.'<sup>4</sup> It may be suspected that St. Kentigern's oak, like the oaks of St. Brigit and St. Columcille, had a sanctity of its own quite apart from its use as a Christian belfry. Mr. J. M. Mackinlay points out that as late as 1500 A.D. the *Arbores sancti Kentigerni* were landmarks in the district, while in their immediate vicinity, close to Little St. Mungo's Church, is a well dedicated to him, another Kentigern's well being actually included within Glasgow Cathedral.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Mackinlay further suggests that the oak, the salmon, and the redbreast of the Glasgow arms may have been no mere emblems of certain acts of St. Kentigern, but rather the repositories of his external soul.<sup>6</sup> That Christianity was here grafted on to a heathen stock seems to me highly probable. The oak and the salmon, as we have

<sup>1</sup> Chambers *Book of Days* i. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Forbes *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* p. 42 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 99 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Balfour Paul Lyon *Ordinary of Scottish Arms* p. 370 no. 5449.

<sup>5</sup> Mackinlay *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 239 f.



seen,<sup>1</sup> and the redbreast, as we shall see,<sup>2</sup> are at least consistent with the view that St. Kentigern inherited the position of a priestly king. It is to be noted that he was, on his mother's side, the grandson of Leudonus, king of Leudonia in North Britain.<sup>3</sup> But Leudonus is one with Loth,<sup>4</sup> whom we found to be a king personating the sky-god Lludd.<sup>5</sup> When St. Columcille visited St. Kentigern, he beheld 'a fiery pillar in fashion as of a golden crown, set with sparkling gems, descending from heaven upon his head, and a light of heavenly brightness encircling him like a certain veil, and covering him, and again returning to the skies.'<sup>6</sup> Such a manifestation suited the solar king. Even in his early days at Culross, when in need of a light, he had plucked a hazel-bough, which burst into spontaneous fire, 'as if the boy had exhaled flame for breath.'<sup>7</sup> St. Kentigern's claim to be a priestly king was evidently recognised by King Rederech; for it is recorded of the latter that 'stripping himself of his royal robes, on bended knees and hands joined, with the consent and advice of his lords, he gave his homage to S. Kentigern, and handed over to him the dominion and prunedom over all his kingdom, and willed that he should be king, and himself the ruler of his country under him as his father, as he knew that formerly the great Emperor Constantine had done to S. Silvester. Hence the custom grew up for a long course of years, so long as the Cambrian kingdom lasted in its own proper rank, that the prince was always subject to the bishop.'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 52 ff., *supra* p. 3 ff.; *Folk-lore* xvii. 39 f., 61 f., 162.

<sup>2</sup> See my next article.

<sup>3</sup> Forbes *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* p. 125 ff. According to the Welsh *Bonedd y Saint*, cited by the Rev. J. Gammack in his article on 'Kentigern' in Smith-Wace *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iii. 604, Cyndeyrn's maternal grandfather was Llewddyn Lueddag of Dinas Eiddyn (Edinburgh).

<sup>4</sup> Forbes *ib.* p. lxxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 47 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Forbes *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* p. 106 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 44 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 94.

At Strath in Skye there is a tradition that St. Maree used to preach, and that he hung a bell in a tree, where it remained for centuries, dumb all the week, but ringing of its own accord all Sunday.<sup>1</sup> At Contin, too, there is a burial ground called Praes Maree or 'Maree's Bush.'<sup>2</sup> The inference that St. Maree had a sacred tree or bush rises to a certainty, when we take into account the evidence concerning Inchmaree, an island in Loch Maree. Pennant, who visited the place in 1772, describes it as 'covered thickly with a beautiful grove of oak, ash, willow, wicken, birch, fir, hazel, and enormous hollies. In the midst is a circular dike of stones, with a regular narrow entrance: the inner part has been used for ages as a burial place, and is still in use. I suspect the dike to have been originally *Druidical*, and that the antient superstition of *Paganism* had been taken up by the saint, as the readiest method of making a conquest over the minds of the inhabitants. A stump of a tree is shewn as an altar, probably the memorial of one of stone; but the curiosity of the place is the well of the saint; of power unspeakable in cases of lunacy. . . . I must add, that the visitants draw from the state of the well an omen of the disposition of St. *Maree*: if his well is full they suppose he will be propitious; if not they proceed in their operations with fears and doubts: but let the event be what it will, he is held in high esteem: the common oath of the country is, by his name: if a traveller passes by any of his resting-places, they never neglect to leave an offering; but the saint is so moderate as not to put him to any expence: a stone, a stick, a bit of rag contents him.'<sup>3</sup> St. Maree's tree and well are still to be seen. Miss Gertrude M. Godden<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Miss G. M. Godden in *Folk-lore* iv. 506.

<sup>2</sup> *Ead. ib.*

<sup>3</sup> T. Pennant *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides* Chester 1774 p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Miss G. M. Godden 'The Sanctuary of Mourie' in *Folk-lore* iv. 498-508, with an illustration of the tree.

speaks of the former as a bare branchless oak with coins, nails, screws etc. stuck into cracks in its stem, and of the latter as a small dark hole at its foot. Twenty years since it used to be said that 'if anyone removes an offering that has been attached to the tree, some misfortune, probably the taking fire of the house of the desecrator, is sure to follow.'<sup>1</sup> Now St. Maree was the well known Ulster saint Maelrubha (642-722 A.D.), whose name ran through the following series of forms: *Maelrubha*, *Malrubius*, *Malrube*, *Mulray*, *Mourie*, *Moury*, *Maree*.<sup>2</sup> He was 'the most popular saint of the north of Scotland,'<sup>3</sup> and is said to have been descended, like St. Columcille, from Niall of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland.<sup>4</sup> In fact, he was a most likely person to step into the shoes of an old priestly-king. When Pennant suggested that St. Maree took over an ancient druidical cult, he was well on the right track. I should conjecture that, living beneath his sacred oak on the island in Loch Maree the Christian saint received all the honours due to the Celtic man-god. In support of this conjecture I would cite Sir Arthur Mitchell, a most careful enquirer, who mentions some very remarkable facts with regard to the local prestige of our saint. Writing in 1860 he says<sup>5</sup>: 'The people of the place speak often of the god Mourie instead of St. Mourie.' And an old man in the locality told him that the island's name 'was originally Eilean-Mo-Righ (the Island of my King), or Eilean-a-Mhor-Righ (the Island of the Great King), and that this king was

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Dixon *Gairloch* Edinburgh 1886, cited by Miss Godden *ib.* p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> Dean Reeves 'Saint Maelrubha: his history and churches' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1861 iii. 258-296.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Gammack 'Maelrubha' in Smith-Wace *Dictionary of Christian Biography* iii. 782.

<sup>4</sup> Dean Reeves *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Sir A. Mitchell 'The Various Superstitions in the N.W. Highlands and Islands of Scotland, especially in relation to Lunacy' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1862 iv. 254 n. 3.

long ago worshipped as a god in the district.' We have here what looks like a genuine trace of a divine king connected with an oak-tree and a wonder-working well. His cult seems to have survived down to the seventeenth century; for as late as 1656<sup>1</sup> the Dingwall presbytery was doing its best to prevent the people at Applecross<sup>2</sup> from sacrificing bulls on August 25, a day dedicated to St. Mourie.<sup>3</sup> At Gairloch too, bulls were sacrificed on his day and milk poured upon the hills. Contemporary records mention 'these poore ones who are called Mourie his derilans,' and again so-and-so 'quho receaves the sacrifices and offerings upon accompt of Mourie his poore ones.'<sup>4</sup> Mr. J. A. Dixon derives the word *derilans* from the Gaelic *deireoil*, 'afflicted.' If so, he may be right in his conclusion that 'the lunatics would seem to have served as priests to the grove.'<sup>5</sup>

It seems a far cry from the brilliant figures of Irish story, Bran and Cormac, Mael-Duin and Connla, with their silver branches and their golden apples, to 'these poore ones' of stunted intellect subsisting on the charity of the country-side. But the history of religion has its Nebuchadnezzars. Was not the vice-roy of the sky-god at Nemi a run-away slave?

Now the *rex Nemorensis*, sword in hand, defended his sacred tree against all comers, thereby proving his

<sup>1</sup> Miss G. M. Godden in *Folk-lore* iv. 506.

<sup>2</sup> According to Irish tradition, St. Maelrubha founded Apurcrossan (Apple-cross in Ross-shire), where he died on April 21, 722 A.D. According to Scotch tradition, he was slain at Urquhart by a body of Norwegians and buried at Apurcrossan in 1024 A.D. See Rev. J. Gammack 'Maelrubha' in Smith-Wace *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iii. 782.

<sup>3</sup> Dean Reeves *loc. cit.* supposes that the name *Malrubius* led to confusion with St. *Ruffus* of Capua, whose feast is August 27. Hence in a seventeenth century document Inchmaree is called 'the iland of St. Ruffus,' and fairs named after St. Maelrubha are held in Ross, Moray, Banff etc. in the last week of August or the first week of September. See Miss G. M. Godden in *Folk-lore* iv. 503 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ead. ib.* p. 506.

<sup>5</sup> Cited by Miss Godden *ib.*

physical fitness for the office of divine king.<sup>1</sup> Can the same be said of his Gaelic and British peers? In 'The Feast of Bricriu'<sup>2</sup> there are three competitors for the championship of Ulster, *viz.* Laegaire, Conall, and Cuchulain. After various preliminary tests, in which Laegaire and Conall claim to rival Cuchulain, they all three repair to the dun of Curoi, son of Daire and king of South Munster. Curoi is away from home; but they are hospitably entertained by his wife Blathnath, who bids them guard the dun, each in turn for a night, till Curoi comes back. Laegaire and Conall fail to do so. But Cuchulain successfully slays thrice nine assailants and a monster from the neighbouring lake. At the last there comes against him a gigantic warrior armed with great branches of oak. The warrior hurls his branches at Cuchulain; Cuchulain hurls his javelin at the warrior: both miss. The warrior then attempts to grapple with Cuchulain, who leaps his famous salmon-leap and circles his opponent's head with his sword; then, performing his wheel-trick, turns about in the air and forces the foe to cry for mercy. Finally Cuchulain extorts three concessions, that he should obtain the sovranity of Erin's heroes, that he should receive the champion's portion, and that his wife should take precedence of all the women in Ulster.

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* xvi. 322, cp. xv. 376 ff. So well did he defend it that it, or more probably a seedling of it, has perhaps lived down to modern times. At least, the learned though anonymous author of a *Description of Latium* London 1805 p. 85 f. prefaces his account of the *rex Nemorensis* by remarking that in the wood at Nemi 'there is a tree which tradition reports to be near two thousand years old, but some of the inhabitants content themselves with saying, that it was planted by Augustus; its spreading branches hang over the lake, and produce a noble effect.' The period between Servius, who described the tree of the *rex Nemorensis*, and our author may be reckoned at 1420 years.

<sup>2</sup> G. Henderson *Fled Bricrend* (*Irish Texts Society* vol. ii) p. 101 ff., D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 135 ff., Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 74 ff.

These concessions are ratified by Curoi, who shortly after returns home with the heads of Cuchulain's victims. In the sequel the vanquished warrior reappears one evening among the heroes of Ulster assembled in the Red Branch at Emain. He comes as a big uncouth staff-bearer, carrying a great spreading club-tree and a heavy axe, and offers to let any hero hew off his head, on condition that next night he may hew off the hero's head. Three of the company, including Laegaire and Conall, accept the challenge, but, when the beheaded giant each time walks off with his head in his hands, fail through terror to keep their part of the compact. At length Cuchulain beheads him, and alone awaits his return. The stranger deals him a counter-blow, but with the blunt side of the axe,<sup>1</sup> and bids him rise as acknowledged champion. He himself proves to be Curoi son of Daire, who had come on purpose to confirm his promises to Cuchulain.

So the warrior armed with oak-branches was none other than Curoi. Indeed, it is probable that Curoi son of *Daire* means Curoi son of 'Oak' (Irish *dair*).<sup>2</sup> Curoi with a branch of oak in his hand attacking Cuchulain, who defends himself with a sword, resembles the would-be king at Nemi with a branch in his hand attacking the sword-bearing successor of Virbius. And, be it observed, this attack formed the crowning test of fitness for the kingship of Ireland's warriors. It established Cuchulain's right to the golden cup decorated with a bird in precious stones, the significance of which we have already considered.<sup>3</sup> Further, Cuchulain, like Virbius, was a solar

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Frazer has suggested to me that this business of pretended decapitation, of which we shall see another example *infra*, may well be the mythical counterpart of an actual custom.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 506, *La civilisation des Celtes* p. 28, connects Daire with the *Dario-s* of Dario-ritum, on which see Dottin *Manuel de l'antiquité celtique* p. 331, Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* i. 1241.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii, 168.

hero.<sup>1</sup> And Curoi is regarded by Mr. Standish O'Grady,<sup>2</sup> by Prof. Rhys,<sup>3</sup> and by Prof. A. C. L. Brown,<sup>4</sup> as a sort of Manannan. Hence we might look to find Cuchulain mating with Curoi's wife Blathnath, as with Manannan's wife Fand.<sup>5</sup> But this is just what we do find; for a well-known Irish romance<sup>6</sup> tells how one November-eve Cuchulain, in response to a pre-arranged signal from Blathnath, entered Curoi's dun, slew Curoi and carried off to Ulster Blathnath daughter of Midir along with Midir's three cows and cauldron. Another story<sup>7</sup> has it that Curoi had originally got Blathnath, the cows and the cauldron, by guile from their rightful owner Cuchulain, whom he subsequently vanquished in a duel by main force. In fact, Curoi and Cuchulain contended with alternate success for the hand of Blathnath—a trait which recalls their alternate decapitation, and suggests comparison with the strife between Gwyn and Gwythyr for possession of Creiddylad daughter of Lludd.<sup>8</sup> Again, if we may thus venture to detect in Cuchulain some characteristics of the divine king, certain *gessa* or tabus laid upon him<sup>9</sup> fall into place, *e.g.* he might not swerve a foot from his path before a fight with one man, he might not refuse a duel, he might not go to Emain without a combat, and—like the king of Tara<sup>10</sup>—he might not let the sun be up before him in Emain. These rules were made for one who must always accept

<sup>1</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 431 ff., Miss E. Hull *The Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature* London 1898 p. lvi ff.

<sup>2</sup> S. O'Grady, *History of Ireland, critical and philosophical* Dublin 1881 i. 220 n.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 474 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. A. C. L. Brown 'Iwain' in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Boston 1903 viii. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 149 f.

<sup>6</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 473 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 475 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Whitley Stokes in the *Revue celtique* xiv. 399 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 161 f.

a challenge to single fight, one who had powers and responsibilities somehow connected with the sun—posing perhaps as champion and consort of a sun-goddess.<sup>1</sup> But, it will be said, if Cuchulain was a second Virbius, where was his sacred tree? We naturally turn to Emain. In this palace of the Ulster kings the three principal forts were called the Royal Branch (*Craebh Ruadh*), the Red Branch (*Craebh Derg*), and the Speckled House (*Teite Brec*).<sup>2</sup> But the word *Craebh* is constantly used in place-names of a sacred tree. Dr. Joyce<sup>3</sup> writes: '*Craebh* [crave] signifies either a branch or a large wide-spreading tree. This name, like *bile*, was given to large trees, under whose shadow games or religious rites were celebrated, or chiefs inaugurated; and we may conclude that one of these trees formerly grew wherever we find the word perpetuated in a name.' Hence it appears that a sacred tree or trees formed the nucleus of the palace at Emain; and it becomes highly probable that the Red Branch knights of Ulster succeeded to the position once occupied by champions of the sacred tree.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Miss E. Hull *The Cuchullin Saga* p. 36 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> P. W. Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 483.

<sup>4</sup> After reaching this conclusion I found that I had been to some extent anticipated by Miss E. Hull, who in *Folk-lore* xii. 438 suggests that the three halls of Emain were called the Royal Branch, the Red Branch, and the Speckled House, while the knights of the king were styled Champions of the Royal Branch, because of the 'Apple-tree of Emain.' The golden apples of Conchobar's sceptre (*Folk-lore* xvii. 160) and the 'apple-tree from Emain' on Manannan's isle (*ib.* p. 143 f.) certainly support this conjecture. On the other hand, Conchobar's palace was built of red yew (D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 12, Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 43, though Douglas Hyde *A Literary History of Ireland* p. 295 says red oak); and, if the folk-etymology of Emain from *Eó-muin* (O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* pp. 71 f., 528) contains a germ of truth, we might refer the first element in the name to *Eó*, 'a yew-tree' (Joyce *Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 p. 568), as well as to *Eó*, 'a brooch.' When Cuchulain met Fand beneath a yew-tree (*Folk-lore* xvii. 150),



The British equivalent of Cuchulain is Gawain.<sup>1</sup> And an interesting parallel to the whole episode of Cuchulain and Curoi is furnished by the old English poem *Syr Gawain and the Grene Knyght* published by Sir Frederic Madden in 1839<sup>2</sup> from a MS. apparently written in the reign of Richard II. The poem is thus summarised by Miss J. L. Weston<sup>3</sup>:

'On a New Year's Day, while Arthur is keeping his Christmas feast at Camelot, a gigantic knight, clad in green, mounted on a green horse,<sup>4</sup> and carrying in one hand a holly bough, and in the other a "Danish" axe, enters the hall and challenges one of Arthur's knights to stand him "one stroke for another." If any accept the challenge he may strike the first blow, but he must take oath to seek the Green Knight at a twelve-months' end and receive the return stroke. Seeing the gigantic size and fierce appearance of the stranger the knights hesitate, much to Arthur's indignation. Finally Gawain accepts the challenge, and, taking the axe, smites the Green Knight's head from the body. To the dismay of all present the trunk rises up, takes up the head, and, repeating the challenge to Gawain to meet him on the next New Year's morning at the Green Chapel, rides from the hall.

Faithful to his compact, Gawain, as the year draws to an end, sets forth amid the lamentations of the court to abide his doom, which all look upon as inevitable. He

was it a case of the union of the champion with the goddess of a sacred tree? Ibor the guardian of Lug, Cuchulain's father, and Ibor the brother of Emer, Cuchulain's wife, bore a name that denoted 'a yew' (D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 511, *Les Celtes* p. 52).

<sup>1</sup> Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Gawain* London 1897 pp. 17, 28, 30, 63 f., 92 ff., 100 f., 110.

<sup>2</sup> Sir F. Madden *Syr Gawayne* London 1839 p. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Miss J. L. Weston *Sir Gawain* p. 86 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For the green horse cp. the story of Ciabán (S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 198 ff.).

journeys north, and on Christmas Eve comes to a castle, where the lord receives him kindly, tells him he is within easy reach of his goal, and bids him remain over the feast as his guest. Gawain accepts. The three last days of the year the host rides forth on a hunting expedition, leaving Gawain to the care of his wife, and making a bargain that on his return they shall mutually exchange whatever they have won during the day. Gawain is sorely tempted by the wiles of his hostess, who, during her lord's absence, would fain take advantage of Gawain's well-known courtesy and fame as a lover. But he turns a deaf ear to her blandishments, and only a kiss passes between them, which he, in fulfilment of his compact, passes on to the husband on his return. The next day the result is similar: Gawain receives and gives two kisses. The third day, besides three kisses, the lady gives him a green lace, which, if bound round the body, has the property of preserving from harm. In view of the morrow's ordeal, from which Gawain does not expect to escape with his life, he cannot make up his mind to part with this talisman, but gives his host the kisses and says nothing about the lace. The morrow morning at day-break he rides forth, and comes to the Green Chapel, apparently a natural hollow, or cave, in a wild and desolate part of the country. The Green Knight appears, armed with his axe, and bids Gawain kneel to receive the blow. As the axe descends, Gawain instinctively flinches, and is rebuked for his cowardice by the knight, who tells him he cannot be Gawain. The second time he remains steady, but the axe does not touch him. The third time the knight strikes him, inflicting a slight cut on the neck.

Gawain promptly springs to his feet, drawing his sword, and announces that he has now stood "one stroke for another," and that the compact is at an end; whereon the Green Knight reveals himself as his erewhile host. He

was cognisant of his wife's dealings with Gawain; the three strokes equalled the three trials of his guest's fidelity, and, had not Gawain proved partially faithless to his compact by concealing the gift of the lace, he would have escaped unharmed. The name of the Green Knight is Bernlak de Hautdesert, and he had undertaken this test of Gawain's valour at the instance, and by help of the skill, of Morgan le Fay, who desired to vex Guinevere by shaming the Knights of the Round Table.

Gawain returns to court, tells the whole story, concealing nothing, and all the knights vow henceforward to wear a green lace in his honour.'

Miss Weston institutes a careful comparison of this poem with other extant versions of the same tale.<sup>1</sup> Some of these contain variant details deserving notice: *e.g.* in the German *Diu Krône* Gawain's host lives in a turning castle, the battlements of which, with one exception, are surmounted by human heads; and similarly in the French romance *La Mule sans Frein* the giant who challenges Gawain has a castle surrounded by poles supporting human heads. Now in classical mythology, as I have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> shown, the practice of hanging heads over the doorway is characteristic of the oak-king,<sup>3</sup> and appears to be a modification of a still more primitive practice—that of hanging the heads on the sacred oak.<sup>4</sup> On this showing the Green Knight, who is plainly identical with Gawain's host, would be aptly compared with Virbius. Indeed, when dealing with Virbius himself, we noted the fact that his name was 'referable

<sup>1</sup> Miss J. L. Weston *Sir Gawain* p. 88 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Review* xvii. 269 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Sithon (Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 224 f.): Oinomaos (Apollod. *epit.* 2. 5, Philostr. *Jun. imagg.* 9. 3 and the works of art cited in *Classical Review* xvii. 271 f.): Euenos (schol. *Il.* 9. 557). Cp. *Folk-lore* xv. 377 f., 382.

<sup>4</sup> Phorbas (Philostr. *Sen. imagg.* 2. 19): Thoas (Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 540 fig. 31). Cp. *Folk-lore* xv. 376 f., xvi. 323 n. 1.

to the root of *viridis*:<sup>1</sup> it might be literally rendered the Green Man.

Nor need we be surprised if the Green Knight bears a branch of holly, not (like Curoi, his Irish analogue) a branch of oak. For we have seen already that the peculiar mining population in the oak-forest of Dean swear by a stick of holly.<sup>2</sup> And in one story connected with Gawain we seem to catch the actual transition from oak to holly. A fragmentary poem on the *Marriage of Sir Gawaine*,<sup>3</sup> printed by Sir Frederic Madden from the text of the Percy MS. as given in Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* ed. 1794 iii. 350, tells how one Christmas King Arthur came to Tearne-wadling in Cumberland, where a bold baron with a great club upon his back challenged him to fight, or pay a ransom, returning for the purpose on New Year's Day. When he rode out to keep his appointment, he met a hideous hag sitting

‘Betwixt an oke and a greene hollen,’

who made love to him. He extricated himself by promising that Gawain should wed her, and passed on to keep his tryst with the baron, who claimed to be a king and brother of the beldame. Gawain, to fulfil King Arthur's promise, sought out the woman where she sat

‘Vnderneath a greene holly tree’:

but on the marriage night he found her as beautiful as she had before been ugly. She offered him the choice, whether he would have her beautiful by night or by day. He left it courteously to her—an act, which broke a spell laid on her by a step-mother, and enabled her to regain her good looks permanently.

To Mr. A. Nutt<sup>4</sup> belongs the credit of setting this

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* xvi. 291 n.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Sir F. Madden *Syr Gawayne* p. 288 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *The Academy* April 30, 1892, p. 425 f.

story beside an important Irish parallel, existing in two versions. The older and simpler version occurs in the *Cóir Anmann*, and is translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes.<sup>1</sup> It may be summarised as follows. It had been foretold that one of the sons of Dáire Doimthech would obtain the kingship of Ireland, and that his name would be Lugaid. Hence his five sons were all called Lugaid. Now the Assembly of Teltown was held by Dáire, and his sons raced their horses there. When Dáire enquired of the druid, which son would obtain the kingship after himself, the answer was : ' A fawn with golden sheen will come into the assembly, and the son who shall take the fawn will take the kingship after thee.' In due course the golden fawn appeared and was pursued by Dáire's sons, till a magical mist separated them from the men of Erin. It was Lugaid Laigde, otherwise known as Macniad, who actually caught the fawn. The brothers were now overtaken by a snow-storm ; but one of them found a great house with fire and food in abundance. It was kept by a horrible hag, who bade him share her couch. When he refused to do so, she declared : ' Thou hast severed from thee sovranty and kingship.' After this the other brothers arrived in turn and were severally greeted by the hag. Last of all came Lugaid Laigde, who had caught and devoured the fawn. ' Then,' says the chronicler, ' Lugaid of the Fawn goes with her into the house for sake of food and ale. Howbeit the hag went into the couch of white bronze and Macniad followed her ; and it seemed to him that the radiance of her face was the sun rising in the month of May, and her fragrance was likened by him to an odorous herb-garden. And after that he mingled in love with her, and she said to him : " Good is thy journey, for *I* am the Sovranty, and *thou* shalt obtain the sovranty of Erin." ' On the morrow the brothers found themselves alone on a plain,

<sup>1</sup> *ib.* April 23, 1892, p. 399.

and returned to the Assembly of Teltown to relate their adventure.

The name *Lugaid* is derived from Lug,<sup>1</sup> the Irish sun-god. This story, therefore, reinforces the lesson that we learnt from the *Bailé an Scáil*, viz. that the king of Tara was regarded as Lug incarnate and husband of the goddess who possessed the sun-tree.<sup>2</sup> But our story does more than that. For the resemblance of its *dénouement* to that of the *Marriage of Sir Gawaine* raises a strong presumption that Sir Gawain too will prove to be a sun-king married to the goddess of a sun-tree.

Gawain was the son of Lot, king of Norway,<sup>3</sup> behind whom lurks the ancient British sky-god Lud.<sup>4</sup> Miss Weston inferred from this relationship that Gawain 'was originally a sun-deity.'<sup>5</sup> She also pointed out that 'one of the most striking characteristics of Gawain, and one which may undoubtedly be referred to the original conception of his character, is that of the waxing and waning of his strength as the day advances and declines. . . . Scholars have seen in this growth and waning of Gawain's power, directly connected as it is with the waxing and waning of the sun, a proof that this Celtic hero was at one time a solar divinity.'<sup>6</sup> On these and other grounds<sup>7</sup> Miss Weston concludes that Gawain had solar powers. She also makes out a good case for believing that he, like Bran, Connla, Oisín, etc., went on a quest to the Otherworld described as the *Château Merveil*; that he found it to be a

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbois *Les Celtes* p. 43, *L'épopée celtique* p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 157 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See the genealogy in Miss J. L. Weston's translation of Wolfram von Eschenbach *Parzival* London 1894 i. 295.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 47 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Miss J. L. Weston *Sir Gawain* p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Ead. ib.* p. 12 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ead. ib.* p. 13 ff. Gawain's horse *Gringaleit* or *Keincaled*, and Gawain's sword *Escalibor* or *Caledwulch*. The former recalls the horses of various solar heroes: the latter, when drawn, 'throws so great a light . . . that it is as if two torches had been kindled.'

magnificent palace on an island inhabited by women, who dwelt apart from men;<sup>1</sup> and that he wedded the mistress of it, a lady of surpassing beauty known by various names (*L'Orgueilleuse de Logres*, *Orgeluse*, *Blancemal*, *Lorie*, *Florie*, *Flori*, *Amurfin*, etc.), but originally nameless, and to be regarded as 'either the *Daughter of the King of the Other-world*, or as herself the *Queen of that Other-world*.'<sup>2</sup> Finally Miss Weston remarks that 'a feature recurring in the Irish tales, the bearing of a branch of a wondrous tree by the queen, seems reflected in the command laid upon the knight to pluck the bough of the tree guarded by Gramoflanz.'<sup>3</sup>

The incident in question occurs in the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach.<sup>4</sup> Orgeluse bids Gawain, if he would win her as his bride, to break a bough from off a certain tree and bring her a garland of its fresh leaves. The tree is guarded by Gramoflanz, king of Rosche Sabbins.<sup>5</sup> Gawain, traversing a wood of *Tamris* (tamarisk) and *Prisein* (?)<sup>6</sup> and crossing the Perilous Ford, reaches the tree, breaks a bough, and makes of it a garland for his helmet. Hereupon up rides a knight :

'Twas King Gramoflanz—'To the garland that doth there in thine helmet  
wave

I yield not my claim !' thus quoth he, 'Sir Knight, were ye *two* I trow,  
Who here for high honour seeking had reft from my tree a bough,  
I had greeted ye not, but had fought ye, but since thou alone shalt be,  
Thou canst ride hence, for strife unequal I deem it a shame to me !'

And Gawain, too, was loth to fight him, for no armour the king did wear,  
And nought but a yearling falcon he did on his white hand bear.  
(And the sister of Gawain gave it, Itonjé the maid was hight.)

<sup>1</sup> *Ead. ib.* chapter v, p. 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ead. ib.* chapter vi, p. 44 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ead. ib.* p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Wolfram *Parzival* ed. K. Bartsch Leipzig 1871 xii. 530 ff., trans. Miss J. L. Weston xii. 269 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* xiv. 233, cp. xii. 322, xiv. 858. This is Wolfram's equivalent of Chrétien 10186 *Roche de Sanguin* (Bartsch vol. ii p. 298).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* xii. 282. Bartsch *ad loc.* vol. ii p. 288 cp. Prov. *brasil*.

His headgear in Sinzester<sup>1</sup> fashioned was of peacock's plumage bright,  
And green as grass was the mantle of velvet that wrapped him round,  
And with ermine lined, and on each side it swept even unto the ground.<sup>2</sup>

When Gramoflanz learns that the trespasser is Gawain, whose father king Lot had slain his father king Irôt, he alters his mind, and at once challenges Gawain to fight him sixteen days hence at Ioflanz in the presence of a great company. Gawain meantime returns with his bough to the *Château Merveil* and there weds Orgeluse. Next morning Parzival too breaks a bough from the same tree and wreaths it round his helmet. Gawain and he meet accidentally and, mistaking each other for king Gramoflanz,<sup>3</sup> fight a furious duel, in which Gawain is worsted. Parzival on discovering his error cries aloud :

Alas ! that with gallant Gawain I have foughten so fierce a fight,  
'Tis *myself* whom I here have vanquished, and my joy shall have taken  
flight.<sup>4</sup>

Gawain's combat with Gramoflanz is necessarily postponed for a day ; and Parzival begs leave to encounter the king in Gawain's stead :

'Right gladly will I defy him, King Gramoflanz, in his pride ;  
I brake from his tree this morning a bough ere I thence did ride,  
And for that he of need must fight me—For conflict I sought his land,  
And for nothing else came I hither but to fight with his strong right  
hand.'<sup>5</sup>

Gawain of course will not let Parzival go ; but Parzival steals out at break of day, meets and beats King Gramoflanz. Gramoflanz, however, still insists on fighting Gawain, and is only reconciled to the loss of his bough by wedding Itonjé, Gawain's sister, of whom he has long been enamoured.

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Winchester*, according to Bartsch vol. ii p. 292. In vi. 603 Kondrie, daughter of Lot, wears 'a hat of the English peacock' (Miss Weston vol. ii. p. 210).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* xii. 332 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* xiv. 9 f., 363 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* xiv. 157 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* xiv. 359 ff.



Wolfram wrote his *Parzival* early in the thirteenth century and quotes as his source Kyot the Provençal.<sup>1</sup> Kyot and Chrétien de Troyes appear to have had a common source in a book given to the latter by Philip, Count of Flanders, and cited by him in the prologue to his *Conte del Graal*: a fragment of this common source is perhaps still extant.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, practically certain that such a name as Gramoflanz goes back to a Romance (? Breton) original; and that, in seeking to determine its earliest form, we must set side by side the variants of Wolfram and Chrétien:—

{	Wolfram : <i>Gramoflanz</i> , <i>Gramovlanz</i> . <sup>3</sup>
	Chrétien : <i>Guiromelans</i> , <i>li guïromelans</i> , <i>li Guïremelanz</i> , <i>li griomelans</i> . Cp. Heinrich von dem Türlin ( <i>Diu Krône</i> ): <i>Gïremelanz</i> . <sup>4</sup>

In view of these variants I would suggest that the name was originally \**Guiramelans*, representing a Latin *visci*-\**ramellanus*, which in Old French would become successively *vis-ramel-ans*, *guis-ramel-ans*, *gui-ramel-ans*.<sup>5</sup> On this showing Wolfram has preserved the original *a* as against Chrétien's *o* or *e*, though Chrétien's forms are otherwise more primitive than Wolfram's: yet even in the scarcely recognisable *Gramoflanz* the ending (cp. *pflanze*) shows that the name suggested to Wolfram some connexion with

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* xvi. 663 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Perceval* London 1906 i. 1, 73, 93, 319, 325.

<sup>3</sup> K. Bartsch in Index to his ed. of Wolfram's *Parzival*.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* *Germanische Studien* Wien 1875 ii. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Old French used both *vis* and *guis* for 'mistletoe' (Mod. Fr. *gui*). *Guis*, as I learn from my friend Dr. P. Giles, was probably a borrowed word (? from Breton), which superseded the Old French *vis*. The Latin \**ramellus* appears in Old French *ramel*, 'a branch,' Provençal *ramels*, 'a bush,' Modern French *rameau*, 'a branch.' See A. Brachet *An Etymological Dictionary of the French Language* ed. 3 Oxford 1882 s. *vv.* 'gui,' 'rameau,' G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* ed. 2 Paderborn 1901 nos. 7745, 10227.

the vegetable world. If I am right in my conjecture,<sup>1</sup> Gramoflanz or rather Guiromelans was a king who defended a tree against all comers and himself bore a name meaning 'He of the Mistletoe-branch' or 'the Mistletoe-branch-man.'<sup>2</sup> As already mentioned, he wore a mantle of velvet 'green as grass'—a trait which recalls Gawain's other antagonist the Green Knight and suits the guardian of a sacred tree.<sup>3</sup> On another occasion

Gramoflanz, he ware

For garment a robe of wonder, in Gampfassâsch wroughten fair.

'Twas a rick silk, all gold embroidered, and woven with golden thread,  
And a shimmer of light from his vesture afar round the monarch spread.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bartsch *Germanische Studien* ii. 121 would derive the name from *guirlande* (Lat. *gyrus*) and *meller, mesler*, 'to fight,' i.e. 'He who fights for the garland.' But the Old French *garlande*, Provençal *garlandia*, are against him; nor has *guirlande* anything to do with *gyrus*. See Körting *op. cit.* nos. 4429, 10389.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the appellative forms *li guiromelans*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. D. Fitzgerald in the *Revue celtique* iv. 185 f. reports the following folk-tale concerning Loch Guirr: 'This lake, all Munster knows, is enchanted; but the spell passes off it once in every seven years. The lake then, to whoever has the luck to behold it, appears dry; and the Tree may be partly seen at the bottom of it, covered with a Green Cloth. A certain bold fellow was at the spot one day at the very instant when the spell broke, and he rode his horse towards the tree and snatched away the *Brat 'Uaine* [Green Cloth] that covered it. As he turned his horse, and fled for his life, the woman who sat on the watch, knitting under the cloth, at the foot of the tree, cried out,

Awake, awake, thou silent tide!

From the Dead Women's Land a horseman rides,

From my head the green cloth snatching.

At the words the waters rose; and so fiercely did they pursue him that as he gained the edge of the lake one half of his steed was swept away, and with it the *Brat 'Uaine*, which he was drawing after him. Had that been taken, the enchantment was ended for ever.' Mr. Fitzgerald *ib.* p. 192 cp. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* ii. 42 ff.

The Rev. J. Macdougall *Folk and Hero Tales* London 1891 (*Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*: Argyllshire iii.) p. 231 tells of 'the Knight of the Green Vesture . . . who fell fighting in the play of swords against the Fierce Earl of the Wood-of-Masts (*Coille-nan-Crann*).'

<sup>4</sup> Wolfram *Parzival* trans. Miss J. L. Weston xiv. 733 ff.

The gold, like the green, was appropriate to the bearer of the mistletoe.<sup>1</sup> It will further be noticed that whoever wore the branch in question (Gramoflanz, Gawain, or Parzival) was exposed thereby to the attack of another champion eager to wrest from him the coveted prize. Lastly, the branch was worn round the helmet as a garland or crown: it formed in fact the *regale* of the *rex nemorensis*. Not only was Gamoflanz a king; but Gawain too is said to have reigned as a king in *Walweitha*,<sup>2</sup> that is Galloway,<sup>3</sup> and—as Miss Weston points out<sup>4</sup>—it is in *Galvoie* or Galloway that Chrétien locates the *Château Merveil*.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(*To be continued.*)

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<sup>1</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 6. 204 ff. Is there an allusion to the man-god with his golden bough in Anth. Pal. 4. 1. 47 f. Meleager *ναὶ μὲν καὶ χρύσειον ἀεὶ θέλει Πλάτωνος* | *κλῶνα, τὸν ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντοθι λαμπόμενον*?

<sup>2</sup> William of Malmesbury *Gesta regum Anglorum* 3. 287 (ed. W. Stubbs London 1889 ii. 342).

<sup>3</sup> F. Lot in *Romania* xxv. 2 n. 3.    <sup>4</sup> Miss J. L. Weston *Sir Perceval* i. 191.





CONTENTS OF A WASSAIL-BOX.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### A YORKSHIRE "WASSAIL BOX."

(Vol. xiv., p. 419; Vol. xiii., pp. 94-6.)

"WASSAIL BOXES" are still carried round, generally by girls and in the month of November only, in Scarborough and its neighbourhood, but the number has very greatly lessened of late years, and the boxes now do not always contain a doll, but sometimes merely a few sprays of holly and an orange or apple. In one box carried round two winters ago, there was a single doll with an indistinct black object at one side, of which the two tiny boys carrying the box said, "Please, mum, it's the devil!" The name "vessel cup" is not used in this neighbourhood. The box photographed in Plate III. (which shows the *contents* only), was obtained for me from the village of Wheatcroft, by S— A—, who is a Roman Catholic. The dolls in it have been carried round for twenty-five years. The box measures  $11\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 3 in. deep. It has a lid, but this is not always the case, though the contents of a box are always *covered*. The box contains, besides the two dolls (the larger of which is dressed in red), paper flowers, a lemon, holly and mistletoe, a purse, and an artificial orange and an artificial apple, both the artificial fruits containing sweets. If all the fruits are real, it is necessary to put in a bag of sweets. The purse should have a hole in it. The children carrying a box never knock or ring, but open each house door and begin to sing, "God rest you, merry gentlemen." If no notice is taken, they sing the piece over again, until some-

one goes to speak to them, They then ask if anyone would like to see the "wassail box." If no one cares to look at it, they go quietly away. They never uncover the box without first asking, "Would you like to see the wassail box?" S. A.'s mother says that the dolls represent the Virgin and Child, and that the box should be made of "parch-board" and lined with moss and ivy. In the Mirfield district of the West Riding the children used to go wassailing with two dolls etc. in a clothes basket covered over with a white cloth. At Pontefract the dolls were carried in a box. The following version of the ballad sung was written down for me exactly as remembered by S. A. In some parts additional lines, beginning "Call up the butler of this house," were also sung.

"God rest you all Merry Gentlemen,  
Let nothing your desire (*sic*);  
Remember Christ our Saviour  
Was born on Christmas day,  
To save poor souls from Satan's power  
Long time have gone astray.  
A star appeared in Bethlehem  
That glorious Christmas morn,  
To spread the joyful tidings  
That a Saviour had been born.  
And the shepherds tending to their flocks  
Gazed on the heavenly sight,  
And guided by the star so bright  
They found Him who is Christ the Lord,  
All meanly wrapped in swaddling bands  
And in a manger laid.  
Glad tidings of great joy I bring  
To you and all mankind.

"God bless the master of this house,  
Likewise the mistress too,  
And all your pretty children  
Around your table go.  
For it is the time of year  
When we travel far and near;  
So God bless you and send you  
A Happy New Year.  
We have a little purse,  
It is made of leather skin,

We want a little of your money  
To line it well within.  
Our boots are very old,  
And our clothes are very thin ;  
We're tired out with wandering around,  
And if we cannot sing,  
If you only spare a copper  
To line the purse within.  
So God prosper you and I wish you a Merry Christmas  
and a Happy New Year."

Near Normanton, where the custom still continues, different verses are sung, of which the following are a specimen :—

"Here we come a-wessailing (*sic*) | among the leaves so green.  
And here we come a-wandering | so fair to be seen.  
Love and joy come to you,  
And to you your wessail too,  
And God send you a Happy New Year, a New Year!  
And God send you a Happy New Year!"

"We are not daily beggars | that beg from door to door,  
But we are neighbours' children | that you have seen before.  
Love and joy come to you (*etc.*)

"I have a little purse | lined with stretching leather skin,  
And I want a little of your money | to line it well within.  
Love and joy come come to you" (*etc.*)

E. WRIGHT.

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#### SOME ENGLISH STRING TRICKS.

No attempt has, so far as I know, been hitherto made to describe the various string tricks and figures used in the British Isles, except what may be found scattered through the pages of children's annuals, boys' books of games, etc., difficult to come at, and when found, often useless on account of the perfunctory manner in which the description is done. A collection and description for scientific purposes, that is, for comparison with those of other countries, is yet to seek. Most or all that I have



given here are old and well known, in the sense that there is nothing new about them, but they appear to me to be falling into a degree of desuetude which must eventually lead to their being lost. I have found it difficult indeed to meet persons who know anything of such things, and of those who ever have known, the number who had more than a hazy recollection or could give an intelligible account of what they knew was smaller still. Vague ideas about slip-knots and reef-knots, equally vague reminiscences of forgotten tricks, cat's cradle dwindled to a single imperfectly understood figure—these have been my experiences. It is much to be wished that forms of words or gestures used to accompany tricks of these kind, as well as their names, should be recorded. In my own case all such additions had been lost by those who taught me mine—thus, the first time I was shown the series of figures which is known under the name of the pound of candles there was no story to go with it. It is not unlikely that the tricks I give here may have had appropriate names, and if any student knows of such he would do a service by recording them. The names I have given them are in most cases simply names of convenience used by myself as a boy, and have no authority.

With regard to the language used in the descriptions, I have thought it better to dispense with the Haddon-Rivers nomenclature where there seemed a reasonable hope of being intelligible without it. It, or some equivalent, is, I believe, indispensable for the study of Pacific and North American string figures, but in shorter tricks it has seemed to me that the absolute accuracy which it promises may sometimes be obtained at the expense of general clearness and brevity. Moreover, I believe it is pursuing a Will o' the wisp to try and find language which will force the meaning on a person who desires to misunderstand, especially with a tongue like English, which so constantly presumes an intelligent relation between speaker and hearer. On the other hand, mistakes in description or misapprehensions of the meaning may often be corrected by accompanying diagrams. I have accordingly, wherever I thought that the meaning could be doubtful, drawn diagrams, which, if they leave something to be desired, will still, I hope, be found true and sufficiently

numerous to throw light on any parts of the descriptions which may fail of clearness. I have to thank Dr. Haddon, whose interest in the subject suggested this attempt, for counsel on more than one occasion, as well as for the use of material; and Miss A. Hingston, who kindly revised some of the descriptions. For all errors or defects in the latter I am responsible, having adopted, and in some cases exercised the functions of an editor in regard to, descriptions not originally mine.

#### THE BUTTON-HOLE TRICK.

Pass the loop through the button-hole, extend on the thumbs. Move the hands a little out from the body and towards each other. Put the right little finger up into the left thumb loop and pull the right hand string of that loop across to the right

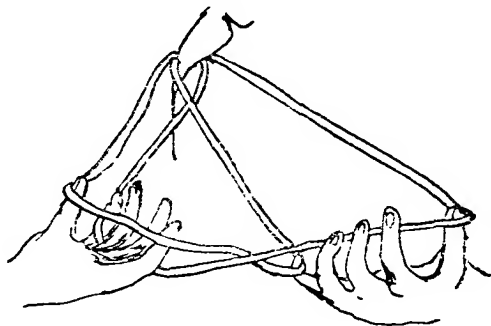


FIG. 1.

hand. Pass left hand above the right little finger loop, put left little finger up into right thumb loop and pull across the left hand string of it in a similar manner (Fig. 1). Drop the right thumb loop, dip the thumb into the right little finger loop, withdraw both little fingers. Extend quickly: the thumbs being now in the same part of the loop, the free end runs out through the button-hole.

*Variation.* In the second move the thumb string may be drawn across under both strings of the right little finger loop. Move three is then made with the left hand.

Move three is usually introduced by "sawing" the loops back and forth to confuse the spectator.

I learnt this trick from a Bristol boy about 1869.

## THE KEY-RING TRICK.

This trick is of the class which requires two persons—a swindler, A, and a dupe, B.

A passes the loop through a ring and places it extended on B's thumbs or indices, held upright (Fig. 2). Taking hold of one

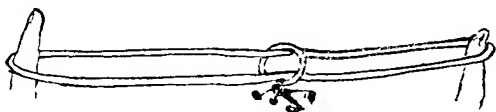


FIG. 2.

string he loops it over the thumb on the other side of the ring, placing it on the proximal side of the loop-end already on that thumb. He then detaches this loop-end, at the same time pulling the ring with the other hand. The ring comes off, leaving the loop on B's thumbs. Or, when detaching the distal loop-end from B's thumb, A may direct B to extend the loop. A then simultaneously drops the detached string and the ring falls on the floor (Fig. 3).

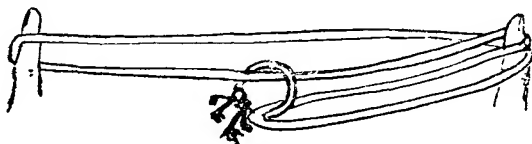


FIG. 3.

I think I got this trick from a boy's book about 1875. Mr. Oldham, of King's College, Cambridge, showed me a method identical with that of the button-hole trick previously described, the ring, of course, taking the place of the button-hole.

The above method, unless skilfully done, betrays its secret. The following way of doing the trick is not open to this objection :

We shall call the string nearest to B, B string, and the other A string.

With the middle finger of the right hand A hooks up B string and draws it across above A string. With the right index he raises A string on its proper side of B, a little above the level of the

mid-finger string, and maintaining this position (Fig. 4), moves the hand up to B's right hand, the ring being between A's hand and B's left. Drawing the mid-finger string between himself and

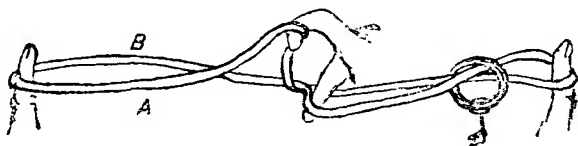


FIG. 4.

his index loop A places the tip of the mid-finger against the point of B's right thumb and transfers the string to B's thumb, still retaining the index loop. Taking this index loop in the left hand, A takes up with the back of the right index the part of B string between the ring and B's left. Placing the tip of the index against the tip of B's right thumb, A again transfers the loop, the long string of this loop being the one nearer to B. A now takes hold of the ring with his right hand and works it up to B's right, drops the index loop held in the left hand, and pulls the ring, which will slide off the free end of the slack part of the loop (Fig. 5).

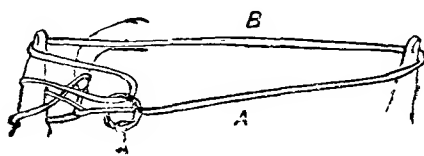


FIG. 5.

I am indebted to Miss Haddon for this method, which seems to be composite. See the remark appended to the "World-wide Finger-string Trick," *infra*.

There is a third way, intermediate in complexity to the two just described.

Placing the loop as before on B's thumbs or indices, A takes up A string on the back of the left index, between the ring and B's right hand. At the same time, with his left little finger he pulls a part of the same string still nearer to B's right, a little towards himself, making a little finger loop. A transfers

the index loop to B's right thumb by placing them tip to tip, and immediately draws the little finger loop away towards B's left. Dipping the left index into the loop near B's left thumb on the other side of the ring, he takes up B string on its dorsal aspect. This index loop is transferred to B's right thumb by touching the tips as before. A now puts his left index into the ring or grasps it with his right hand, bidding B extend the loop on his thumbs. As B extends A drops the little finger loop and pulls the ring, which slides off (Fig. 6).

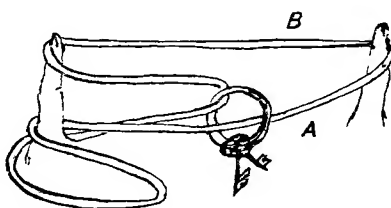


FIG. 6.

I was shown this method by Miss A. Hingston, as also a fourth method, in some ways superior to any I have described. Unluckily, it was her own invention.

#### CUTTING OFF THE HEAD.

Throw the loop over the head; let the hinder string lie on the nape: grasp the side strings midway with either hand held near the chin, the remainder hanging loose in front. With a quick motion throw the right string over the left, catch the crossing strings in the mouth. With a similar motion cross the strings again, but this time let the right string pass under the left. Throw the loose front string over the head. There are now two side loops. Put the thumbs into them and extend quickly, letting go the mouth hold. The whole loop is now behind the back of the neck (Fig. 7).

I learnt this from a Bristol boy about 1875.

Miss A. Hingston informs me that this trick is also done by the method of the button-hole trick. By extending the loop on the thumbs behind the neck and making the proper movements,

it appears still held on the thumbs in front of the throat. I know of no other trick with a method resembling the first described, with its crude reversion of the movement by which the strings are crossed. Such an effect is achieved with much subtlety in the tricks which might be conveniently grouped under the Melanesian name, "Buli." Indeed, it would not be difficult to invent a "cutting-off head" trick on the principle of these.

I cannot help thinking that the trick I have described under this name may be a reminiscence or imitation of a much prettier



FIG. 7.

one found by Dr. Cunnington in East Africa. The principle is as follows: The loop is placed over the head and a turn is taken with one string round the neck above the other string. The neck is thus enclosed in a small loop inside the main loop. A small loop is then made at the other (the free) end of the main loop, and inside it, by making a twist with the same string as before, as if round an imaginary neck at that end of the loop. This end of the main loop, with its small loop, is then made to describe a semicircle and placed inverted over the head. An arrangement of strings results, which can be resolved by pulling either of the strings in front of the throat, or the free loop end on the opposite side to the string used for making the

small loops. The other loop end pulls the string into a common fastening or double half-hitch. So far, I have nothing to confirm my suspicion that this trick is found in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE NOSE TRICK.

Hold the string with thumbs and indices, the hands a few inches apart. Make a smaller loop by bringing the parts held by the fingers together, the right piece between the body and the left piece. The small loop's right string will thus cross in front of the left string, and become the large loop's left string. Hold the cross strings in the mouth. With the right hand in front of the loops, put the index into the small loop (Fig. 8);

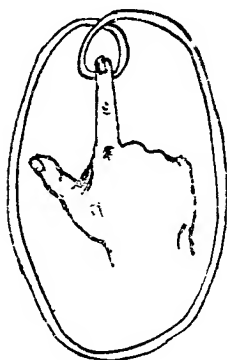


FIG. 8.

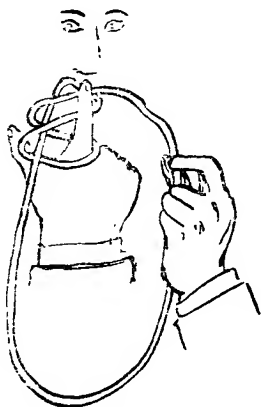


FIG. 9.

take it up and carry it round, first in front then behind, the right string of the large loop. Push the index with the small loop still on it up forward through the large loop, and lay the tip of the finger on the nose (Fig. 9).

With the left hand pull the left string, letting go with the mouth. The string comes away in the left hand, the index

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cunningham's description of the East African trick referred to, will appear in the forthcoming number of *J. A. I.* When I wrote the above I expected that its appearance would have preceded by two or three months that of this article. My acknowledgments are in any case due to Dr. Cunningham.

remaining on the nose. The performance closes with an appropriate grimace.

(From a Devonshire boy, about 1871.)

A more complicated way is as follows:

Holding the strings as before, put the right index from behind into the small loop. Carry it round the large loop's left string to the front, through the large loop from front to back and round outside the large loop's right string. Place the index on the nose, and conclude as before. Or reverse the crossing of the strings and reverse the movement of the hand (Fig. 10).

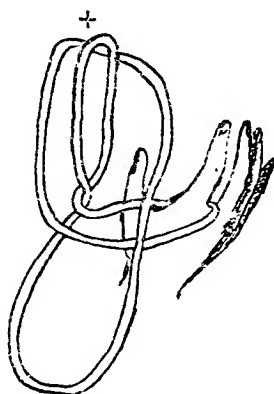


FIG. 10.

My sister, when eight or nine years old, hit on this way of doing the trick in her efforts to find out the first method. I have included it here as a good example of how variations might occur in tricks of a simple kind. Dr. Haddon has shown me a Melanesian trick called *Buli* which is evidently similar, but the method is simpler than either of the two I have given.

#### THE LINKED-HANDS TRICK.

Two players, A and B.

A's wrists are tied with a piece of loose string. A similar string passing inside A's arms and string, connects B's wrists. The problem is for either player to free himself (Fig. 11).



A takes up a small piece near the middle of his own string and carries it to one of B's wrist loops, and passes it from the

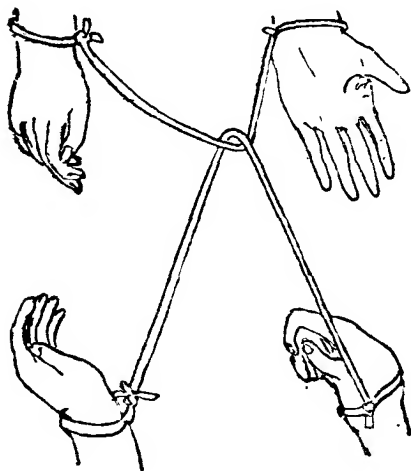


FIG. 11.

proximal side between B's wrist and its loop, taking care the strings do not cross. Drawing the piece out on the distal side of B's wrist loop, he loops it over B's hand and again under

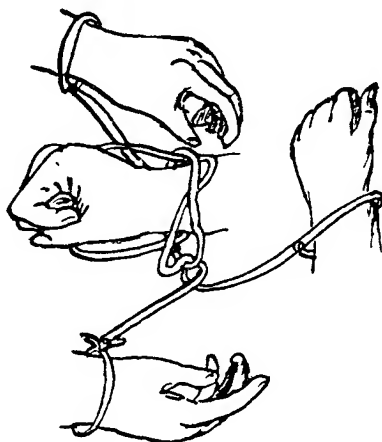


FIG. 12.

the wrist loop on the other side of B's wrist, passing this time from the distal to the proximal side. A can now pull his own string clear of B on the outer side of B's arm (Fig. 12).

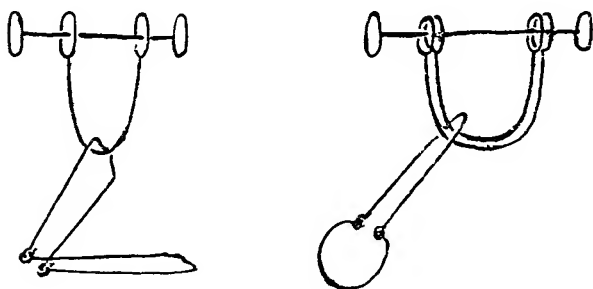


FIG. 13.

The principle of this trick is the same as that of many wire puzzles, of which two common forms, Fig. 13, are figured. I got this trick from a book, I cannot remember where, some time in the seventies.

#### THE FINGER STRING-TRICK.

Place the loop over the right index and over the index of another person (B), the strings extended parallel, both indices upright. Press the left index on both strings half way (Fig.

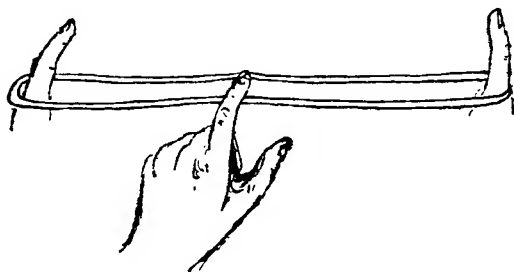


FIG. 14.

14), and, holding them firmly down, move the right index in a circle over it until the index tip meets the tip of B's index (Fig. 15). Pull the strings with the left index, and slip its

distal string. Whisk the loop away as it comes round the backs of the touching indices. (From a Bristol boy, about 1870.)

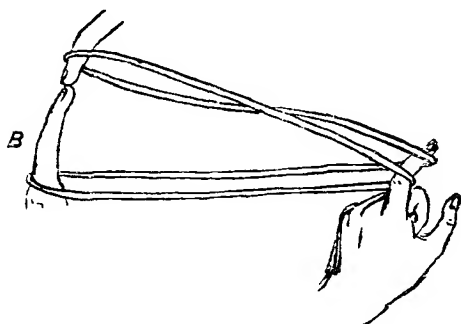


FIG. 15.

Mr. Oldham, King's College, Cambridge, showed me a most effective way of doing this trick. After touching index tips the performer shifts his index loop to the base of B's index. With the disengaged right hand held side up, he then strikes the strings a smart blow while slipping the distal string off the left index. Neatly done, the strings seem to come away through the uplifted finger.

#### GYPSY FINGER STRING-TRICK.

Place one end of the loop over the finger of another person (B), and give the right parallel string one clockwise turn, distal, round the same.

Hold the parallel strings with the left hand palm downwards, about a foot away from B's finger, the right string passing under the index and over the mid finger, the left string under the mid finger and over the ring finger.

With the right hand take the free end of the loop and double it over the left hand and a little way beyond towards B, and lay it across the parallel strings so that it hangs in equal festoons on either side of the latter, forming two pendent loops.

Bring the right hand below the left hand and between the pendent loops, and put the mid finger into the right pendent

loop and the index into the left pendent loop, and by pressing these two fingers together hold the strings firm (Fig. 16). Turn the left hand palm upwards.

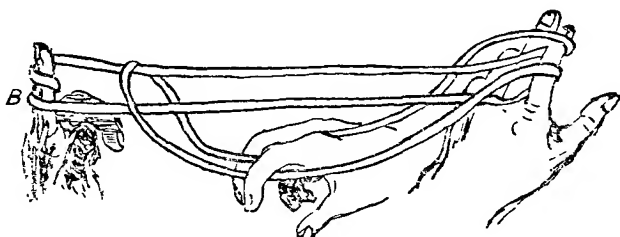


FIG. 16.

There are now two strings on the palmar surface of the left index, one of which crosses the palmar surface of the mid finger as well. The latter loops round the index proximal to the former. By slightly flexing the left hand the point of the mid finger may be made to enter the distal index loop from the distal side. Withdraw the index altogether. This leaves two loops on the mid finger.

Transfer both loops from the mid finger to B's finger, so that the latter enters the loops from the proximal side without the parallel strings being crossed. Hold B's finger with your left hand; withdraw right index and the string will pull out (Fig. 17).

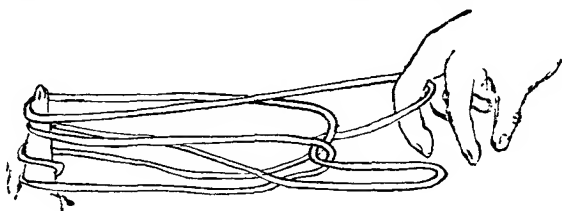


FIG. 17.

The above was learned from Gypsies and communicated, by Miss H. M. Simmonds, 79 Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, S.E. The description is by Miss A. Hingston.

It appears to me that the gypsy finger string-trick may be connected with the simpler trick which precedes it by the following considerations :

If the loop be in position for the simple finger string-trick—

*i.e.* held taut on the upright indices of two persons, A and B—the trick may be, so to speak, doubled, by giving a twist with A's right, or ulnar string, distal round B's index, which I here take to be the left index, and similarly round A's index. If then the indices be placed tip to tip, or, which is the same thing, if the loops of A's index be transferred by this movement to B's index, the disposition can be resolved by pulling the free loop on the radial side of B's index. We thus have a theoretical finger string-trick which will be found on examination to be the same as Dr. Cunnington's East African head string-trick referred to above. It resolves also by pulling out straight either of the strings which cross the palmar aspect of the index. Compare Fig. 18 *b*.

If the distal string of the radial loop which crosses the back of B's left index as fourth or distal dorsal string be pulled slant across the third dorsal index string a kind of hitch is formed not readily resolved by pulling the radial loop, while yielding easily to the pull of the palmar string. Pull the distal palmar string down (the index being conveniently held horizontal) till nearly of a length with the side loops. Pass half this new palmar loop through the ulnar loop from the ulnar side and then through the radial loop, grip the separated halves with index and mid finger, and we have precisely the final arrangement of strings of the gypsy finger string-trick (Fig. 17). Or, reversing the process, if we set up the gypsy trick, and get the pulling loop clear by dropping the right index hold, this loop may, by drawing the radial and ulnar loops, be itself drawn taut to B's index, and we have the string arrangement of the theoretical trick, Fig. 18 *b*, merely modified by the fourth dorsal index string being pulled across the third.

All this depends upon the properties of a common hitch or double half-hitch; and as I believe the latter underlies not only these but other tricks, as well as some string figures, it is convenient to give it here.

Place the loop over the left index held horizontal. Pass the radial string proximal to the ulnar, then in a distal direction, give it a turn towards you, making a loop of which the returned piece of string forms the upper limb; hitch the near side of

this loop over the index. We have a hitch with the following obvious properties (Fig. 18 *a*):

(1) If both ends of the support are free, or if the support is an endless ring or the like, the hitch is undone by passing the fixed end completely over the support, or by detaching the half hitches separately.

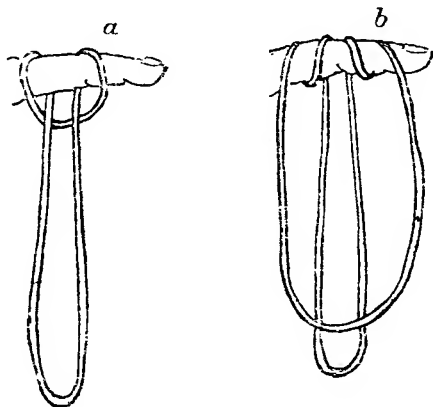


FIG. 18.

(2) If neither end of the support is free, to unhitch, the free end of the loop must be threaded back through the fixed end, or the fixed end can be pulled simply.

Pull the fixed end of the hitch down six inches or a foot, then pass it up by the ulnar side over the back of the index. The arrangement of strings is that which has been twice elaborated (Fig. 18 *b*).

Thus it appears that the pendent radial loop in the foregoing description is really the fixed end of the double half-hitch, and the palmar index strings are merely portions of the same.

In the "Hand string-tricks" which follow, we shall find other properties of the hitch utilised.

#### A WORLD-WIDE FINGER STRING-TRICK.

Loop the end of string over B's finger, leaving two parallel strings a little distance apart, and hold the other ends of the strings firm in the left hand.

With the right hand palm upwards insert the right little finger

from above between the parallel strings, and pick up the left parallel string and bring it across the right parallel string.

Insert the right index from below into the loop on B's finger, the hand being palm upwards, and the middle and ring fingers closed in the palm.

Bend the right hand with fingers pointing downwards away from you and backs uppermost, the index and mid finger both taking up the left parallel string on their backs, but with the right parallel string between the two fingers (Fig. 19).

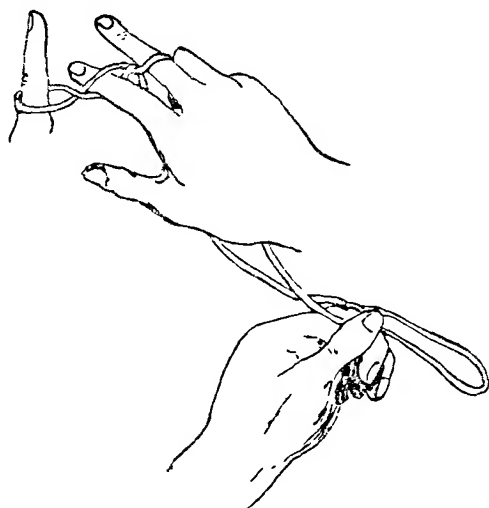


FIG. 19.

Place mid-finger tip on tip of B's finger. Withdraw index, and with left hand pull string, which will then run out.

This trick is almost identical with one known in the Caroline Islands (Uap Island), described by Mrs. Jayne,<sup>1</sup> who also obtained it from a Chippewa Indian. If it be compared with the second method described, of performing the key-ring trick, the latter will be seen to be a skilful combination of this finger string-trick with a simpler form of the key-ring trick.

The above was obtained from Mrs. Brinkworth, Bath, by Miss A. Hingston, who kindly gave me the description.

<sup>1</sup> C. F. Jayne, *String Figures*. Scribner, New York. 1906.

## THE HAND STRING-TRICK.

Hold the left hand palm towards you. Place the loop over the left hand, omitting thumb, and draw tight behind so that the string crosses the palm. Loop the dorsal part of the string over the middle and ring fingers, draw out to the palmar side, and pass the two strings round the back of the thumb, keeping them parallel, and the string which comes between index and middle finger distal on the thumb (Fig. 20). Pass this distal thumb string round the ulnar side of the index, and over the backs of the index and thumb; and pass the proximal thumb string round the radial side of the little finger, letting the loop then hang in front of the palm (Fig. 21). Detach the thumb loops and put them between the middle and ring fingers. Pull the original palm string, and the whole loop comes away.

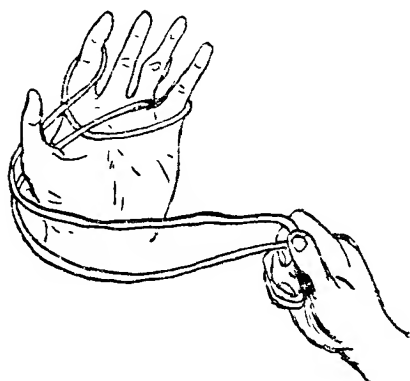


FIG. 20.

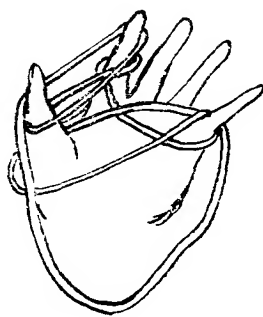


FIG. 21.

I learnt this trick from a Bristol boy about 1870, and have never seen it since. There is a certain crudeness about the doing and undoing of the disposition of the loop which suggests a degeneration of method. It is therefore interesting to find that there is another method free from this defect. It was obtained by Miss B. W. Freire Marreco from a patient in S. Peter's Convalescent Home, Woking, who had been brought up at the Freemasons' School, Clapham. Miss Marreco's



excellent description, which I give here, was kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Haddon:

"Hold the left hand palm upwards, and pass it through the loop of string, leaving the thumb free. With right hand take up the slack of the loop from the back of the left hand, and bring it to the palm, passing the radial string between the first and middle fingers, and the ulnar string between the third and little. The slack of the loop is now on the palm side of the hand. Carry both strings to the radial side of the palm, and round the back of the thumb to the palm again; the ulnar index string becomes the distal thumb string, and the ulnar third finger string becomes the proximal thumb string. Cross the distal thumb string *over* the proximal. Put the loop on to the little finger, the proximal (or under) thumb string passing from palm to back between the third and little fingers, and the distal thumb string (which lies uppermost) passing outside the little finger. Cross the strings again, the radial little finger string *under* the ulnar little finger string. Bring the crossed loop across the palm to the radial side, and put it on to the index, the radial little finger string becoming the radial index



FIG. 22.

string. Lift off the two thumb loops, pull tight (Fig. 22), and pass them from palm to back of hand between the middle and third fingers. There is now, besides the loops twisted round the roots of the fingers, a single palmar string lying across the roots of all the fingers. Pull this and all comes off."

Miss A. Hingston showed me a third variety of this trick, in which the loop after being placed over the index remained pendent on the back of the hand, while the thumb strings were placed between the fingers, with the result that the string ran out between thumb and index.

There is a Melanesian trick called *Au mokeis*, or "Rat," known to Dr. Haddon's pupils, which has a striking resemblance to the "Hand string-trick." As to their exact relations I find it difficult to express an opinion. In point of cleverness there is no comparison between them. The English trick depends on one method of undoing the double half-hitch, the Melanesian utilises two or three, and besides, baffles the onlooker by shifting the play from the free to the fixed end of the loop. *Au mokeis* is a riot in the double half-hitch. It is hard to learn, and I could believe that the English trick is an attempt to reproduce it. Perhaps one or both of them may at some time have been used as a means of shortening an inconvenient length of rope, the thumb representing a horn or belaying-pin, whose release would free the remainder of the rope when wanted.

The following "Mouse" trick was communicated to Dr. Haddon by Dr. H. H. Weir, formerly of Toynbee Hall:

#### THE MOUSE ALTERNATIVE.

Take string in right hand and loop one end over little finger of left hand, pressing against ulnar side of little finger. Twist strings of little finger loop once between little finger and ring finger, and pass over ring finger so that dorsal string of little finger is palmar string on ring finger, and *vice versa*. Repeat twist and pass over middle finger, taking care to twist in opposite direction and so keep one string proximal and the other distal on each finger.

Repeat for index finger. Repeat for thumb (Fig. 23). Each string now passes on palmar and dorsal aspect of each finger alternately, one being proximal and one distal the whole way.

Bring distal string round thumb to other aspect, and lay it along the same aspect of index finger, *i.e.* that which it is already against.

Remove proximal string from thumb, and between thumb

and index finger pass it to distal side of what was distal string, and lay it against aspect of index finger from which it came.

The original distal string now makes a loop round thumb, and the original proximal string a loop round the strings of this loop between thumb and index finger, and the two loose strings are on opposite sides of index finger.

Twist strings between index finger and middle finger as before, keeping the now distal string still distal, and repeat till they pass little finger.

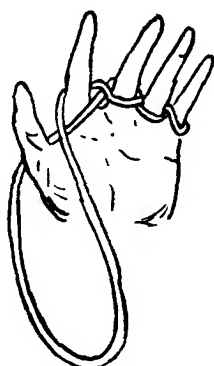


FIG. 23.

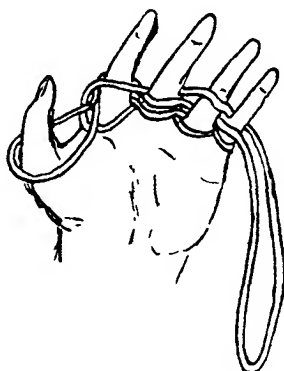


FIG. 24.

Release thumb and pull the now proximal string (Fig. 24).

Mr. Oldham, who did this trick for me in a neat sailorly fashion, began the return or untwisting movement by taking hold of the end of the slack part of the string, which he retained till the construction was complete. Two loop ends remained on the thumb side of the hand, with which a little juggling might be done before pulling the ulnar strings.

Miss A. Hingston showed me a form of the trick in which both strings passed round the same side of the thumb, which was thus not included in the twisting movement. When the construction was finished there were then two loops on the thumb which had to be removed.

The analogy between this trick and the *Kebe mokeis*<sup>1</sup> of the Torres Straits is palpable, but I confess to some doubt

<sup>1</sup> *Man*, No. 109; Oct. 1902.

whether there is more than analogy. Dr. Weir, unfortunately, does not state whether the trick he describes is called "Mouse" or whether he so styles it on account of the analogy. Admitting that the intention of both is the same, I cannot see any identity of principle. They start quite differently, and while *Kebe makeis* repeats a particular self-solving movement four times, the other trick makes a fourfold repetition of a weaving movement, followed by as many repetitions of a solvent or unweaver. The simplest form of the "Mouse alternative" is as follows: Place the loop over the middle finger of the left hand. Take up the ulnar string, pass it between middle finger and index, round the back of the index, lay it along the palmar side of the fingers. Take up the radial string, pass it between index and mid finger distal to palm string and dorsal string, and round the back of the mid finger out to the palm side again (Fig. 25 *b*).

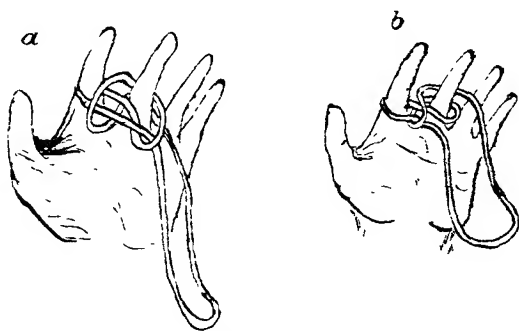


FIG. 25.

The elementary form of *Kebe makeis* is as follows: Put loop over index and mid finger of left hand. Put right hand into the loop from proximal, with index thrust between index and mid finger of left hand pick up the dorsal string, pull it through and out proximal to the radial string. Twist the right index a half circle with the clock, and place its loop over the middle finger (Fig. 25 *a*). In each of these cases when the loop is removed from the index the string runs off. But there the resemblance to my thinking ends. The base of *Kebe makeis* is a trick of the *Buli* class, with the characteristic

crossing strings which conceal the procedure. The other trick in its simple form does not seem to be a trick at all, but only a hitch for a slip-knot. That it has some connection with *Kebe mokeis* is probable enough. If it is called "Mouse" the connection becomes almost certain. But looked on as hitches or figures of any description, I should imagine them different to this extent at least, that a person might continue to use one without ever thinking of the other.

#### THE MENDED ENDS.

Make a figure of 8 with the loop by crossing the strings. Lay it down. Take up the under string close on either side of the crossing, so as to lift the upper string with it. Bring

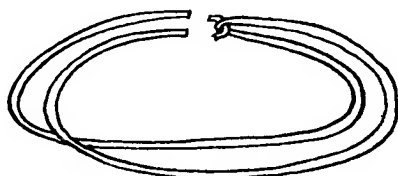


FIG. 26.

the two limbs of the under string together in the hand and lift the whole loop. With the thumb and index of one hand conceal the link in the strings by holding them at this point (Fig. 26). With the other thumb and index grasp the strings half a centimetre distant. Invite another person to cut the strings in the short part between the points where they are

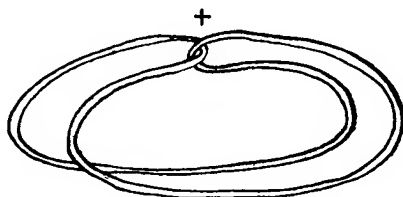


FIG. 27.

held. When cut show the four free ends and put them to the mouth (Fig. 27). With the mouth detach the small piece of

string which formed half the link; do not let it be seen. Show the rest of the string, a straight piece with two free ends.

I learnt this trick at school in Bristol about the end of the sixties, and it had quite escaped my memory. Within the past few years a family of confectioners has come to Clifton from one of the Italian-speaking parts of Canton Grisons, Switzerland, and I inquired of them if they knew any string tricks. One of them mentioned that he had known something of the kind as a boy, at the same time making an expressive gesture which recalled to my mind both the trick and the way to do it.

W. INNES POCOCK.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### CRYSTAL-GAZING.

(*Supra*, p. 233.)

Dr. Andrew Lang says that the questions raised by scrying and other occult phenomena "can only be settled after many long series of experiments conducted by psychological specialists working with sane and healthy subjects." (Introduction to *Crystal-Gazing*, by N. W. Thomas, p. xlvii.)

Dr. Lang must have read the enormous literature of the occult, and the more moderate number of modern books on psychology (Sully, Jastrow, Baldwin, and others) to small advantage if he still needs evidence that the images seen in glass balls and other reflecting objects only add to "the great cloud of witnesses" to abnormal mental activities whereby are awakened latent and unconsciously-received impressions stored in our marvellously complex brains.

So it seems clear that Dr. Lang has not made up his mind where to place these phenomena. His suggestion implies that he believes they may be capable of scientific explanation, but he is evidently hampered by the feeling that, possibly, they may lie within the domain of the supernatural, and, therefore, be contributory to the "fairly strong presumption which human faculty (religious faith apart) lends to the belief in favour of the survival of human consciousness." (See Dr. Lang's review of Myers's "Human Personality," *Monthly Review*, March, 1903.)

I am sorry to have been guilty of loose writing in saying that Æschylus attributed the invention of crystal-gazing to Prometheus. I used that term for divination generally; thus applied, the reference holds good. For the passage which I had in mind is that wherein Prometheus enumerates the part he played as seer or medicine-man :

I gave them many modes of prophecy,  
And I first taught them what dreams must prove true visions . . .  
I led men on to art full difficult;  
And I gave eyes to omens drawn from fire,  
Till then dim-visioned. (*Prometheus Bound*, ll. 492, 493, 506.)

EDWARD CLODD.

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## REVIEWS.

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LECTURES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE KINGSHIP. By  
J. G. FRAZER. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1905.  
8vo. xi. and 309 pp.

THE ORIGIN OF PRIESTHOOD. By GUNNAR LANDTMAN.  
Skennes, Finland. 1905. 8vo. xi. and 207 pp.

IF the following reflections appear desultory, there are two excuses for it. The present writer is only an amateur in these matters, and Dr. Frazer's learned and brilliant lectures are rather a series of notes for arguments than a continuous argument.

It has ever been a point of royal policy for the king to make sure, in one way or another, of combining spiritual with temporal power; as, on the other hand, spiritual potentates have been tempted, or even constrained in self-defence, to assume secular functions. Not to speak of the most conspicuous example, that of the Roman see, many bishops were reigning princes in Europe down to modern times; and the Bishop of Durham was a prince, though not a sovereign prince, in England. We all know of Frederick II.'s unsuccessful reprisal on the Church, and the partly successful one of our own Henry VIII., which Elizabeth thought it imprudent to pursue. The French kings asserted clerical privilege, so we read, by communicating in both kinds as part of the coronation ritual. In ancient history there are the titular kings, Archon Basileus and the like, who perform under republican governments the priestly duties of the former dynasty. Melchizedek, whether historical or not, is quite in the classical line of tradition. All



this does not seem to tell us whether kings or priests came first. Men would not have wanted a king unless they feared human foes, or a priest unless they feared the gods. Which fear was the earlier and more pressing? It does not appear likely that there is a single uniform answer to this question. We do not know that all early civilisations were alike; our information is still a long way from anything really primitive. Neither do we know that the practical motives of expediency which no historian could neglect in such a case as Henry VIII.'s were not operative before the beginning of our records, or that men were not shrewd enough to act on them quite consciously. The conflict of the two swords was there before the Schoolmen set their wits to reconciling it by theories of imperial or papal supremacy.

Many kings, again, have claimed a divine parentage. King Edward VII. goes back to Cerdic of Wessex, and Cerdic, in the Saxon Chronicle, goes back to Woden. This, however, is not of necessity connected with any sacerdotal function. The Rajput princes deduce their pedigrees from the sun and the moon, but do not belong to the priestly caste. Also kings may become gods without any pedigree at all. There was no fixed order of succession in the Roman empire, but the emperors were regularly deified by virtue of their office. Even an official character is not necessary. There are, in truth, two kinds of deification. It may be that a particular god is supposed to need a human tabernacle, and some mortal has to be found for him to inhabit. This, as the more difficult case, is the delight of anthropologists. But it oftener happens that a man of superior holiness or valour or accomplishment is deemed a god because there is something about him that seems to exceed human faculty. Thus, within the memory and witness of men who are not very old, John Nicholson was deified by his Sikhs altogether against his own will. His dissent, not confined to words, failed to check the cult, and it is said to be still continued. And Mr. Holman Hunt relates how he danced himself, so far as his Bedouin hosts were concerned, into a chieftainship which he politely refused. Hence another question—Is this or that heaven-born king the descendant, in fact or

by plausible repute, of some real man who was deified, or is a legend used to fortify the claim of authority, or at least equality with the professed ministers of the gods, in spiritual matters? The modern doctrine of the divine right of kings would appear to have been in its origin directed, not against popular liberty, but against ecclesiastical supremacy. Kings who cannot get deified may have serious trouble when they differ with saints—that is, with men who are in a way to be minor gods, as we may fairly say for this purpose when we remember that in Latin Christendom *divus* is as current a term as *beatus*. Henry II. was a pretty strong king as twelfth-century monarchs went, but he found himself weak against Becket. The fact that many priests have made themselves kings, and more kings have been anxious to make out a title to spiritual power, does not, I humbly conceive, show that all or even most kingly power was formerly spiritual, but rather that spiritual authority is something that kings covet because it does not come to them by nature. If the Roman emperors appropriated both sacerdotal offices and godhead from politic motives, why should not prehistoric Roman kings have done like things for like reasons?

Dr. Frazer's thesis, it is true, derives the king from a tribal medicine-man or wizard rather than from a priest. But this gives rise, I submit, to more difficulties than it avoids. For the priest is there too, and what is he doing in the meantime? The better opinion is now that the priest and the magician are natural enemies. Magic, being a kind of primitive empirical science gone wrong, seeks only to compel rain and sun, seed-time and harvest, to man's uses, not at all the less because elemental powers are regarded as spiritual, and, further, to work healing or revenge by the well-known sympathetic and "contagious" methods: whereas the priest cultivates the alliance of superior powers by gifts and service, and claims the confidence of his fellow-men as being himself in the confidence of the gods. It may be the fact, as M. Huvelin maintained with much learning a few years ago, that archaic formulas have both a magical and a religious operation which can hardly be separated. Dr. Frazer himself has touched this point elsewhere,

and so has Mr. Gunnar Landtman in his monograph on priesthood. Moreover, wizards may be ambitious of priestly power, and even modern priests may degenerate into magicians, as Prof. Vinogradoff has just now told us. But this does not disprove the existence of a radical distinction; and when once priesthood is established, the magician's art comes to be discredited as quackery, and at last prosecuted as the sin of witchcraft. We cannot place medicine-man, priest, and king in a scale of continuous promotion: and the more closely we connect the king with priesthood, the less hopeful it would seem to be to look for his beginnings in magic. Julius Cæsar, at all events, was not very like a successful medicine-man, nor yet the Hebrew patriarchs and kings. Dr. Frazer certainly produces examples of headmen who are medicine-men, and one of a Masai chief who is a medicine-man and nothing else, not even a warrior. In such a case it is hard to see how any regular priesthood can arise except under foreign influence, and the proper inference, I submit, is that the case is abnormal.

In the latter part of the book we have a detailed discussion of "sacred marriages," the legendary or symbolic unions of gods and goddesses with mortals which hallow the greater ceremonies and ensure their beneficent effect, or furnish dynasties with indisputable credentials. Dr. Frazer has established an abundance of most interesting facts, and adorned them with fascinating conjectures as to which I dare not offer any confident opinion. It may be pure ignorance, but I fail to see that, even if we allow his interpretations, this line of research adds much strength to his main argument. Once or twice the statement of facts might have been clearer for the general reader. "At Athens the vine-god Dionysus was annually married to the queen" (p. 174). Even a classical scholar may not happen to know offhand that in historical times this queen was the wife of the Archon Basileus, or to have heard Mr. Cecil Smith describe, as he did the other day to the Hellenic Society, a vase believed to represent the ceremony. This vase does not throw much light on the ritual, as it shows the god in his proper person, and not the conventional make-up, whatever it was. We are therefore still in ignorance whether, as Dr. Frazer

guesses, the part of Dionysus was played by the Archon Basileus himself, possibly (as he improves an earlier guess) wearing a bull's head. But in the field of Attic mythology I am frankly incompetent.

Mr. Gunnar Landtman's work does not bear directly on the problem of kingship. It is written in very good English, and, so far as I can judge, it is scholarly and sober. The only mistake I have observed in the English references is that Sir Alfred Lyall is called Sir John in the text, though his initials are correctly given in the list of authorities.

F. POLLOCK.

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THE MEDIAEVAL STAGE. By E. K. CHAMBERS. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 2 vols. 1903.

THIS book has already won authority as a survey of some of the scarcely-charted land that lies between literature and popular custom, two things that seldom find the same historian. Not from inability, Mr. Chambers has here stopped short of pure criticism, or the "analysis of genius." While studying the social and material conditions of our Renaissance drama, he was led to explore deeper down and further back, so that while his last chapter touches on the humanistic and popular plays preceding Marlowe, his first is a sketch of the fall of the old Roman theatre. The interval forms a continuous story, supported with signal learning. The battalions of references are drawn both from original sources and from a vast literature of monographs. It is safe to say that no other student knows his way so well over the whole journey, or has made it for the same peculiar purpose. The result is that Mr. Chambers has put several books into one, and that his title is imperfectly expressive; nor is this a matter for complaint, though we are often carried far out of sight of the drama. The thread of argument is several times clearly stated and resumed, and a passage on the connexion between the first two of the four

books into which the work is distributed may be quoted as a good example of a style which, like that of another historian, Mr. Courthope, is as a clear, achromatic, telescopic glass. The paragraph shows that Mr. Chambers's volumes are, as he puts it in his Oxford way, not without their "*logos* or rational framework."

"The drama as a living form of art went completely under at the break-up of the Roman world; a process of natural decay was accelerated by the hostility of Christianity, which denied the theatre, and by the indifference of barbarism, which had never imagined it. If anything of a histrionic tradition survived, it took the shape of pitiable farce, one amongst many heterogeneous elements in the *spectacula* of disreputable mimes. For the men of the Middle Ages, however, peasants or burghers, monks or nobles, such *spectacula* had a constant attraction; and the persistence of the deep-rooted mimetic instinct in the folk is proved by the frequent outcrops of primitive drama in the course of those popular observances which are the last sportive stage of ancient heathen ritual. Whether of folk or of minstrel origin, the *ludi* remained to the last alien and distasteful to the Church. . . . It is the more remarkable that the present volume has to describe a most singular new birth of the drama in the very bosom of the Church's own ritual" (vol. ii. p. 2.)

A few lines must suffice to show in outline how these filiations and connexions are worked out. The first of the four books, on "Minstrelsy," traces the pedigree, the ranks, and the social fortunes of "the vast body of nomad entertainers on whom so much of the gaiety of the Middle Ages depended" (i. 25): who were carriers of so much poetry and story, with the tumblers, jugglers, buffoons, and other irresponsibles in their wake. One of the points most clearly driven home is that the differing castes of these performers can be traced to their composite origin. The lower walks of the calling answer broadly to the *mimes* of the old Graeco-Roman world, who were reviled and dispossessed by "the bishops and the barbarians." The higher, on the other hand, derive more nearly from the highly placed and honoured Germanic *scôp*,

who figures so largely in the remnants of old English heroic verse: a profession in which kings and princes were sometimes the amateurs. Very full evidence is given. There seems nothing to add, except that Mr. Chambers has said little of Scandinavia, doubtless because it lay apart from the main stream. I only notice a reference or two to the Northern court poet or *skald*, who perhaps represents the minstrel at his highest pitch of talent and status. Bragi and Egil and the other poets named in the sagas would have completed the picture (see *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, vol. ii. *ad init.*, and Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss* on the Icelandic-Norwegian literature, sec. 13). It is curious how little we hear about the position of the poet or reciter in the earlier "Eddic" as distinct from the court verse. An Appendix (G in vol. ii.) gives in full a leading passage from Thomas de Cabham, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, who justifies Mr. Chambers's distinctions, and probably alludes also to the more or less separate body of vagrant scholars or "goliardic" satirists. The formal distinction between the maker (*trobair*) and the circulator (*joglar*) of poetry seems (i. 63) to have begun in Provence. The flourishing of minstrelsy through the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries is told, and the story is thus brought down to the time when the liturgical drama, a wholly different growth and the subject of Mr. Chambers's third book, was becoming more articulate. Among the appendices of value to the chapters on the minstrel may be named the extracts from the pay-books, that show their cost and maintenance, and the dissertations on their various names and titles. Mr. Chambers sees the importance of defining historic terms, and his later elucidations of *miraculum*, *mysterium* (ii. 104-5), and *interludium* (ii. 181) do needed service in antiquating some of the misnomers found in the histories of the drama.

The second book, which will at once attract the readers of *Folk-Lore*, defies any attempt at a proper *compte-rendu* here. It is on "Folk Drama," by which is meant the whole of the mediaeval festal custom that contains any scenic element at all. It is equal in bulk to the other three books

together, and is virtually a separate treatise, though its links with the rest are persuasively made out. It describes about a dozen pieces of pagan survival in the Christianised world, which are adjusted more or less to that world, and received by it with the strangest mixture of disapproval, connivance, and appropriation. The May-game, the Sword-dance, the Feast of Fools are among the topics. In most cases the primitive *raison d'être* is forgotten, it is matter of inference; but the usages were rooted all the deeper for that, and were more easily accepted by the conquering Church. The story naturally begins at the point where the heathen origin, if not its ultimate meaning, was more consciously recognised, namely, at the Conversion, with all its transitions and compromises. So far as I know there is no real comparative study of this event in various lands; no history of the way in which adjustment made easier what may be called the *change of slide*. Mr. Chambers has contributed some valuable pages on a special aspect of this great occurrence, whose phenomena are just as instructive in the region of usages and formulas (such as are connected with the events of birth, marriage, death, and the change of seasons) as in the region of doctrine. The same change, of course, also has its high poetic expression in such works as the Northern *Sun-Song*, and in quite other fashion in Shakespeare's or Herrick's presentment of "the paganism of the South of England." Some of the documents on this alluring theme are indicated in Mr. Chambers's chapter on "The Religion of the Folk." He glances back, in one suggestive page, at the remoter origins.

"The heathenism of Western Europe must be regarded as a group of religious practices originating in very different strata of civilisation, and only fused together by the continuity of tradition. Its permanence lay in the law of association through which a piece of ritual originally devised by the folk to secure their practical well-being remained, even after the initial meaning grew obscure, irrevocably bound up with their expectations of that well-being" (i. 100).

The view of development followed is largely that of Mr. Frazer, but the illustrations through the dozen chapters of

this book are of Mr. Chambers's own grouping, and centre on his special purpose. The birth and conduct of organised folly and its ritual—how much of humbler human history is contained in that! Many of the links between these junketings and the professional Fool of fact and drama are well known already; these chapters array and add to the body of information on the subject. The five and forty pages on the "Boy Bishop" are a favourable example of Mr. Chambers's method, which here marshalls the proofs geographically. The last chapter on "Masks and Misrule" returns to the mummings, revels, and triumphs that lie on the borders of the literary drama.

"The "mumming" or "disguising" then, as it took shape in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was a form of court revel, in which, behind the accretions of literature and pageantry, can be clearly discerned a nucleus of folk-custom in the entry of the band of worshippers, with their sacrificial *exuviae*, to bring the house good luck" (i. 400).

Mr. Chambers believes that many unsuspected elements in sport go back at last to the conception of sacrifice, which is "mock or symbolical" in the use of swords for the dance (i. 202), and in the whipping of boys on Innocents' Day (i. 260). The chapter on "Village Festivals" discusses fully the views held on this matter by Dr. Frazer, Mr. Jevons, and others. Mr. Chambers goes some length in suggesting (i. 149) that

"The original object of the man who wrestled for a ram, or climbed a greasy pole for a leg of mutton, or shot for a popinjay, was to win a sacrificial victim or a capital portion thereof, which, buried in his field, might bring him abundant crops."

One may venture the criticism that such games might arise without any occult origin, for pure amusement; but the analogies quoted for the theory are certainly strong. One other link between custom and letters is found in the Robin Hood pastimes. A very plausible suggestion is thrown out that the perplexing Marian, who, it is well known, only enters late into Robin Hood balladry, is simply the representative



shepherdess, Marion, of the French *pastourelles* and of Adan de la Hale's famous play, who is transferred from the imported French to the English May-game (i. 176). It is, by the way, hard on the Robin Hood ballads to call them "minstrelsy of a somewhat debased type"; they are, in their golden age, far better stuff than most of the English rhymed romances of the professional minstrels.

I have used up my space and said nothing of the third and fourth books, which treat of the liturgical drama and its offshoots. They are of less direct interest for these pages. Mr. Chambers's is, however, by far the most thorough treatment extant of the subject, which is not so much the literary connexions, and still less the literary quality, of the miracles and moralities, as their clerical and other origins, and the conditions on which they were founded. Many of the capital documents on the whole matter are given or referred to. The appendices, which fill half of the second volume, are most welcome. The lists, the most extensive yet published, of the places of representation of mediaeval plays, and of the texts and editions, show the groundwork of the whole study. Of the chapters I can simply give the titles; "Liturgical Plays"; "The Secularization of the Plays"; "Guild Plays and Parish Plays"; "Moralities, Puppet-Plays, and Pageants" (in which the links with folk-drama reappear); "Players of Interludes"; "Humanism and Mediaevalism." I hope the work may be followed by that other one which the author began by projecting, "about Shakespeare and the conditions, literary and dramatic, under which Shakespeare wrote." Oxford, as Mr. Chambers says, left us to teach ourselves method, of the rigid, serried, foreign type; but perhaps there are compensations for the delay in the larger and freer culture which animates such a book as this.

OLIVER ELTON.

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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VOL. XVII.]

DECEMBER, 1906.

[No. IV.

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**WEDNESDAY, 16th MAY, 1906.**

MR. G. L. GOMME (VICE-PRESIDENT),  
IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The resignations of Mr. A. Hussey, Mrs. E. Adams, and the Hon. Mrs. A. Lyttelton were announced.

Mr. E. S. Hartland read a paper entitled "Travel Notes from South Africa" (p. 472), which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides; and exhibited part of the kit of a witch doctor practising in the Lower Tugela (Plate xiv.). In the discussion which followed Mr. Clodd, Miss Burne, Miss Eyre, and the Chairman took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Hartland for his paper.

WEDNESDAY, 20th JUNE, 1906.

SIR E. W. BRABROOK, C.B. (VICE-PRESIDENT),  
IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of Prof. Usener, and the election of Dr. Westermarck as a new member, were announced.

Miss Winifred Faraday read a paper entitled "Custom and Belief in the Icelandic Sagas" (p. 387), and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Major, Mr. Stefansson, Mr. Kirby, and Dr. Gaster took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Faraday for her paper.

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## CUSTOM AND BELIEF IN THE ICELANDIC SAGAS.

BY L. WINIFRED FARADAY.

*(Read at Meeting, 20th June, 1906.)*

ENQUIRY into Scandinavian paganism has hitherto been mainly directed to its mythological side, where the sources are so full and so alluring. The ritual and customs of the North have been left comparatively untouched, although it might be supposed that the Icelandic family and historical sagas would present a considerable field for such enquiry. Vigfússon and Powell attempted a collection of the material. But this is incomplete, and the material unclassified and for the most part without comment. Nor is any use made of the materials in the Kings' Lives: nor any attempt at enquiry into origins. Large portions of different sagas are rejected as spurious or late, without regard to their possible value as tradition, even if interpolated. As regards other work done on the subject, attention has been fixed almost exclusively on the picturesque hierarchy of Asgard and the Valhalla myth, the formularised religion of the Viking age; and the older strata of belief there and elsewhere evident have been neglected. Among Continental scholars especially there has been a tendency unduly to exalt the authority of Saxo, which also darkens counsel. Saxo's testimony may serve to confirm a better tradition, but it is worthless unless confirmed by it; it is impossible for instance

to regard for a moment the evidence of the bigoted Danish monk where it differs from that of Snorri, an honest and intelligent witness who knew his subject and had no *parti pris*. Another practice from which the subject has suffered is that of ascribing to Celtic influence everything interesting in Norse sources which touches on the supernatural.

The materials for the present study are collected chiefly from those Icelandic sagas which deal with the time before the establishment of Christianity in Iceland in the year 1000, and from the Lives of the Kings of Norway, as far as the death of Olaf Tryggvason in the same year, in the *Heimskringla*; with occasional reference to the Prose Edda where this serves to throw light on the other sources. In the Icelandic family sagas the references are scattered. The saga-writers are sparing of detail, and mention nothing that does not actually bear on some feature of the story: there is also a general vagueness in the matter of dates and seasons. The references are arranged as far as possible in order of date of occurrence, which can usually be approximately fixed by reference to genealogies; the date of occurrence being naturally of importance, where the question is of the growth or decay of a custom.

The present literary form in which the sagas are cast dates in the case of the greatest sagas to the thirteenth century. The longer sagas are compilations from a number of smaller ones; in the case of *Njála*, *Laxdæla* and *Egla*, the compilation is carefully done, *Laxdæla* especially arranging its material with considerable attention to artistic effect; the other two are more to be depended on, therefore, in matters of detail. In *Eyrbyggja* there is little attempt to present an artistic whole. The shorter sagas which supplied the material for these must, even in their written form, have been composed a century earlier; and to the twelfth century at latest

the present form of *Kormaks Saga* must be ascribed ; *Harðar Saga*, *Hoensa-thoris Saga*, *Vapnfirðinga* and *Heiðarviga* also give evidence from style of early date, and, together with *Kormaks Saga*, of having existed orally before the period of the saga writing, that is before the close of the eleventh century. The accounts in *Floamanna* of the difficulties and hardships of early settlers in Greenland are too graphic not to be authentic. The *Waterdale Saga* is an old story worked over, and the same is true of *Thorskrfirðinga*. *Gisla* is a beautifully told story belonging to the best period of saga-composition, though, as in *Víga-Glum's Saga*, the subject is old. Such stories as *Thorstein the White*, *Thorstein Hall of Side's Son*, and *Thidrandi*, are examples of the small sagas which provided the material from which longer compilations were made. Of the two versions of the story of Droplaug's sons (*Fljótsdæla*), one is old, the other a very diffuse and inferior late composition. The Kings' Lives were compiled by Snorri in the thirteenth century from older versions ; but his honesty, learning, and complete absence of bias make his testimony of great value. In all the sagas any approach to Christian prejudice is easily recognised, the more so from its rarity.

## I. THE GODS.

The Asgard hierarchy, as systematised during the Viking age, contains, according to Snorri, thirty or thirty-one gods and goddesses. Some of these are merely personified epithets, and the list can be reduced to about twenty who have a real existence in myth : Odin, the chief, a wind or storm-god ; Thor, the thunder-god ; Baldr, a tree-spirit ; Njörd, Frey, and Freyja, agricultural deities ; Tyr, an ancient sky-god ; Loki, a primitive fire-spirit ; Frigg, the Hera of the Norse hierarchy ; Heimdal and Hoeni, whose characters are not made clear ; Gefjon,

apparently an ocean-goddess; Idun, a doublet, probably tribal, of Freyja; Höd; and half-a-dozen others not distinctly characterised, who may be tribal deities, or heroes elevated into the hierarchy. Of the whole list only two, Thor and Frey, are ever mentioned in the sagas as receiving actual worship. The references are as follows, arranged chronologically so far as is possible: *Thor*.

1. (*Thorskrifðinga*, 890): Thorolf Mostrarskegg was a great sacrificer and believed in Thor. When he reached Iceland, he sacrificed that Thor might send his pillars to land, and gave his son for it. This is explained in *Eyrbyggja* as meaning dedication, not sacrifice: "Thorolf gave his son to Thor, and called him Thorstein."
2. *Landnama* records of the same settler: "He took down his temple (*i.e.* in Norway) and took with him most of the wood, and the earth under the altar that Thor had sat on. He threw overboard the pillars that had stood in the temple. Thor was carved on one." He named the promontory where the pillars landed Thorsness, and made it sanctuary. He built a great temple there, and he and his descendants made strict laws to preserve the sanctity of the place. The carrying of the temple-pillars is a common incident in records of the settlement; the taking of the holy earth, like the "two mules' burden of earth" which Naaman took back to Syria, is recorded nowhere else. It may be a recognition of the local character of the god, though "the altar that Thor had sat on" looks like a survival of the throne-altar carried with them by settlers.
3. Helgi the Thin, another settler, had become Christian in the Hebrides; "he believed in Christ but vowed to Thor in great matters" (*Svarfdæla*, 890).

4. Örlyg and Koll went out together, from Ireland. Örlyg was Christian, "but Koll vowed to Thor." They got separated in the storm, but both came to land (*Landnæma*, about 890).
5. (*Floamanna Saga*, 990). Thorgils Örrabeinsstjúpr Thórðarson had been a devotee of Thor, but became Christian some years before the establishment of Christianity in Iceland. Thor appeared to him in dreams and threatened him. One night a "home-boar" died (*i.e.* a boar which had grazed in the home enclosures); he had it buried by some fences, and let no one eat of it. Another night an old ox died. Then Thorgils watched; next morning he was blue all over, so that people thought he and Thor must have met. Before starting on his journey to Greenland he dreamt again, and Thor, "big and red-bearded," threatened him with a bad voyage. When bad weather came, many wanted to sacrifice to Thor, but Thorgils forbade it. During the voyage he remembered having once dedicated a calf to Thor; the calf, now a full-grown ox, was on the ship, and he decided to throw it overboard. A woman of the company became angry and begged that they might have it for food: "No wonder things go ill, when Thor is so much insulted;" but Thorgils refused.
6. (*Gunnlaugs Saga*, 1003). In Norway, Thord vowed to Thor for victory over Gunnlaug in a wrestling match.
7. (*Thorfinn Karlsefni's Saga*, 1007). The Christian settlers in Greenland became very short of food, and answer to their prayers did not come as quickly as they wished. Thorhall made a poem in honour of Thor, and was rewarded by a whale, of unknown species. The whole party,



however, became ill after eating of it; and when they learnt where it had come from, they threw away what was left.

8. (*Njála*, 990). He is mentioned as standing with Thorgerd Hölgabrúð and Irpa in the temple of Earl Hakon and Gudbrand of Dale, in Norway. *Fljótsdæla* (990) mentions him with Frey, Frigg, and Freyja, in Bersi's temple, in Iceland, but the style of the passage is late, and an older version of the same incident names no special gods.

*Frey*.—More than one reference to Frey seems to point to his being originally a tribal god of the Swedes. Whatever his origin was, he found wide acceptance, and was, with the possible exception of Thor, the favourite Icelandic deity, so far as can be judged from the material. More than one Icelander is famous under the title of Freys-priest; e.g. Hrafnkel Freysgoði (about 946) and Thord Freysgoði (about 970).

1. (*Hrafnkel Freysgoði's Saga*, 946). Hrafnkel Freysgoði liked no god more than Frey. He shared his best treasures with him, and gave him half the horse Frey-faxi, vowing to kill anyone who rode it. He kept his oath; but discarded his favourite deity when the other chiefs of the district destroyed his temple in vengeance for the slain Einar.
2. (*Waterdale Saga*, 954). Brand put his trust in his horse Frey-faxi.
3. *Víga-Glúm's Saga* (957). Thorkell the Tall went to Frey's temple and led thither an old ox, and said, "Frey, who hast long been my chief trust, and hast received many gifts from me and well rewarded them, I give thee this ox, that Glúm may go from Thvéra as unwillingly as I now go. Give me some sign whether thou accept or not." The ox fell dead, and Thorkell went away happy. The sequel took place some thirty years later.

Glúm dreamt that many men came to Thvéra to meet Frey. They said to him, "We are thy dead kin, and we ask Frey that thou be not driven from Thvéra, but he answers proudly and angrily, and remembers now Thorkell the Tall's ox gift." Glúm never thought so well of Frey after that.

4. (*Gisli Sursson's Saga*, 964). Thorgrim meant to have an autumn-feast at the Winter-Nights, to welcome the winter and to sacrifice to Frey. In the same saga it is said of Thorgrim that "snow never remained, and it never froze, to the south of his howe, because Frey protected him on account of the sacrifices."
5. (*Waterdale Saga*, 872). Ingimund had a silver lot in his purse, with Frey's image on. It disappeared from his purse, and was seen by the Finns in their trance at the place in Iceland where he afterwards settled. He said, "Frey will let his image come where he wishes his seat of honour."

There are a few other references to gods, where there is no record of actual sacrifice.

1. (*Hallfred's Saga*, 996.) A crew of Icelanders detained by Olaf Tryggvason vowed "to give Frey much money if they got to Sweden, Thor or Odin if they got to Iceland; but if they did not get away from Norway, the king should have his way." Similarly in the *Laxdæla*, about the same time, Kjartan becomes Christian on the understanding that he will pay some worship to Thor next winter in Iceland.
2. (*Gisla Saga*, 958.) The form of the Foster-brother Oath called "all the gods to witness"; and in the *Waterdale* (935) those who failed to keep an appointment for the holmgang, or single-combat, were threatened with "the anger of the gods and the name of truce-breaker." Similarly, in the old

version of the incident of Droplaug's sons and Bersi's temple, Bersi attributes a storm to the anger of the gods because Helgi and his brother had gone *solarsinnis* (with the sun) round the temple, and had not announced by law the slaying of Tordýfil. In *Víga-Glúm's Saga*, Glúm swears "to the Ás" (Thor) that he was not there when Thorvald Krók was slain. In *Landnama* the form of oath is by "Frey and Njörð and the almighty Ás."

These references sufficiently indicate a stage of religious development corresponding to that represented in Greece by the Homeric poems. The gods are not yet moral, but are the guardians of such rules of social order as are sufficiently fixed to be under their protection; as in Homer perjury and injuries done to parents are punished by divine anger.

The matter-of-fact attitude of the Icelanders to the gods (instance the open disapproval expressed by devotees like Glúm and Hrafnkell when they did not receive adequate support from the deities of their special worship) does not necessarily prove that the religion was decaying. Their irreverence, like that of Homer's heroes, is natural to a stage of development in which men have outgrown the blind fears and ignorance of the primitive savage, and have acquired some command over nature, but have not yet attained the more spiritual conceptions represented by Greek tragedy. Norse religion was killed by Christianity before it reached that stage. That it had sufficient vitality to make a struggle for existence is repeatedly witnessed to in the sagas; for example, in *Laxdæla*: "There was a change of faith in Norway; men took to it very unequally; they said the weather was bad because of the king's new faith"; and again, when the establishment of the new faith in Iceland was attempted, "many went against it; it was hard to keep the peace between heathen and Christian." Hjalti, an

Icelander who preached the new faith, was outlawed for blasphemy.

What looks like a curious tendency to free-thinking appears, however, in Thorstein in the *Waterdale* (954), who believed in "him who made the sun, whoever he be, for him I think mightiest"; and in Thorkell Máni, a Lawman of about 970, who adopted "the god who made the sun," and when his death was approaching had himself carried outside that he might die in the sunlight.

It may seem strange that Odin, the head of the Asgard system, is not named in the sagas as receiving sacrifice, and other omissions, Frigg and Freyja, for example, are equally striking; though all three names are common enough in the kennings of the poets. Nothing can of course be argued from mere omission, though in the case of Balder it has been used as an argument telling against his divinity. In dealing with Scandinavian religion the argument is especially fallacious: the saga-writers are always economical of detail, and, as they were not writing histories of ritual and mythology, sacrifices would only be mentioned as they happened to relate to the fortunes of the story. Further, the written form of the sagas is not contemporary, and Odin's omission may be accounted for by his becoming, as supreme god and the most highly organised Scandinavian deity, an object of special hostility to missionaries—an argument applied with much force by Mr. Nutt to Irish mythology. A Scandinavian example of this missionary zeal is offered by Saxo's violent attacks on Frigg, to be explained by the strength of her influence as a rival to the Virgin Mary.

In the references to Thor it will be noticed how many of his devotees bear his name as part of theirs, which may be accounted for either by their actual dedication to him, as in the case of Thorstein Thorolfsson, or simply by his popularity.

Another suggestive point is the custom of keeping sacro-sanct animals, which may be compared to the cattle sacred to Artemis in Phocis, and the swine consecrated to Aphrodite at Hierapolis. Hrafnkel, and by inference Faxa-Brand, each kept a horse sacred to Frey, and Thorkell the Tall devoted an ox to him. In *Flóamanna* we have a calf which had been dedicated to Thor, and it seems probable that the "home boar" and the old ox killed by divine visitation in the same saga were also the property of the god, as Thorgils makes the same prohibition against their being used for food as later in the case of the calf. Possibly Thor's special claim against Thorgils himself was justified by the latter's name.

A goddess mentioned who is not one of the Asgard divinities is the sea-goddess Rán, referred to in an episode in *Eyrbyggja* (after the year 1000). Thorodd and his companions were drowned at sea; the ship was fished up, but the bodies could not be found. Men were drinking the Yule-ale, but they turned it into a wake. On the first evening of the wake Thorodd and all his companions came in. Everyone welcomed them, and thought their coming good, because "it was held true that men were welcomed by Rán if sea-dead men visited their wake; for little had been lost of heathendom, though men were christened and called Christian." They spoke to none, but came every evening and sat by the fire. Everyone thought the haunting would cease when the wake was finished, but it did not. This is a testimony to the tenacity of the old beliefs, to the vitality of those vague and primitive forms which existed in the minds of the common people and were never embodied in any system; just as there were nature-divinities in Greece who were never admitted into the Olympic circle. The late Dr. Abbott notices the vague and fluctuating nature of the Homeric sea-gods, "creatures which cannot easily be brought within the limits of human life," and which

were not among the Olympians, though Poseidon is introduced as the brother of Zeus; they had something of the vagueness and mystery of the sea, and were not readily brought within a system. An oath by "Rán and the Regin" is given in *Ölkofra Thattr*.

## II. HERO-WORSHIP AND UNDERWORLD DEITIES.

That spirits connected with rites for the dead were worshipped among the Scandinavians down to the very close of the pagan time, is clear from the sagas, although the evidences are not abundant. The question is closely bound up with the subject of burial customs; these I shall give in their turn, but in the meantime a general summary of the practice and belief may be given here.

It is clear that primitive ideas of continued existence in the howe remained in full force right down to Christian times. This assertion rests on the following:

1. Burial in commanding positions (*e.g.* headlands).
2. Placing treasure, ships, tools, weapons, slaves, in the burial mound.
3. The belief that the dead man was affected by the outward condition of his howe.
4. The belief that men "died into the fell."
5. The extremely prevalent belief in ghosts; that is, in the continued activity of the dead, which is not always malignant: Klaufi helps his friends to avenge him (*Svarfdæla*, 960); Thorgunna comes back and prepares meals, and no one suffers from them (*Eyrbyggja*, 993).
6. The appearance in dreams of dead kindred.

Where these ideas exist, we should expect to find traces of local hero-cults, and of the propitiation of underworld divinities.

The belief in certain supernatural beings closely connected with the individual man living and dead, appears in the sagas in the form of female spirits who follow

and protect a man during his life, announce to him his death, and in some way represent him after death, extending help and protection to his descendants. They are not the souls of the dead, but nameless divinities, the life-principle of man or woman. The names *hamingja* and *fylgja* (for there seems to be no difference between the two) are both applied to them. *Hamingja* is a derivative of *hamr* (a shape), and *fylgja* of the verb *fylgja* (to follow). One or two examples will suffice:

1. (*Thorskirðinga*, 930.) Kjarlak tells Steinolf "Thy *fylgjur* cannot stand against Thori's *fylgjur*."
2. (*Víga-Glúm's Saga*, 950.) Glúm in a dream saw a woman of giant size coming to Thvera. When he woke, he said, "I think Vigfus, my mother's father, must be dead, and the woman will have been his *hamingja*, who walked higher than the mountains; and his *hamingja* will seek an abiding-place where I am."
3. (*Hallfred's Saga*, 1007.) On Hallfred's last voyage, a woman, tall and clad in mail, followed the ship. He said it was his *fylgju kona*, and said to her, "All is over between us." She asked his elder son, Thorvald, to take her; he refused, but the younger, Hallfred, consented, and to him Hallfred gave his sword.
4. (*Thorstein Hall of Side's Son's Saga*, 1050.) Thorstein dreamed that three women came to him, on three successive nights. Each night a different one spoke first, and warned him of his death through the treachery of his slave Gilli. The last night they asked to whom they should turn after his day, and he said, "To my son Magnus."
5. (*Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*, about 997.) Thorkell the Seer, of Hörgsland, was staying with his friend Hall of Side for the Autumn Feast. One night the latter's son, Thidrandi, was summoned out of

the house by mysterious sounds. Nine women in black, with drawn swords, came from the north, and nine in white on white horses from the south. Thidrandi did not return to the house, and at last they went out. It was moonlight and frosty weather. He was found dying, and died next morning, after telling what had happened. He was laid in the howe in the ancient way. Thorkell's explanation was, "I think the women were the *fylgjur* of you and your kindred; I think a change of faith is coming . . . and that your *Dísir*, who have followed this faith, must have known beforehand of the change, and also that you and your kin will give them up, and they will not be content to have no tribute from you. . . . The better *Dísir* must have wanted to help him." Some time after this incident, Thorkell was heard laughing to himself, and explained that he saw the hillsides opening, "and every living creature great and small flitting, bag and baggage."

About this last reference there are several points worthy of notice. (1) The *Dísir*, of whom I shall have to speak again, are here definitely identified with the *fylgjur* who represent the dead. (2) The divinities who take their flight before the new order, are earth-deities, creatures of the fairy-hill. (3) Thorkell's home is Hörgs-land, taking its name from the *hörg*, a significant word wherever it occurs in place-names. The *hörg* is an open-air altar or cairn, and wherever it occurs, as distinguished from the *hof* or temple which belongs to the more defined Asgard divinities, it suggests this kind of worship. (4) There may also be significance in the fact that Thorkell was Spámaðr or Seer, which seems reminiscent of the divination commonly practised in connexion with underworld rites in other religions.

There seems then no doubt that the *Dísablót* or



sacrifice to the *Dísir* which is mentioned occasionally in the sagas, was a sacrifice to spiritual powers of a vague kind, not yet grown into individual deities; female, and representing in some way the underworld of the dead. Their sex is a mark of antiquity; that and their relation to the dead and the underworld being fully accounted for by the mystical character attaching to the offices performed by women, and the fear of them, among savages generally. The *Dísablót* has sometimes been described as connected with the worship of Freyja, and taking place at midwinter, but there is no saga-authority for this. There is no recorded case of a *Dísablót* in Iceland, but there are cases in Norway:

1. *Heimskringla* (Ynglinga Saga). King Adils was at a *Dísablót*; and as he rode round the hall, his horse stumbled and fell, and he was thrown on his head, and his skull was split (mythical).
2. (*Egil's Saga*, 923.) King Eirik and Gunnhild came to Atley, and Bard had prepared a feast for them, and there was to be a *Dísablót*. (The context proves that this was in the autumn.)

We cannot decide whether there is any significance in the fact that it was at the Winter-Nights' Feast that the *Dísir* killed Thidrandi. The Greek and Roman festivals of the dead were in spring, to keep off evil influences from the crops; but on the other hand, the Christian ones come not at seedtime but after harvest, and so far as it goes, the evidence points to the same season for the Scandinavian service of the dead.

### III. BURIAL CUSTOMS AND HERO-CULTS.

There are two beliefs about the state of the dead evident in the sagas, existing side by side, often appearing in the same instance, though mutually inconsistent. These are life in the howe or burial-mound, and the journey to Valhalla. It is natural that inconsistent notions should

flourish side by side, on subjects of which we know nothing, especially in the case of death, where loss and affection keep the mind restless. The Valhalla notion belongs to the systematised religion of the Viking age; yet it is clear that the primitive idea of continued existence in the howe, and of a man's wanting the same things after death as before it, continued in full force. He is buried in his clothes and weapons; often in a ship; once with his horse and tools; once with a slave; often with treasure, though this custom, as was natural, fell into decay. The following are the chief instances:

1. (*Egil's Saga*, 877.) They did with Thorolf's body according to custom, and put up a memorial stone after him. (In Norway.)

*First Quarter of the 10th Century.*

2. (*Svarfdæla*, before 910.) Thorstein took Thorolf's body to Sweden, and borrowed an earl's hall to drink the arval. He laid Thorolf in the howe with much money to honour him, and the feast was held three nights, according to custom.
3. (*Ib.*) Thorstein put his father Thorgnyr in the howe, and much money.
4. (*Landnæma*.) Geirmund was laid in a ship in a wood not far from the house.
5. (*Egil's Saga*, 925.) Egil took up Thorolf's body and washed and prepared it according to custom. He was put in the grave with all his weapons and clothes, and Egil put a gold ring on each hand. Then they built it up with stones, and sprinkled it with earth.
6. (*Floamanna*, 926.) Atli was howed as was then the custom.
7. (*Reykðæla*, c. 925.) Eyvind was howed at Helgastað.
8. (*Landnæma*, c. 925.) Hafnar-Orm was howed on the headland in front of the homestead at Hafn, where he first came to land.

*Second Quarter.*

9. (*Egil's Saga*, 933.) A howe was made for Harald Harfagr at Haugasund.
10. (*Ib.*, 934.) Egil laid his father Skallagrim in a ship and rowed out to Digraness. There a howe was made, and Skallagrim laid in with his horse and weapons and smith's tools. It is not told that movable property was laid with him in the howe.
11. (*Waterdale Saga*, 935.) Ingimund was laid in a boat from the ship Stigandi, and everything done as honourably as was the custom with men of rank.
12. (*Heimskringla*, c. 950.) Hakon the Good had the dead men laid in ships, which he drew up from the shore to the battlefield.

*Last Quarter.*

13. (*Egil's Saga*, 960.) Skallagrim's howe was opened, and Egil's son Böðvar laid in.
14. (*Gisli's Saga*, 963.) Vestein was laid in the howe according to custom. His murderer Thorgrim bound on the hell-shoes, saying "It is customary when men have to walk to Valhalla."
15. (*Ib.*, 964.) Thorgrim was laid in a ship, and the howe made in the old way; before it was closed, his murderer Gisli put a stone in the boat as an anchor.
16. (*Svarfdæla*, 965.) Karl and the Eastmen were carried up to Karl's River, and there laid in a ship, and much treasure with them.
17. (*Gisli's Saga*, 978.) Thorkell was howed in the old way.
18. (*Laxdæla*, 972.) Höskuld was howed honourably. Little money was put in the howe with him.
19. (*Egil's Saga*, 982.) A howe was made and Egil laid in with his weapons and clothes.

20. (*Eyrbyggja*, 993.) Arnkell was laid in a howe by the sea, as big as a stackyard.
21. (*Fljótsdæla*, 998.) Kari was carried on a shield to Höfði; and a howe thrown up after him.
22. (*Ib.*) A howe was made, and there Helgi and Thorkell were howed. On the other hand, others who fell were simply *jarðaðir* (*earthed* or buried) where they fell.

Women were also howed sometimes. Aud the Wealthy, about the year 900, was laid in the howe in a ship, as befitted so notable a traveller, and much money with her, after a three days' feast (*Laxdæla*); according to *Landnama*, her howe was on the shore below high water mark, that she might not be in unhallowed ground, as she was Christian. Droplaug's mother, Arneið (*Fljótsdæla*) was "howed outside the garð"; and Thorstein laid his mother Ingibjorg in the howe beside her husband (*Svarfdæla*).

The belief that a dead man would still want the things he had wanted in life is fully illustrated in these passages. It is combined no doubt with the idea of a journey to Valhalla, in the practice of ship-burial; and it further appears in two undoubted survivals from former slave-sacrifice, both in *Landnama*.

1. When Asmund died during the settlement-years in Iceland, he was buried in a ship in a howe, with a thrall "who slew himself because he would not live after Asmund." The chief, however, appeared in a dream to his kindred and complained that the thrall was annoying him, so the howe was opened and he was removed.
2. When Ingimund died during the same period, he was laid in a boat and buried as honourably as was the custom with men of rank. One friend killed himself, sending a message to another to do likewise, because "there is no life for the friends of Ingimund."

The dead were affected by the condition of their burial-mounds. It is noted in *Landnama* that "Einar's howe was ever green winter and summer," and in *Gisla* that Thorgrim's howe never froze because of the favour of Frey. Asolf, in *Landnama*, appeared after death to his friends in a dream, to complain because a cow-girl wiped her feet on his howe.

These instances all point to the continued consciousness of the dead after burial. A step further is reached in the belief of the Thorsnesinga that they would "die into" Holy Fell, which is explained exactly by what is said in *Eyrbyggja* of Thorolf: "He thought he would go there when he died, and all his kinsmen on the ness," (*Eyrbyggja* and *Landnama*, 890). A similar belief was held by the kindred of Aud the Wealthy, who was a Christian and put up a cross on a hill. Her kinsmen made a howe there and sacrificed; "they thought they would *die into* the hills" (*Landnama*, 900). "When Svan, son of Björn of Bjarnarfjörð, was drowned, "he was seen to go into the fell" (*Landnama*, 940). A still clearer case of the belief in a continued life in the burial-mound like that of the Tuatha Dé, or of Holda in the Hörselberg, occurs in *Eyrbyggja* (938). Thorstein was drowned in the autumn on a fishing cruise. Before the news was known, his shepherd saw the fell open to the north. There were great fires inside, and great noise and clatter of horns; he tried to catch some of the words, and heard a greeting spoken to Thorstein and his comrades, and a voice said that he was to sit in the high seat opposite to his father (that Thorolf Mostrarskegg who had believed that he and his kin would "die into the fell" and who as a devotee of Thor had dedicated this son to his favourite god).

When Gunnar of Hliðarendi was slain, his mother had him buried in a sitting posture, doubtless that he might not sleep till avenged. He was heard speaking in the

howe, and his son Högni and Skarpheðinn Njalsson saw the howe open, and lights inside, and Gunnar turning round to look at the moon (*Njála*, 990).

Where such beliefs are held, hero-cults may be expected to flourish. In Gunnar we seem to have one in the making ; and another, in a more advanced stage, in Grim, great-great-grandfather of the settler Thorstein Solmundsson, to whom, according to *Landnama*, sacrifice was made after death because of his popularity. When Tungu-Odd was buried "where he could overlook the Tongue" (*Hoensa-Thoris Saga*, 988), and Hafnar-Orm on the headland in front of the homestead, it was possibly with the idea of their affording protection. The account of Hrapp's burial (*Laxdæla*, about 970) illustrates the collision of the belief in the protecting power of the friendly dead with the natural fear of ghosts. At his own wish he was buried upright in the doorway, "that he might oversee the household," as a Greek hero was buried in the gateway, probably with the idea that he could prevent the entry of evil influences. But Hrapp walked, and he was first removed to another spot, and later dug up again and burned, the ashes being thrown out to sea.

A genuine hero-cult seems to appear in the worship of Thorgerd Hölgabrúð or Hörgabrúð. *Njála* states that in the temple of Earl Hakon and Gudbrand of Dale there stood the figures of Thor, Thorgerd Hörgabrúð, and Irpa ; and in *Harðar Saga*, Grimkell, wishing to enquire about the marriage luck of his daughter, went into the temple of Thorgerd Hörgabrúð. She promised favour to Thorbjörg, but not to Hörð, his son, who had desecrated the grave of her brother Sóti and stolen his good gold ring. The other references to her are :

1. Snorri (*Edda*) calls her the daughter of Hölgi, king of Halogaland : "they were both sacrificed to, and a howe was cast up to Hölgi, one layer of gold or

silver (that was the sacrifice money) and one layer of earth and stones."

2. In the *Jómsvíkinga Saga* and the *Jómsvíkinga-drápa*, she is mentioned on board Earl Hákon's ship in the Jómsvíking battle. She caused a great hailstorm, and an arrow seemed to fly from each of her fingers.
3. An anonymous Grammarian (about 1140) says "a great woman died when Hölgatróll died."
4. Saxo speaks of a Thora, bride to Helgi King of Halógaland.

He also tells a story, repeated in other sources, of a Thora, Helgi and their illegitimate daughter Yrsa, which Detter identifies with this one by means of an argument, more ingenious than convincing, that Yrsa, being base-born might very well have been called Irpa. The only answer is, that she never is so called in any version of her story. The whole identification rests on similarity of names, which is usually futile, especially in Scandinavian. Saxo never suggests that the two pairs named by him Helgi and Thora were the same; there might have been a hundred so-named. It would be as reasonable to suggest that Njál's daughter Thorgerd and his son Helgi were connected with this legend.

According to both Saxo and Snorri, Hölgir seems to be regarded as the eponymous hero of Halogaland. The etymology is not satisfactory, but the connexion with the North of Norway rests on better evidence than the philological, in the devotion of Earl Hakon to Thorgerd, the evidence for which is unimpeachable. Thorgerd is called both Hölgabrúð and Hörgabrúð, and it is uncertain which is right. "Hölgir's Maiden" may have been turned into "Maid of the Cairn" because she was worshipped there, or "Maid of the Cairn," "Altar-bride," may have become "Hölgir's daughter" because she was so. It seems obvious that we have here the cult of a local hero and heroine like that of Cecrops and his daughters. Her behaviour in the

Jómsvíking battle is just what would be expected of a local heroine. As to her being in Gudbrand's temple, her worship should really have been an open-air one, that of the *hörg* not the *hóf*. But *Njála* is so careful of detail that one hesitates to reject anything, and it is quite likely that Earl Hakon, being an enthusiast, a kind of pagan revivalist, would introduce an image of his favourite heroine into his temple, among the gods.

Her place in an Icelandic temple, or indeed in Iceland at all, is more difficult to explain. Iceland was not her sphere of influence. Grimkell came from the Drontheim district to Iceland; and it is possible that Thorgerd may have become famous beyond her own locality, and indeed be on the way to becoming a goddess. At all events, good luck in marriage is the kind of obvious human need that a hero or heroine would be expected to help in. Another explanation is that she may have gained fame as the patroness of so famous a man as Earl Hakon, and have been introduced into *Harðar Saga* by a writer in a Christian age who knew no distinction between one deity and another.

Hörg-worship in Iceland is proved by the occurrence of the word in place-names (*eg.*, Hörgsland in the story of Thidrandi, inserted in *Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*; Hörgardal, in *Víga-Glím's Saga*).

Of the service of the dead there are a few traces. A remembrance goblet was drunk at the yule-feast at mid-winter. In the holm-gang, or single-combat, it was the custom of the victor to sacrifice a bull. Of this there are four saga-examples:

1. (*Egil's Saga*, 938.) A bull was led there, big and old. It was called *blót-naut*. He who had the victory was to kill it. Sometimes it was one bull, sometimes each who went to the holm had his own brought . . . Egil leapt up quickly where the sacrifice-bull stood, grasped the lips with one



- hand and the horn with the other, and turned it so that the feet turned up and the neck-bone broke.
2. (*Kormak's Saga*, 963.) After the holm-gang, Kormak saw where a bull stood, and killed it.
  3. (*Ib.*, 964.) Kormak killed the sacrificial bullock according to custom.
  4. (*Heiðarvíga Saga*, 990.) After killing Halli, Víga-Styrs had two bulls led home, and killed them, because it was the belief in those days that if it was so done the prosecution would come to nothing.

The origin of the sacrifice may have been propitiation either of the ghost of the slain enemy or of the spirits of the underworld, to prevent the ghost from haunting the spot. Later it must have been done as a mere convention, losing its original significance, as in the extracts from *Kormak's Saga* it was done though the other was not killed; in the earlier instance Kormak seems to kill the bull as a kind of claim for victory in a doubtful combat.

When, after the first holm-gang mentioned from *Kormak's Saga*, Thorvard's wound would not heal, the wise woman Thordis told him to obtain the bull killed by Kormak and pour the blood over "a hill near, where elves dwell, to give them a meal of fresh meat": a clear case of libation, whether the "elves" be the spirits of the dead, or earth-spirits, or both confused.

A survival of a similar rite in Christian dress seems to occur in a Greenland custom (*Thorfinn Karlsefni's Saga*). When a man died in Greenland, he was usually buried on the spot, in unconsecrated soil, with a stake in the ground over him. When a priest came, the stake was pulled up and holy water poured down the hole.

When Norse religion became systematised, confusion of ideas naturally arose. In *Ynglinga Saga* both Odin and Frey are treated as ancestor-kings; both die, and

the general rites in the two cases seem to preserve the different characters of the two divinities. Odin, a heaven-god, is burnt on the pile; Frey, apparently a god of arms and agriculture, is buried in a mound, into which money is put through three holes, and "peace and good seasons continued." This is rather to be regarded as a proof of the strength of hero-worship in the North, and of the belief in the old gods after the establishment of Christianity, than as evidence of the deification of a hero; it is not that the hero becomes a god, but that the god is confused with the hero. Dr. Warde Fowler notices the same tendency in Roman religion towards the end of the Republic, when Saturnus and Faunus figure as early kings of Latium. Mr. Chadwick seems to take the opposite view; several Continental scholars, relying largely on Saxo, conclude that Balder is a deified hero. Yet I do not know that any one has seriously adopted the same view of Odin, who is also a hero in *Ynglinga* and in Saxo. There is no indication that Frey and Odin were ever regarded as ancestor-kings in heathen times; and their being so regarded in sources composed in Christian times is rather due to an unwillingness to give up the old gods altogether.

On the other hand, a place is found in Valhalla for both the heroes and the vague female spirit-deities of the underworld, who seem to be combined with the Asgard hierarchy as the Einherjar and the Valkyries. The Einherjar, slain warriors who make up Odin's host, include dead heroes like Hakon the Good, Gunnar of Hliðarendi, Véstein Vésteinsson. The Valkyries, like the harpies, are wind or storm ghosts, who carry off men by a violent death; legend, by making them the attendants of Odin, the Wild Huntsman, marks their connexion with the storm-winds. I cannot accept Mr. Chadwick's suggestion that they originated as sacrificial priestesses, an idea which could hardly arise except in a sophisticated and literary fancy. In the case of the Norns, the Norse Fates, we have a

natural transition from the wise women who helped mothers and told the fortunes of children: from the existence of human beings with unnatural and uncanny gifts, goddesses were deduced, who protected mothers and children in the same way. In the story of Norna-Gest, for instance, it is impossible to decide whether the writer thought of the three sisters who prophesied the fate of the child as wise women or as goddesses: probably he himself hardly knew. To infer a goddess of death from a priestess is a less natural process.

In the same way, inconsistent ideas exist as to the state of the dead. In *Njála*, Gunnar lives on in the howe; yet when Högni is asked by his grandmother why he is taking his father's spear, his reply is "that he may have it to carry to Valhalla, and to bear at the weapon-thing." Hákon the Good (*Heimskringla*) is laid in a great mound with full armour and best clothes, and "they spoke over his grave in heathen fashion and wished him in Valhalla." Properly, mound-burial belongs to the idea that a hero lives on in the earth, and cremation to the notion of a journey, like Brynhild's Hell-ride. A confusion of ideas exists in the passage in *Heimskringla*, which states Odin's ordinance that men were to be burnt with their goods, and their ashes cast into the sea or buried: "thus everyone will come to Valhalla with the riches he had with him on the pile, and also enjoy what he himself buried." The notion of a journey only underlies the description of Hake's funeral, in the same source: he was laid wounded on a ship with the dead men and arms; the ship was taken out to sea and set on fire.

The idea of a dead man's journey to Valhalla in his ship, implied by his burial in it, must have arisen in the Viking age, and seems to be indicated by the contrast with the hell-shoes in *Gisla*. Véstein had the hell-shoes bound on because he would have to walk to Valhalla; Thorstein, a year later, was buried in a ship. There seems no obvious

reason why the two burials should be different; the circumstances of the two murders were as nearly alike as Véstein's avenger could make them. If it had been a case of the Viking brother and the brother who stayed on the farm, the reason for distinction would be evident; but Véstein was a sea-goer. Possibly only a very rich man or one who was sole owner of his ship could afford to be buried in it; the saga does not say whether Véstein was sole or part owner of his.

The eyes of a dead man were supposed to have an evil influence; hence in two sagas we meet with unwillingness on the part of the living to pass in front of a corpse. In the case of Thorolf (*Eyrbyggja*, 986), this is easily understood, for he had been malicious and mischief-making in life. His son Arnkell bade no one pass in front of him till the corpse rites were done, and he was removed from the house through a hole broken in the wall behind his seat. The same precaution was taken after the death of Skallagrim (*Egla*, 934), though he had been a great chieftain.

Ghosts were not always malignant, though always dreaded; as a rule it was those who had been most troublesome alive who were malignant after death. These turn into a kind of vampire, like Glám in *Gretti's Saga*, and the above-named Thorolf in *Eyrbyggja*. In the case of the latter haunting, the cattle were "troll-ridden," the shepherd found dead, coal-black, with every bone broken: the sheep died; the birds who perched on the grave fell dead; thunderous noises were heard at night. But this ghost recognised the ties of kinship, for though he had quarrelled with his son Arnkell alive, dead he did no harm "where Arnkell was." He was reincarnated in a way curiously reminiscent of Irish legend. A ghost was usually laid in Iceland, by the digging up and burning of the body, the ashes being thrown out to sea. After Thorolf's ghost had been laid in this fashion, a cow belonging to his son

Arnkell used to go to the place where the fire had been, and it licked the stone where the ashes had lain. Soon afterwards it had an apple-gray calf which Arnkell named Glaesir. Arnkell's old fostermother repeatedly begged him to have it destroyed, but in vain, until it had grown to a tremendous size and done much damage, when it finally disappeared. In *Laxdæla* the ghost of Halbjörn, who was drowned and washed ashore, appeared in the form of a cow.

#### IV. TOMB-TREASURES.

The buried treasure, though, so far as cause and origin goes, it has already been discussed, deserves separate treatment as a fruitful producer of myth. Here myth can be seen in the making. At first treasure was always laid in the howe; then the custom decayed, as the natural desire of the son to inherit made itself felt. It was when the custom came into conflict with the desire, that the myths of cursed treasure and dragon guardians grew. The sacrosanctity of the burial-mound was only preserved by the belief that the treasure would carry no luck with it, and that supernatural terrors attended the violation of the howe: hence the supernatural lights, the fiery dragons, the berserks, to be met with in the mythical chapters of many sagas; hence also in myth the Sword of Angantyr and the treasure of Fafnir.

The decay of the custom is marked in the following examples:

1. (*Svarfdæla*, 910.) Thorolf was laid in the howe and some money to honour him.
2. (*Ib.*) Thorgnyr was laid in the howe, and much money.
3. (*Laxdæla*, about 900.) Aud was laid in a ship in the howe, with much money.
4. (*Egil's Saga*, 925.) Egil put a gold ring on each of Thorolf's hands.

5. (*Ib.*, 934.) Skallagrim was howed . . . It is not told that much money was laid with him. Egil inherited the lands and loose money.
6. (*Ib.*, 965.) Karl and the Eastmen were buried, with much treasure. (As foreigners, they would have no heirs in Iceland to claim their money.)
7. (*Laxdæla*, 972.) Höskuld was buried honourably; little money was put in the howe with him.

The transition is also marked in the reproach of Ingimund on his son's inactivity (*Waterdale Saga*, before the Settlement of Iceland): "In our day it was the custom with kings and earls, our peers, that they won for themselves fortune and fame; wealth was not counted as a heritage, nor would sons inherit from their fathers, but rather lay their possessions in the howe with them."

These tomb-treasures were the natural prey of the adventurous :

1. (*Landnæma*.) Korní was buried in Korní's howe; a man broke in and carried away his belt and ring.
2. (*Ib.*) Styrbjorn found a bag of money in a cairn and hid it.
3. (*Ib.*) Skeggi broke into Hrolf Kraki's howe, and got a sword and axe and much money.
4. (*Floamanna*, 946.) Later in the winter, some thralls broke open a howe for the money.

Examples of the terrors by which the howe was guarded against desecration occur repeatedly in the mythical chapters of sagas :

1. (*Hoensa-Thori's Saga*, 920.) Thori broke open the howe of his father's brother, who directed him to a cave in Finmark where a viking and his sons guarded their treasure as fiery dragons.
2. (*Ib.*, 940.) Thori himself was not known to die; he disappeared with his treasure-chests, and is said to have lain on them and become a dragon.
3. (*Harðar Saga*, 965.) Hörd and his companions

vowed one Yule to break open the howe of the Viking Soti before another Yule. Hörd succeeded in the attempt, and stole Soti's ring and treasure chests, but the ghost laid a curse on the ring: it should bring death to its possessor.

#### V. DIVINATION.

This was regularly practised among the Scandinavians. Men often "sacrificed to learn their fates," and the oracle seems to have been consulted both in special emergencies and at regular seasons. *Harðar Saga* (983) mentions an oracular stone, apparently like those at Sicyon and Megara: "Thorstein went into his *blóthús* (sacrifice-house), and fell down before the stone to which he sacrificed, and spoke to it"; one who stood outside heard the stone sing in reply.

Divination was also a regular part of the temple-sacrifices. "There was a lot-bowl on the altar, and a lot-twig with which the blood was to be sprinkled out of the bowl when the lot was called" (*Eyrbyggja*, 884). *Heimskringla* describes a Yule-feast when blood was sprinkled on the temple-walls and the people, and the flesh (of horses and other animals) eaten. That the Yule-tide divination (like that of the Saturnalia) especially concerned the crops and the weather for the ensuing year, is suggested by a passage in *Thorfinn Karlsefni's Saga*, (1001): there was a feast in the winter-time, at which a wise woman, Thorbjörg, "the Little Sibyl," was present as chief guest. A special seat was prepared for her, with a cushion of hens' feathers, and special food (the hearts of all the animals slain), and she was questioned about the coming seasons. She would not conduct the incantations till she had slept, and must then have another woman to sing the spells for her. There is another example of midwinter divination in the *Waterdale Saga* (877). Ingjald had a feast in winter. An incantation was prepared "in the old

way," that men might enquire after their fates. A wise Finn-woman was there, set high and honourably prepared for; each went up from his place to question her.

That divination should be practised chiefly by women is common and natural, considering their association with the rites of birth and death. *Ynglinga Saga* recognises the fact, accounting for it in another way: "such weakness and anxiety follows witchcraft, that it was not thought honourable for men to practise it, and therefore priestesses were brought up in the art." The "weakness and anxiety" suggests trances like the Pythia's; and one such is recorded of the three Finns consulted by Ingimund with reference to colonisation (*Waterdale Saga*): he shut them up for three days, during which "their bodies became rigid, and they sent their souls on the errand."

Revelation by dreams is also common. In some cases the dream is symbolic; in others (as in the one already mentioned in *Víga-Glúm's Saga*), dead ancestors appear and make known the future. In *Heimskringla*, when Halfdan the Black consulted Thorleif the Wise as to how he should obtain dreams, the latter said that when he wanted revelation by dreams he slept in a pig-stye. This may possibly be a far-off survival of the practice of *incubatio*; or the reason may have been that close-air and semi-suffocation produce dreams, as clefts in the rock with mephitic vapours were favourite oracular seats in Greece. The sleep of the sibyl in *Thorfinn Karlsefni's Saga* is neither trance nor *incubatio*; but the elementary idea was the same. A similar notion underlies the incident recorded in *Njála* and in *Kristni Saga* of the manner in which the change of faith was decided. The decision was entrusted to Thorgeir, who was a pagan. He lay down and drew his cloak over his head and lay all day and night, and another day just as long. A pagan would seek inspiration on the subject according to pagan means of divination; the heathen party may have stipulated for some such



means of decision. Then if he decided for Christianity, the pagans could not think themselves injured; though as a matter of fact they did, which is the usual result of arbitration.

The tale of Thorstein Oxfoot, told in *Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*, supplies another example of divination by dreams. At harvest Thorstein with one companion, Freystein, went to a great howe, and told his companion not to waken him however troubled his sleep should be. He dreamt that the howe opened, and he saw eleven sitting on one side and twelve on the other; they gave him tokens for which he uttered no thanks, and prophesied the future to him.

## VI. FEASTS AND SACRIFICE.

As a rule, the saga-references to festivals are no more definite than the bare statement that a certain man "had a feast in the autumn," or at Yule, and such details as would serve to associate these feasts with any special cult are rare.

### I. *The Winter Nights*, at the close of harvest.

1. (*Gísla*, 963.) Summer passes and it comes to the Winter Nights. It was the custom of many men to welcome the winter at that time, and to have then feasts and winternights' sacrifice; but Gisli left off sacrifice since he was in Denmark, but kept to the feasts.
2. (*Ib.*, 964.) Thorgrim meant to have an autumn feast at the Winter Nights, to welcome winter and sacrifice to Frey. They drank in pairs.
3. (*Egla*, 904.) A great feast was prepared, and there was to be a *Dísablót* (in Norway; the context shows that this was in the autumn).
4. (*Heimskringla*, 868.) Many people were at Gaular for the autumn sacrifice.

II. *Yule*, at midwinter.

1. (*Heimskringla*.) There was a midwinter sacrifice at Upsala; Ingjald ate a wolf's heart and became very fierce.
2. (*Ib.*) Slaughter-night (*Höggunótt*) was midwinter night, and Yule was kept for three days afterwards. But Hákon the Good made them keep it at the same time as the Christian festival.
3. (*Ib.*) At the Yule feast the people were sprinkled with the blood of the sacrificed animals, whose flesh they afterwards ate. Toasts were drunk: to Odin for victory and power, to Njörd and Freyja for peace and good seasons; then the Braga-goblet, over which vows were made; and the remembrance-goblet to dead friends.
4. (*Svarfdæla*.) A berserk deferred a challenge till three days after Yule, that he might not violate the "sanctity of the gods."

III. *Midsommer*.

1. (*Egla*, 917.) There was a great sacrifice at Gaular in the summer. Gunnhild proposed to kill Skallagrím's sons there, of whom Thorolf was to sacrifice to learn his and Egil's luck. All men were unarmed; and Eyvind, one of the attackers, was outlawed for "slaying in sanctuary," a common phrase in the sagas.
2. (*Landnæma*, 900.) Lopt went every third summer from Iceland to Gaular to sacrifice for himself and his mother's brother at the temple which his mother's father had kept at Gaular. (This looks like some local cult.)

*Heimskringla* says of the three sacrifices that "towards winter there was blood sacrifice for a good year, and in midwinter for a good crop, and in summer for victory," though the other reference quoted above from the same

makes the Yule sacrifice include all. If the *Dísablót* were really held in late autumn, it would indicate that the underworld rites did form a part of the Winter-Nights' feast, which is supported by the last-quoted reference if blood-sacrifice is there meant to be contrasted with fire-sacrifice; and the remembrance toast at Yule further confirms the view that the dead were propitiated in winter, not in spring. The sacrifice to Frey was in the autumn too, and it is natural and usual to find propitiation of the dead and sacrifice to gods representing the productive and quickening power, occurring at the same season, when the main object of both was to protect the crops. In Roman religion both were in the spring, in the North in late autumn. The reason may lie in the different circumstances of their agriculture. Another possibility is that a northern winter was such a serious thing, that the Northerners might naturally think of its beginning, when the days are visibly shortening, as the dangerous time.

Sacrifice seems to have been generally of animals in the saga-time, and human sacrifice was only proposed in special emergencies. In the reign of the mythical King Domald (*Heimskringla*), when there was famine, "in the first year they sacrificed animals; in the second year, men; at last, the king," which is a case of reversion to human sacrifice and at the same time a trace of the "Golden Bough" theory of kingship. The latter receives further support from *Heimskringla*:

1. (*Ynglinga Saga*.) The Swedes used to reckon good or bad crops for or against kings. They said Olaf was sparing in sacrifice, and burnt him in his house as a sacrifice to Odin for the crops.
2. (*Halfdan the Black's Saga*.) King Halfdan was highly regarded because he was most fortunate in good seasons. All the people of Norway wanted to have him buried in their own districts, to ensure

good crops. At last his body was divided into four parts, which were buried in Ringerige, Raumarige, Westfold, and Hedemark: a mixture of the local cult of a hero's tomb with king-sacrifice to induce fertility.

In connexion with this point must be noticed the anxiety of the people that the Christian King Hakon should offer sacrifice for peace and a good year, as his fathers used to do.

Another mythical king, Ón, in *Ynglinga Saga*, sacrificed his sons to Odin for long life, apparently that he might have the years they had not lived.

In Iceland, the saga-writers state (*Eyrbyggja*) that in their day "the doom-ring is still seen where men were doomed to sacrifice, and Thor's stone, on which men were broken for sacrifice." Before the end of the first half of the tenth century, that is to say, within a few years of the completion of the settlement, it was no longer customary, for it is mentioned in the *Waterdale Saga* (about 936) as a matter of hearsay only: "Thorolf Heljarskin had sacrificial dens, and people thought he sacrificed both men and cattle." As late as 970 we find a proposal to revive it in a special emergency; in an unusually hard winter, the Reykdale priest proposed that men should vow to give to the temple, expose children, and kill old men. Askill objected, and though many opposed him, carried the day, and all who were reasonable thought he spoke well.

The test of paganism on the establishment of Christianity in the year 1000 was the eating of horseflesh. According to the account in *Njála*, it was forbidden, together with idolatry and the exposure of children, while sacrifice was to be allowed in private, though a man was subject to outlawry if the matter became known. *Kristni Saga* says the eating of horseflesh was allowed at first. Yet the custom is very seldom mentioned, and that only

casually. This is to be expected: the more customary a practice is, the less is it likely to be specially recorded.

1. *Heimskringla*. That the king should partake of the sacrificial horseflesh in some form or other, is the one point on which Hakon the Good's subjects refused to give way.
2. (*Ib.*) In the account given of the temple ritual, it is said that the blood "of cattle as well as horses" was sprinkled on the walls and the people, and the flesh then eaten.
3. (*Eyrbyggja*, early tenth century.) Thorbjörn Digri had many stud horses, and used to choose a horse to be slaughtered in the autumn.
4. (*Reykðæla*, 970.) It is proposed that there be a horse-fight at Mánahjalli at midsummer; Thorkell Geirason of Skarð had a grey horse with a different coloured mane, and he and his father always gave a horse for slaughter, but had no mind for horse-fighting.

The exact significance of the horse is a matter of question. We may compare the Roman Equiria in February, and the sacrifice of the "October horse" on the Ides of October, and the dripping of the blood on the sacred hearth. Mannhardt identifies the horse with the vegetation spirit, and it is evident from the scanty material in the sagas that it in some way represented a principle of life. It was sacrificed in the autumn and at Yule, at both of which festivals there were agricultural rites.

The favourite Icelandic sport of the horse-fight was most probably connected with the festivals. The quotation from *Reykðæla* suggests that some practice may have existed of sacrificing the winner, which would account for the reluctance of the Skarð chiefs to let their horses fight.

## VII. MAGIC.

The belief in the practice of magic was general in Iceland at the time of the saga-writing. There is much sameness in the spells; and the frequency with which the same names occur seems to suggest that in many cases the sorcery was a conventional incident. Even so, however, there must be some basis of tradition. The best sagas contain incidents of the kind. In some cases the sorcery is connected with sacrifice, though this may be a late attempt to discredit pagan ritual; in others the spells are of an imitative kind. While those who practised divination were respected and respectable, those who practised sorcery were not, though many had recourse to their help. The combatants in a duel often applied for help to a sorceress, who could make a man wound-proof, or blunt the edges of his adversary's sword; sometimes the spells affected the inclinations or desires, or the destiny of a man; rain-spells and other weather-charms are of frequent occurrence. The spell could be rendered ineffective if the sorcerer were watched. Those who possessed magic powers are called *ffölkunnigr* (*fföl*, much; *kunnigr*, wise), and *hamramr* (shape-shifting, from *hamr*, a shape); and the power of changing shape, as well as that of casting illusions, belonged to them.

### I. *Shape-shifting.*

This is sometimes represented as genuine change of form, sometimes as the result of a glamour thrown over bystanders. The origin of a name is attributed to it certainly in one, and possibly in two instances:

1. (*Harðar Saga*, 950.) Björn Blasíðr was the son of Ulfhéðin, son of Ulfhamr, son of Ulfr, son of Ulfhamr the shape-shifter.
2. (*Egil's Saga*, 825.) Ulf's custom was to rise early . . . Every evening he became bad-tempered, so

that few could get speech with him ; he was fond of evening sleep. People said he was *hamramr*, He was called *Kveldulf* (evening-wolf).

3. (*Thorskrǫringa*, 930.) Askmaðr and Katla escaped as swine. Thori killed one, and found it was Askmaðr, but Katla got away.
4. (*Ib.*) Thurid in the form of a sow got in Kerling's way.
5. (*Harðar Saga*, 950.) "It is no good to Hord if the saying is true that men are like their mother's brothers, for thou art not *einhamr*" (of one shape).
6. (*Kormak's Saga*, 959.) Kormak wounded a walrus ; they thought it had Thorveig's eyes. She lay ill after that, and some said she died of it.
7. (*Laxdæla*, 960.) A seal was seen in the water going in a circle round the ship, much bigger than others. . . . It seemed to all to have a man's eyes. Thorstein bade them shoot it ; they failed, and the ship was wrecked and all drowned but one.
8. (*Hoensa-Thori's Saga*, 964.) Thorbjörn "was not always all where he was seen."
9. (*Eyrbyggja*, 970-80.) Katla saved her son Odd from his enemies by disguising him first as a distaff off which she spun yarn ; then as a goat ; then as a hog ; until they brought another sorceress, Geirrid, against whom glamour could not prevail.
10. (*Harðar Saga*, 980.) Hord's companions were attacked by a bull, on the farm of Thorstein, whose fostermother, Skroppa, was a witch. He advised them to be careful because "All is not here as it seems." . . . They saw a sow and two pigs north of the garth ; and a band of armed men. They killed the sow with a stone, and there lay Skroppa dead, and Thorstein's two daughters stood beside her, and the men were a herd of cattle.

II. *Influence on desires or fate.*

1. (*Egil's Saga*, 934.) Gunnhild had spells performed, that Egil should never rest quiet in Iceland till she should see him.
2. (*Kormak's Saga*, 957.) Kormak stopped desiring the match, because Thorveig wrought a spell. (The sequel is given in a later quotation from the saga, under the fourth section.)
3. (*Gisla Saga*, 964.) Börk gave Thorgrim Nef an ox nine years old to make spells, that Thorgrim's slayer might not remain hidden.
4. (*Waterdale Saga*, 975.) Thordís the prophetess bade Thorkell go in her black coat, and strike Gudmund three times on the left cheek with her staff, to make him lose his memory; and later, three times on the right to bring memory back.

III. *Blunting Swords.*

1. (*Thorskrifðinga*, 930.) Askmaðr blew on the edges of Mar's sword, that it should not bite.
2. (*Ib.*) Kerling looked at the sky between her feet, that Thori's weapons might not bite.
3. (*Waterdale Saga*, 936.) Thorgrim Skinnhufa used to blunt swords.
4. (*Fljótsdæla Saga*, 998.) Gauss knew how to blunt swords.

IV. *Protection against wounds.*

In *Kormak's Saga*, between 930 and 965, there are several examples of charms wrought for this purpose:

1. Helga's fostermother touched men before they went to battle; she did so to Ogmund, and he said he felt no great wound; the sword did not bite him.
2. Thorveig gave Bersi a small iron-rimmed shield to make him wound-proof.



3. Thordís the prophetess made Thorvard wound-proof before his combat with Kormak. The latter was sent by his mother to obtain help for the same combat. Thordís told him he came too late, but if he stayed the night she would make him wound-proof too. In the night he felt a touch on his head, and followed to the door; she had gone to the place where they were to fight, and had a goose. She said: "Why could you not be quiet?" He lay down again and the same thing happened three times. The third time, she had killed two geese and let the blood run into a bowl; then she had taken the third goose and was going to kill it. He said "What good will that do, fostermother?" and she said there was no helping him: "I thought to take off the ill-luck which Thorveig laid on you and Steingerd, and you might have been happy if I had killed the third goose unknown to anyone." They went to the combat: Thorvard gave the prophetess more money and received the sacrifice (obscure). She told Kormak she could cause Thorvard not to know him; but Kormak spoke ill to her, and said she would do nothing but harm, and tried to drag her out of doors and see her eyes in the sunshine, but his brother prevented him. In the combat the swords did not bite.

Thordís, as prophetess (*spákona*), is not represented as intentionally mischievous, like Thorveig and Katla. She is a wise-woman, not a witch.

#### V. *Weather Spells.*

1. (*Thorskrifringa Saga*, 930.) Kerling had a cap of darkness over the ship.
2. (*Waterdale Saga*, 936.) Ljót walked backwards with her head between her legs. She said she had meant to turn the land upside down, and they

would have run mad with the wild beasts, if they had not seen her before she saw them.

3. (*Ib.*) Helga said she would prevent the combatants from going to a duel. There was great frost and snow.
4. (*Waterdale*, 955.) Groa invited Thorstein to her house. He was three times warned in a dream not to go. A shepherd saw her go widdershins round the house after sunset, and say "It is difficult to withstand the luck of Ingimund's sons." Then she went up on the fell and waved a handkerchief with much gold tied up in it, and said "Now let what is prepared go." There was a landslip on the farm.
5. (*Harðar Saga*, 959.) Thorbjörg Katla knew that a ship was come. Then she sought her hood, and waved it over her head, and great darkness came over Geir and his men.
6. (*Gisla Saga*, 965.) Auðbjörg went several times widdershins round the house, and scented in all quarters and lifted her nostrils. The weather changed, and there was a snowstorm, and thaw, and a snowslip on Berg's farm. It was the death of twelve men, and the mark is there to this day.
7. (*Njals Saga*, 970.) Svan waved a goatskin over his head to cause mist.
8. (*Waterdale Saga*, 981.) To stop a storm, Styrrfinn told the men to make a ring hand in hand; then he went thrice widdershins, and spoke Irish, and bade them say "yes" to him; then he waved a handkerchief to the fell, and the storm ceased.
9. (*Njála*, 998.) Galdra-Heðinn (Heðinn of the Spells) held a sacrifice to bring disaster on the missionary Thangbrand. The earth swallowed Thangbrand's horse, but he himself was saved.

In the majority of these cases the spells are magic pure and simple, with no suggestion of origin in religious rites of any kind. The exception is the passage which is most certainly authentic, that from *Kormak's Saga*. The frustration of a spell by interference or observation is illustrated by this passage and by Ljót's spell in the *Waterdale*; apparently also by a corrupt passage in *Hoensa-Thori's Saga*: Thorbjörn wishes to cause Herstein's cattle to come safely out of the outhouses on the burnt farm, and tells him, "Be silent if thou canst, whatever happens." That danger attached to observation by an outsider is suggested by an incident in *Laxdæla*, where Kari is killed through looking out while Kotkell is conducting spells.

It will be seen that as regards religion the material is not extensive; but this fact proves, if it proves anything, exactly the opposite of what several Norse scholars try to make it prove. Just because two gods only are named in the sagas as receiving sacrifice, the argument from omission is worthless. If no sacrifice to Odin, Freyja, Frigg, is ever recorded in the sagas, no one is justified in assuming, as Dr. Bugge for example does, that because Balder is never mentioned in the sagas, therefore he was not an ancient god. The records of Scandinavian paganism are the very reverse of the Roman, where myth is scanty, and custom and ritual abundant. The Scandinavians had only three great feasts in the year, where the Romans had as many in a month. Thus the saga material confirms Cæsar's reference to the religion of the Germans, "neque student sacrificiis;" and the small number of recorded sacrifices rests not on the decay of paganism before the establishment of Christianity, nor altogether on its suppression afterwards, but on a natural race distinction.

L. WINIFRED FARADAY.

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## THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

### VII. THE CELTS (*continued*).

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

IT appears, then, that the King of the Wood as represented in Ultonian myth (Curoi son of King 'Oak' vanquished by Cuchulain) finds his counterpart in Arthurian romance (the Green Knight with his holly-branch vanquished by Gawain; King 'Mistletoe-branch' vanquished by Gawain and Perceval). I have next to show that the same equation holds good for that other great cycle of Irish myth, the Ossianic tales. What Cuchulain and the Red Branch Champions are to Ultonian tradition, Finn and the Fianna are to Ossianic tradition. Were Finn and the Fianna in any sense Kings of the Wood? And, if so, can their actions as such be paralleled by those of Gawain and his peers?

Finn's father was Cumhal, who according to the Leinster pedigree was a descendant of Nuada Necht, ancestor of the kings of Leinster.<sup>1</sup> The name *Cumhal* is one with

<sup>1</sup>S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 99 in the *Panegyric of King Cormac* gives the Leinster pedigree thus: Finn—Cumhall—Sualtach—Baiscne—Nuada Necht. Cf. J. O'Donovan in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* Dublin 1859 iv. 284 f., T. Powell in *The Academy* Jan. 24, 1885, xxvii. 64. Prof. K. Meyer *ib.* Feb. 21, 1885, xxvii. 135 distinguishes three pedigrees of Finn, *viz.* (1) that of the *Lebor na hUidre* p. 41 Finn—Cumall—Trénmór, Finn's mother being Murni Munchóem, grand-daughter of Núadu mac Achi one of the druids of Cathair Mór: (2) that of the *Yellow Book of Lecan* col. 768 (? Munster pedigree) Finn—Cumall—Baiscne—Fírdá Roth—Guill—Irguill—Daire—Dedad—Sin: (3) that of the *Book of Leinster* pp. 311, 378 b Finn—Cumall—Trenmor—Suait—Eltam (? Suait + Eltam = Sualtam)—Baiscne—Nuada Necht.

that of the Celtic god *Camulos*,<sup>1</sup> and is connected by Prof. Rhŷs with the Old Saxon *himil* and the German *Himmel*, 'sky.'<sup>2</sup> This connexion might be supported by the relation of Nuada Necht to Nuada the sky-god.<sup>3</sup> Again, Finn's mother Muirne was daughter of Tadg and grand-daughter of Nuada.<sup>4</sup> In *The Festivities at the House of Conan of Ceann-Sleibhe* Finn states that his first name was *Glas-dioghuin* and his second name *Giolla-an-chuasain*.<sup>5</sup> Mr. N. O'Kearney in a note *ad loc.* explains that *Glasdioghuin* means 'the invulnerable Glas.' But *Glas* itself was a Celtic colour-word applied to oaks, etc.,<sup>6</sup> so that Finn's first name may fairly be rendered 'the invulnerable Green,' a sufficiently striking parallel to the Green Knight of Arthurian fame. Finn's second name denotes 'the boy, or wight, of the excavation.' 'The Fenian leader,' says Mr. O'Kearney, 'was so called in his youth, because he had been bred up by his foster-mother, Boghmuin, in the hollow of an oak, in order to avoid the vengeance of the clans of Moirne, and other enemies of his father.' An Irish folk-tale<sup>7</sup> tells how Cumhal's mother reared young

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbois *Les Celtes* p. 52 f., Dottin *Manuel de l'Antiquité celtique* pp. 85, 227.

<sup>2</sup> Rhŷs *Hibbert Lectures* p. 38 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 33, 39. Baiscne, son of Nuada Necht, bears a name connected with the Gaelic *boisg*, 'gleam' (see J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1862 iii. 60).

<sup>4</sup> J. O'Donovan in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* iv. 284. Muirne was daughter of Tadg and grand-daughter of Nuada the sky-god (S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 245 in *The Colloquy with the Ancients*, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 159), or of Nuada Necht (S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 519 in Extract x. iv. b from K. 5), or of Nuadu mac Achi (D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 379 ff. in the *Cause de la Bataille de Cnucha*, cp. *Folk-lore Record* iv. 19 'Muirrean, daughter of the powerful druid, Tadg of the luminous side' in P. Kennedy *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* London 1866 p. 216 'The Fight of Castle Knoc').

<sup>5</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1854* Dublin 1855 ii. 129.

<sup>6</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 310 n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> J. Curtin *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* London 1890 p. 204 ff.

Finn in a chamber cut out in the heart of a great oak-tree : after five years spent in the oak she took him out and taught him to walk ; then she pursued him down-hill with a switch, and he pursued her up-hill with it, till at the end of three days he had become a great runner. Argyllshire tales<sup>1</sup> relate that Cumhal's sister Los Lurgann ('Speedy Foot') got her brother, a joiner dwelling in Ulster wood, to fashion a house for her in one of the trees, where she lived with her infant charge. They pursued each other round the tree with switches of hawthorn, till he learnt to run with great speed. 'She then taught him to leap by digging a hole in the ground, which was gradually getting deeper, till at last he could spring up a wall from a hole which reached to his breast.'

Various tales are current as to the manner in which Finn became king of the Fianna. According to the Irish folk-tale<sup>2</sup> already cited, Finn came one day to a dense forest in which timber was being felled for a royal *dun*. He was told that this *dun* was attacked every evening at nightfall by an old hag and her three sons who burnt it with torches ; that the best champions in Erin, having tried in vain to save it, were then in the king's dungeons awaiting decapitation ; and that the king had promised his only daughter to any man who should save the *dun*. Finn did so and slew the nocturnal foes, but chose as his reward the condemned champions, who became his Fianna. According to *The Colloquy with the Ancients*,<sup>3</sup> for twenty-three years in succession Aillen, son of Midhna, had come to Tara at Samain, lulled every one to sleep with his magical music, and then burnt the whole town with a

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. G. Campbell *The Fianns* London 1891 (*Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* : Argyllshire Series, iv) pp. 17 f., 24, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 159 f.

<sup>2</sup> Curtin *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* p. 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 142 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 164 ff.

blast from his fire-breathing mouth. Conn the Hundred-fighter, king of Ireland, at the Feast of Tara asked the assembled warriors for a man to defend the town against Aillen that night. None volunteered save Finn, then a lad of ten years only. Thanks to the spear of Fiacha, son of Congha, Finn kept awake at his watch, baffled the attack of Aillen, beheaded him, and fixed his head upon a pole. For this valiant deed Finn was made king of the Fianna, Goll, son of Morna,<sup>1</sup> their previous king, being the first to recognise his claim. So, just as Cuchulain became king of the warriors of Ireland by defending Curoi's *dun* against the night attack of an assailant bearing branches of oak, Finn was promoted to the kingship by defending a *dun* against the night attack of an assailant bearing torches or breathing out fire. The analogy is not without significance.

Argyllshire lore gives a different account of the matter :<sup>2</sup>

'Fionn went for service to the Clanna Mòlum; his mother gave him a bag of apples and three pins. When he entered the palace they said to him, "Food of apples, youth, we would fain get from you." He had left the bag at the door, and told them to bring it in themselves and take their pleasure. One after the other of the Clanna Mòlum went out, and not one could move the bag. At last Goll said: "The shadow of evil and evil wishes be upon you that would not bring it in, though seven times its own weight of earth were sticking to it." He went out himself, broke three of his ribs, and came in roaring. Fionn then went out and took it in on the point of a twig, and this was the first terror he struck into Clanna Mòlum. Then the palace took fire, and was burning at its two ends, and in the very middle. Fionn stuck his three wires, one in the middle and one at each end, and the fire went out. This was the second terror. His father's men had fled to the cave on the shore . . . his first action in obtaining superiority over them and evincing that "he was a worthy son of a worthy father," was by bringing a bag of apples which he left, and which by enchantment or secret sleight could not be lifted off the ground. One after another of the men in the cave was sent to bring the bag in, but they

<sup>1</sup> Another name for Morna was Daire Dearg ('Oak the Red'): see *The Boyish Exploits of Finn in Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1856* iv. 291, *Revue celtique* v. 195 ff. (text only).

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. G. Campbell *The Fians* p. 22 f.

could make nothing of it either individually or as a body. One by one they failed to lift it from the ground. Finn (Fionn) himself then went out, and took in the bag, suspended from his little finger. This at once put him in the forefront, and even made him master of the whole band.'

The interest of this tradition is that it combines a confused remembrance of the burning *dun* test with a confused remembrance of the Otherworld apple-branch. The bag of apples brought into the palace 'on the point of a twig' is the homely counterpart of Bran's silver apple-branch, Cormac's silver branch with nine golden apples, Mael-Duin's branch with three apples on its tip, and proves that Finn too claimed to be king of the solar tree.<sup>1</sup> As Virgil's golden bough would follow none but the appointed hero,<sup>2</sup> so none but Finn, the destined king, could bring in the apples on the twig.

On this showing Finn was the human representative of Manannan—a conclusion which squares well with sundry other features of his legend. For Mongan, son of Manannan, was also said to have been a re-birth of Finn.<sup>3</sup> And Finn, 'the invulnerable Green,' would fittingly embody Manannan, who appeared to Fiachna Finn as a warrior wearing 'a green cloak of one colour.'<sup>4</sup> Appropriately enough, too, Finn obtained possession of Manannan's treasure-bag containing, among other things, Manannan's shirt and knife.<sup>5</sup>

Again, Finn, like Cormac and Tadhg,<sup>6</sup> had a magic cup of clay called the Cup of Virtues: by drinking from it the Fianna were always victorious. It was once stolen from Finn by Muileartach, Manus' foster-mother, who used a tree for a stick; but Finn recovered it, and along with it a certain apple, to retain which the hag fought long and furiously.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 156 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 6. 146 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A. Nutt *The Voyage of Bran* i. 42 ff., 136 ff., ii. 1 ff.      <sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* i. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 161 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 152 f., 155, 169.

<sup>7</sup> Rev. J. G. Campbell *The Fianns* p. 131 ff.



As king of the Fianna Finn led a woodland life, and his followers were subjected to tests that were worthy of a King of the Wood. In *The Enumeration of Finn's People*<sup>1</sup> we read :

'No man was taken till in the ground a large hole had been made (such as to reach the fold of his belt) and he put into it with his shield and a fore-arm's length of a hazel stick. Then must nine warriors, having nine spears, with a ten furrows' width betwixt them and him, assail him and in concert let fly at him. If past that guard of his he were hurt then, he was not received into Fianship.

Not a man of them was taken till his hair had been interwoven into braids on him and he started at a run through Ireland's woods ; while they, seeking to wound him, followed in his wake, there having been between him and them but one forest bough by way of interval at first. Should he be overtaken, he was wounded and not received into the Fianna after. If his weapons had quivered in his hand, he was not taken. Should a branch in the wood have disturbed anything of his hair out of its braiding, neither was he taken. If he had cracked a dry stick under his foot [as he ran] he was not accepted. Unless that [at his full speed] he had both jumped a stick level with his brow, and stooped to pass under one even with his knee, he was not taken. Also, unless without slackening his pace he could with his nail extract a thorn from his foot, he was not taken into Fianship : but if he performed all this he was of Finn's people.

A good man verily was he that had those Fianna, for he was the seventh king ruling Ireland : that is to say there were five kings of the provinces, and the king of Ireland ; *he being himself the seventh, conjointly with the king of all Ireland.*'

I would suggest that the stringent rules of the Fianna are best understood as survivals from a time when the King of the Wood was expected to be a man physically perfect, who could face all comers in the fight. Further, to judge from the sentence that I have italicised together with the myth concerning the defence of Tara summarised above,<sup>2</sup> the king of the Fianna was an *alter ego* to the king of all Ireland. Indeed, Finn in a folk-tale is even called 'the monarch of Erin.'<sup>3</sup> It may be surmised that, since the

<sup>1</sup> S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 100, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 169 f., Squire *Mythology of the British Islands* p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 429 f.

<sup>3</sup> Curtin *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* p. 232 ff.

Irish king was hedged about by all manner of tabus and religious restrictions,<sup>1</sup> his active duties as defender of the sacred tree devolved upon the king of the Fianna. In this connexion it is noteworthy that the standards of the Fianna described in *The Lay of the Sixteen Chiefs*, a poem by Oisín contained in a manuscript of the fourteenth century, included several trees such as the mountain-ash in full bloom, the ever-green yew (Diarmuid's colours), the furze shrub, etc., while that of Finn himself was called *Gal-Greine*, 'Beam of the Sun' or 'Sun-burst,' and represented the sun with its rays.<sup>2</sup>

If Finn was thus solar champion, he must needs have kept his physical powers in a state of perfection. Now we learn from *The Festivities at the House of Conan*<sup>3</sup> that Finn in his youth, wearing skins of the deer and roebuck and hence called *Giolla-na-g-Croiceann*, 'Wight of the Hides,' made his way to Luachar Deghadh in county Kerry, where he won as his bride Donait, daughter of Daire (the 'Oak') of Sith Daire, by leaping from cliff to cliff of a certain deep valley called Brice Bloighe, and that she bound him under an obligation to perform that leap every year. Mr. O'Kearney, commenting on the tale,<sup>4</sup> says: 'There is a tradition extant which ascribes the cause of Fionn's death to his neglect of performing that annual rite or duty, and another which records his death in attempting

<sup>1</sup> Miss E. Hull, 'Old Irish Tabus, or *Geasa*' in *Folk-lore* xii. 41 ff., has shown that e.g. King Conchobar, though he was reputed to be the wisest of men and the bravest of warriors, was not as a rule permitted either to pronounce judgment or to fight in person.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1857* Dublin 1860 v. 160, 207. Cp. Miss Brooke *Reliques of Irish Poetry* Dublin 1789 p. 58:

'Bright waving from its staff, in air,  
Gall-grena high was rais'd,  
With gems that India's wealth declare,  
In radiant pomp it blaz'd.'

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1854* ii. 129 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* ii. 130 n. 6, cp. 30 f.

to leap over the dark terrific chasm, after having neglected to do so till after the expiration of a year and a day. There is a deep glen called *Gleann Dealgain* the (Glen of the river Dealgan), in the county of Waterford, about three miles distant from the town of Dungarvan, on the Waterford road, where it is traditionally related that Fionn Mac Chumhaill made an extraordinary leap on every May-day morning. The stupendous depth of the place is fearful to behold when compared with the narrow expanse at the top; and it is said that Fionn was under a *geasa* (pledge) to leap this glen forwards and backwards before sunrise on the mornings of May-day; but that on a certain morning, as he was on his way to make the leap, he met a red-haired woman milking cows on the way-side, from whom he asked a drink, which she sternly refused, not knowing who it was that asked her for it. When Fionn found his request refused, he foresaw that his days were numbered, and he cursed the red-haired woman; but nevertheless he made towards the glen, which he leaped forward; but in leaping it backwards he fell into the glen, and the imprint of his hands, knees, etc., are still visible on a greenish stone, which lies in the bottom of the glen.<sup>1</sup> This yearly trial was, if I mistake not, the superannuation test of a woodland king.

Other jumpers besides Finn appear to have been woodland kings. Prof. Kuno Meyer cites from the *Senchas Mór* the following tale of *Finn and the Man in the Tree*:<sup>2</sup>

'Some time afterwards they (i.e. the Fian) carried off captive women from Dún Iascaig in the land of the Dési. A beautiful maiden was taken by them. Finn's mind desired the woman for himself. She set her heart on a servant whom they had, even Derg Corra son of Ua Daigre. For this was his practice. While food was being cooked by them, the lad jumped to and fro across the cooking hearth. It was for that the maiden loved him. And one day she said to him that he should come to her and lie with her. Derg Corra did not accept that on account of Finn . . . She incited Finn against him and said: "Let us set upon him by force!" Thereupon Finn said to him: "Go

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1854* ii. 130 n. 6, cp. 30 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue celtique* xxv. 344 ff.

hence, said he, out of my sight, and thou shalt have a truce of three days and three nights, and after that beware of me ! ”

Then Derg Corra went into exile and took up his abode in a wood and used to go about on shanks of deer (si uerum est) for his lightness. One day as Finn was in the wood seeking him he saw a man in the top of a tree, a blackbird on his right shoulder and in his left hand a white vessel of bronze, filled with water, in which was a skittish trout, and a stag at the foot of the tree. And this was the practice of the man, cracking nuts ; and he would give half the kernel of a nut to the blackbird that was on his right shoulder while he would himself eat the other half ; and he would take an apple out of the bronze vessel that was in his left hand, divide it in two, throw one half to the stag that was at the foot of the tree, and then eat the other half himself. And on it he would drink a sip of the bronze vessel that was in his hand, so that he and the trout and the stag and the blackbird drank together. Then his followers asked of Finn who he in the tree was, for they did not recognise him on account of the hood of disguise which he wore.

Then Finn put his thumb into his mouth. When he took it out again, his *imbas* illumined him and he chanted an incantation and said : . . . “ ’Tis Derg Corra son of Ua Daigre,” said he, “ that is in the tree.”

All the accessories of this peculiar figure, the nuts,<sup>1</sup> the apple,<sup>2</sup> the vessel of bronze,<sup>3</sup> the blackbird,<sup>4</sup> the fish,<sup>5</sup> and the stag,<sup>6</sup> have met us before as concomitants of the

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 58 f., 61, 165, 311 n. 1, 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 56 ff., 61, 144, 147 f., 152 ff., 159 f., 162, 169 ff., 308 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 152 f., 155, 168, 173, 309 f., cp. *supra* p. 431.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 165 ff., 313 f.      <sup>5</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 39 ff., 43, 62, 152, 162, 329 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 46 f., 342. The statement that Derg Corra used to go about on shanks of deer reminds us that Finn too was closely related to the same animal. His mother was transformed into a fawn (D. Hyde *Beside the Fire* London 1890 p. 14 ff.). He married Sadbh, who had previously been turned into a fawn by Fear Doirche, the Dark Druid of the Men of Dea, and was later on forced to resume her animal shape by the same magician (P. Kennedy *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* p. 235 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 174 ff.). Sadbh was by Finn the mother of *Oisín*, the ‘Little Fawn’ (O’Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 304), who would not eat the shin-bone of a deer lest it should be that of his own mother. It is said in Skye that *Oisín*’s mother (or nurse) was a deer ; and that fur like deer’s fur grew on his forehead, where it had been licked by her (Rev. J. G. Campbell *The Fians* p. 78 ff., Rev. D. MacInnes *Folk and Hero Tales* London 1890 (*Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*: Argyllshire Series, ii.) p. 470 f., D. Hyde *Beside the Fire* p. 178). Finn himself was on one occasion changed into a grey fawn ;

divine king. If we may venture to regard Derg Corra as such, he will provide a parallel to the *rex Nemorensis*, inasmuch as the former, like the latter,<sup>1</sup> was a run-away slave.

Another run-away, though no slave, was Diarmuid, whose father, according to one account was Core,<sup>2</sup> according to another Donn.<sup>3</sup> It must be premised that Finn had wooed and won as his bride Grainne, daughter of King Cormac. *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*<sup>4</sup> states that Oisín and Diarmuid were sent by Finn to Tara that they might ask Cormac for the hand of his daughter, and that Grainne, who had refused all other suitors, at once gave her consent. Another version<sup>5</sup> has it that Finn chose Grainne as his wife because she outstripped all other women in a race up a certain high hill in Munster thenceforward called *Slienamon*, i.e. *Sliabh na Bhan Fionn*, the 'Hill of the Fair Women.' Or again, it was because she proved herself the wisest of women by answering all his hard questions.<sup>6</sup> Yet another form of the legend<sup>7</sup> says that, when Finn went to Grainne, she, wishing to escape him, demanded as a bridal-gift a couple of every wild animal that was in Ireland, to be brought in one drove until they were on the rampart of Tara,—a task that Cailte performed on

and endured, among other metamorphoses, one hundred years as a stag (J. Bonwick *Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions* London 1894 p. 53 without citing sources).

<sup>1</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136.      <sup>2</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 505 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* ii. 179.

<sup>4</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* Dublin 1857 iii. 41 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 343 f., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* p. 274 ff.

<sup>5</sup> P. Kennedy *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* p. 223.

<sup>6</sup> J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 36 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Book of Lecan* p. 181 a, 2, published by Prof. K. Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1897 i. 458 ff.

Finn's behalf. However that may be,<sup>1</sup> at the wedding-feast in Tara Grainne, deeming Finn too old to be her partner, made love first to Oisín and, when he refused her, then to Diarmuid. He too turned a deaf ear to her request; but she put him under bonds of danger and destruction that he should flee with her that very night ere Finn and Cormac recovered from their cups. Since Finn, whenever he slept in Tara, kept the keys of the town, Grainne passed out through a postern-gate, and Diarmuid, who was forbidden by a tabu from passing through a postern, leapt the wall. They escaped together to *Doire dha bhoth*, the 'Oak-grove of the two huts,' in Clanrickard, where Diarmuid cut the trees of the grove and made of them a hut with seven doors. Next day Finn and the Fianna went in pursuit, and came up with the fugitives in the Oak-grove. At this critical moment Aonghus of the Brugh, foster-father of Diarmuid, spirited away Grainne under his mantle, while Diarmuid himself with a mighty leap sprang out beyond Finn and the Fianna, and that through the very door which Finn was guarding. Diarmuid came up with Aonghus and Grainne at Ros da shoileach, where they slept that night. At dawn Aonghus departed, after advising Diarmuid not to go into a tree with but one trunk, or a cave with but one door, or an island with but one approach; never to eat his meal where he had cooked it; never to lie where he had eaten; and never to rise where he had lain. In other words, he was to be constantly on his guard against Finn, and even to change his place of sleeping in the night.

Of his next adventures—how he was helped by young Muadhan, who caught salmon for him on a rod of a

<sup>1</sup> From this point I follow *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne* (*Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 47 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 344 ff., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* London 1894 p. 277 ff.). Cp. the Highland versions given by J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 39 ff., 54 f., 55 ff.

quicken-tree baited with a holly berry, and how he encountered and bound three Green Champions from Muir n-Iocht,<sup>1</sup> whom Finn had sent to arrest him—we need not speak in detail. But when he reached the cantred of *Ui Fhiachrach*, i.e. the 'Hy Fiachrach' of the Moy, who were in the counties of Sligo and Mayo, he went to the *Searbhan Lochlannach*, the 'Surly one of Lochlann,' and got from him license to hunt, provided that he abstained from his berries.

Meantime Finn had fallen in with two men, whose fathers had been at the slaying of Finn's father Cumhal. These men now wished to join the Fianna. Finn allowed them to do so, but demanded as an eric, or compensation for his father's death, either the head of a warrior or a fist-ful of the berries of the quicken-tree of Dubhros. Oisín explained to them that the warrior in question was Diarmuid, and further told them all about the said quicken-tree.

A certain dispute had once arisen between two daughters of Manannan, Aoife who loved the son of Lughaidh, i.e. sister's son to Finn, and Aine who loved Lir of Sith Fhionnchaidh. Each of them said that her own man was the better hurler. This led to a great hurling-match between the Fianna and the Tuatha Dé Danann on a plain by Loch Lein. For three days and three nights they played without either side scoring a goal; and then the Tuatha Dé Danann took their departure. Now the Tuatha Dé Danann had brought with them from the Land of Promise crimson nuts, catkin apples, and fragrant berries. And, as they passed through the Hy Fiachrach, one of these berries fell from them, and grew into a quicken-tree of marvellous virtue: no sickness

<sup>1</sup>S. H. O'Grady in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 82 n. 1 understands 'the Iccian Sea, so called probably from the Roman town in Gaul called Portus Iccius.' Lady Gregory, however, prints *Muir-na-locht*; and the followers of the Green Champions are called 'the men of Lochlann' (O'Grady *op. cit.* p. 93).

could seize on any one who ate three of its berries, but he felt the exhilaration of wine and the satisfying of old mead,<sup>1</sup> and were it at the age of a century he that tasted them would return again to be thirty years old. When the Tuatha Dé Danann heard that these powers belonged to the quicken-tree, they sent the Searbhan Lochlannach, a youth of their own people, to guard it. He was a thick-boned, large-nosed, crooked-tusked, red-eyed, swart-bodied giant of the children of wicked Cam, the son of Naoi,<sup>2</sup> whom neither weapon could wound, nor fire burn, nor water drown. He had but one eye in the middle of his forehead; he wore a thick collar of iron round his body; and he was fated not to die till he should be struck thrice with his own iron club. He slept in the top of the quicken-tree by night, and remained at its foot by day to watch it. Moreover he made a wilderness of the cantreds around, so that Finn and the Fianna dared not hunt there for fear of him.

Undeterred by these explanations, the men who wished to join the Fianna sought out Diarmuid and challenged him to fight. Diarmuid fought them and bound them both. Hereupon Grainne, who was already pregnant, declared that she should die unless she tasted the berries of the quicken-tree. Diarmuid repaired to Searbhan, and found him asleep. He waked him with a stroke of his

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 359 conjectures 'that the berries of the rowan were used in some early period in the brewing of an intoxicating drink, or, better still, of the first intoxicating drink ever known to the Teuto-Celtic Aryans.' This is in part confirmed by J. Cameron *Gaelic Names of Plants* Edinburgh 1883 p. 24, who says of the rowan-tree: 'The Highlanders formerly used to distil the fruit into a very good spirit.' Similarly J. Evelyn *Silva* York 1776 p. 219: 'Some highly commend the juice of the berries, which, fermenting of itself, if well preserved, makes an excellent drink against the spleen and scurvy: Ale and beer brewed with these berries, being ripe, is an incomparable drink, familiar in Wales, where this tree is reputed so sacred, that there is not a church-yard without one of them planted in it (as among us the Yew).'

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* 'Ham or Cham, the son of Noah' (O'Grady *op. cit.* p. 120 n. 1).



foot, and asked for some berries, which Searbhan refused to grant. The result was a furious fight, in which Diarmuid gripped the giant's club and dealt him three mighty blows with his own weapon. Searbhan fell dead upon the spot. Diarmuid plucked the berries for Grainne, and gave some also to the two men as their eric. When the latter had returned to Finn, Diarmuid and Grainne went into the top of the quicken-tree and laid them in the bed of Searbhan, and—says the narrative—the berries below were but bitter berries compared to the berries that were above upon the tree.

Finn and the Fianna next followed the track of Diarmuid to the foot of the quicken-tree, and, finding the berries unguarded, ate their fill of them. During the mid-day heat Finn and Oisín played chess together beneath the tree. Diarmuid, who saw that Oisín could only win by one move, dropped a berry on the right piece; and this he did again and yet again, till the Fianna shouted in astonishment. Finn, however, called up to Diarmuid to ask him if he was in the tree. Diarmuid answered that he and Grainne were there in the bed of Searbhan, and promptly gave Grainne three kisses in the presence of all.

Finn then made a cordon of Fianna about the tree, and promised to reward any man who would mount it and avenge him upon Diarmuid. Again Aonghus came to the rescue, and, when Diarmuid kicked down Garbh of Sliabh Cua, his first assailant, into the midst of the Fianna, changed the shape of the man into that of Diarmuid himself: the Fianna at once beheaded him, when lo, he took the form of Garbh once more. Next Garbh of Sliabh Crot attacked the tree: he too was flung down in the likeness of Diarmuid, beheaded by the Fianna, and restored to his own form. After that, Garbh of Sliabh Guaire met with precisely the same fate. And so did nine Garbhs in succession, till Finn was full of

anguish and sore discouraged. Aonghus at this moment of danger carried off Grainne, as before, beneath his magic mantle. But Oscar besought Finn to forgive Diarmuid, and, when he would not, boldly promised Diarmuid his own protection and bade him come down from the tree. Diarmuid at last made his mighty leap, landed far beyond Finn and the Fianna, and thus, escorted by Oscar, made his way to the Brugh upon the Boyne, where he rejoined Grainne and Aonghus.

Certain elements in this important tale may have been borrowed from the book of Genesis; but in the main it furnishes a curious parallel to the custom of the Arician grove. Here, as there, a sacred tree is guarded day and night by an armed defender. Here, as there, this defender has to encounter in single fight one champion after another, the terms of the encounter being a violent death or possession of the tree. Here, as there, the original guardian of the tree is of more than mortal mould. Professor Rhys regards Diarmuid as a 'solar hero'<sup>1</sup> and *Grainne* his wife as related to the Celtic Apollo *Grannus*,<sup>2</sup> who was certainly a sun-god.<sup>3</sup> If so, Diarmuid would be the Virbius and Grainne the Diana of this Irish Nemi; for Virbius was by some identified with the sun,<sup>4</sup> and Diana Nemorensis too had solar pretensions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* pp. 146, 506, *Arthurian Legend* p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. Hibbert Lectures* p. 510.

<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions mentioning Apollo *Grannus* are collected by H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* Berlin 1902 ii. 1. 216 f. nos. 4646—4652. Of the derivations recorded by Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* p. 2038 the most attractive is that put forward by Rhys (*Hibbert Lectures* p. 22) and D'Arbois (*Les Celtes* p. 55), which connects the name with the Irish *gronn* or *gorn*, 'a fire-brand,' and *grian*, 'the sun' (glossed by *Apollo*, *sol*, etc.). It might thus, as Holder points out, be related to the Greek γρυνός or γρουνός, 'the trunk of an old oak tree,' and to the *Gryneum nemus* of Apollo (Verg. *æcl.* 6. 72 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 776.

<sup>5</sup> Birt in Roscher *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Myth.* i. 1005 f.

Dr. Joyce compares Diarmuid with Adonis;<sup>1</sup> for the former, like the latter, was slain by a monstrous boar.<sup>2</sup> But this need not conflict with our inference, since Servius long ago remarked that Virbius was related to Diana as Adonis to Aphrodite<sup>3</sup>—a point of fundamental significance, as Dr. Frazer has recently shown.<sup>4</sup> The statement that each successive assailant was transformed into Diarmuid, and therefore beheaded, may contain a last trace of the belief that every would-be defender of the sacred tree in turn posed as the sky-god incarnate and in that capacity was ultimately done to death.

A variant of the same legend, collected by Mr. Leland L. Duncan<sup>5</sup> at Kiltubbrid in the neighbouring county Leitrim, adds details of considerable interest:

The fairies of the land beat the fairies of the lake at a hurling-match, and celebrated their victory by feasting and dancing in Doolas Woods. The food that they ate was berries much resembling the mountain-ash. When they left the fairy-lands their king made them promise not to lose a berry; for, if they did, a tree of many branches would spring up, and if an old woman of eighty ate one of those berries she would become as youthful as though she were sixteen, and if a little maid ate one she would become a flower of beauty. Despite the king's command a little fairy drank too freely of the mountain-dew and lost a berry, which at once grew into a tree of many branches. The fairy-king was about to marry a fairy-queen, who sent to Doolas Woods for butterflies' wings to make herself and her maids of honour clothes for the occasion. The heralds, whom she sent, found the beautiful fairy-tree surrounded by birds and bees. The queen told the king, who discovered the culprit, a fairy-fiddler and -piper called Pinkeen, and despatched him to the giant-lands to find a giant strong enough to guard the fairy-tree and to sleep in its branches at night. Pinkeen,

<sup>1</sup> P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* i. 532.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 171 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 389 ff., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* London 1894 p. 334 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 5. 95, 7. 84, 761.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Frazer *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* London 1905 p. 25 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-lore* vii. 321 ff.

having crossed a high mountain and a great mist, met a giant named Sharving the Surly, gave him some of the berries, and asked him to guard the tree. He gladly consented, and, traversing the mist and the mountain, entered fairy-land with Pinkeen and was installed as guardian of the tree. All this time there were two kings contending in the same province. The rightful king was slain by the intruder, his son Moranna sent adrift on the sea, and his daughter Rosaline robbed of her beauty by means of a spell. One evening a robin, seeing Rosaline's grief, flew off to Doolas Woods to get her a berry from the fairy-tree. There she was met by her cousin, the robin of the wood, who told her that times had changed very much since she was there last, for that there was a great giant guarding the tree, that he slept every night in the branches, and that his breath was poison to birds and bees. "Every day," she says "there comes a warrior to give battle to the giant; and the giant, when the warrior comes, bounds high in the air and plucks a branch off the tree and puts it under his belt; and when he's exhausted fighting he takes a handful of the berries and eats them, and that revives his strength, and he strikes down the warrior with a mighty blow, for neither weapons, nor fire, nor water can kill him, but only three strokes of his own iron club. That iron club is girted to his waist with an iron band, and from the iron band there was a chain, and nothing can kill him but three strokes of his own club. Nothing in the world was as ugly as he, for there was only one eye in his forehead, which blazes like a coal, and no warrior was able to defeat him." The robin of the wood further advised her cousin to wait for the morrow's attack and peck a berry from the branch while the giant was busy fighting his opponent. She did so and flew back with it to Rosaline, who on swallowing it became twice as beautiful as she had been at first. Just then a prince arrived at the king's castle and gave his name as the Prince of the Sunny Valleys. While he was being entertained, Moranna, the banished brother of Rosaline, returned and was proclaimed king instead of the usurper, who was put to death. The Prince of the Sunny Valleys carried off Rosaline as his bride, and the robin with her.

The substantial identity of this folk-tale and the myth of Diarmuid at Dubhros is obvious. The quicken-tree of Dubhros reappears as the fairy-tree of Doolas Woods resembling the mountain-ash. Searbhan is Sharving the Surly. Diarmuid, the solar hero, and Grainne, daughter of King Cormac, become the Prince of the Sunny Valleys and Rosaline the king's daughter. Indeed, the old names still linger in the locality; for at Kiltubbrid, where Mr. Duncan took down the tale, there is a cromlech called by the peasantry *Leaba Dearmud* i

*Graine* or 'Darby and Graine's Bed,'<sup>1</sup> and several other cromlechs in the neighbourhood are known by the same name.<sup>2</sup> But the folk-tale is chiefly valuable for the further light that it throws on the branch and the birds of the sacred tree. It will be remembered that at Nemi run-away slaves who succeeded in breaking a branch from the guarded tree might challenge the priestly king to a single combat; and, as Servius puts it, 'the branch must needs be the reason of one man's death.'<sup>3</sup> Thanks to the Irish parallel, we can now see why whoso aspired to be King of the Wood at Nemi must first break a branch from Diana's tree. The berries of the quicken-tree at Dubhros (the mountain-ash of Doolas Woods) were the food of the Tuatha Dé Danann (the fairies of the land). As such they bestowed concentrated and supernatural strength upon the eater. For the time being he fed upon the food of the gods and himself posed as a god. Mael-Duin, who subsisted for 120 days on his Otherworld apple-branch,<sup>4</sup> and Connla, who fed continually upon his Elysian apple,<sup>5</sup> had a similar<sup>6</sup> celestial diet and played a like celestial rôle. This makes it almost certain that the branch of the tree at Nemi was a branch bearing berries or apples of peculiar strength. Dr. Frazer conjectured that it was the mistletoe growing on an oak.<sup>7</sup> And this may well have been the case. For, apart from

<sup>1</sup> S. Lewis *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* ed. 2 London 1847 ii. 179 s.v. 'Kiltubrid.'

<sup>2</sup> W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 i. 193 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 156, 169.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* xvii. 147, 154, 169.

<sup>6</sup> E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* London 1905 p. 106 says of the mountain-ash: 'The fruit are miniature apples, of the size of holly-berries, bright scarlet without and yellow within.' The fruit of the mountain-ash (*pyrus aucuparia* Gaert.) bears in fact a strong family resemblance to the small yellow and red fruit of the crab or wild apple (*pyrus malus* L.).

<sup>7</sup> J. G. Frazer *The Golden Bough* ed. 2 iii. 449 ff.

the Virgilian comparison<sup>1</sup> and the Servian comment on which he relies, I have shown<sup>2</sup> from Greek and Latin sources that the mistletoe was called 'the sweat of the oak,' *i.e.* the quintessence or life-blood of the oak, and I might add that a Gaelic name for the mistletoe is *sùgh dharich*, 'the sap or substance of the oak.'<sup>3</sup> Moreover, just as the giant of Dubhros could not be burnt with fire or drowned in water, so it was believed by the ancients that the mistletoe<sup>4</sup> and a tree resembling the mistletoe-bearing oak could not be harmed by fire or water.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless it remains possible that the sacred tree at Nemi was not an oak at all, but an apple-tree. The Silver Bough of Irish myth, which, as Miss Hull pointed out,<sup>6</sup> affords the closest parallel to the Golden Bough of Italian myth, was certainly an apple-branch. Besides, Prof. Furtwängler<sup>7</sup> holds that we have a representation of Diana Nemorensis in a series of gems, which exhibit a draped female figure standing by an altar with a stag at her side: she holds a branch in one hand and a cup, sometimes full of fruit, in the other.<sup>8</sup> A similarly posed male figure holding a sacrificial knife he regards as Virbius.<sup>9</sup> If these identifications were certain, we could be sure that the sacred tree at Nemi was not an oak, for in one instance<sup>10</sup> at least the branch has round fruit on it, probably apples. Again, an actual votive offering in the form of an apple made of terra cotta was found

<sup>1</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 6. 205 ff., Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136.      <sup>2</sup> *Folk-lore* xv. 424.

<sup>3</sup> J. Cameron *Gaelic Names of Plants* p. 33 f.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 119, cp. *ib.* 33. 94, Theophr. *de igne* 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* 13. 119.

<sup>6</sup> *Folk-lore* xii. 431 ff., cp. xvii. 156 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> A. Furtwängler *Die antiken Gemmen* Leipzig and Berlin 1900 iii. 231.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* i. pl. xx. 66, xxii. 18, 26, 30, 32, ii. 101, 108 f., *id. Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* Berlin 1896 nos. 856-861.

<sup>9</sup> *Id. Die antiken Gemmen* i. pl. xxii. 19, ii. 108, iii. 231 f., *Beschr. d. geschn. Steine im Antig.* nos. 854, 855.

<sup>10</sup> *Id. Die antiken Gemmen* i. pl. xxii. 18, ii. 108.

by Lord Savile in Diana's precinct at Nemi.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, Grattius<sup>2</sup> in his poem on hunting describes as follows the huntsman's festival: 'In the glades beneath the sky we fashion cross-road altars; we set up split torches at Diana's woodland rite; the puppies are wreathed with their wonted adornment; and in the midmost part of the glade men lay their very weapons upon flowers, weapons that are idle during these rites and this festal time of peace. Then comes the cask; the cakes that smoke on their green tray are brought forward, the kid with horns just budding from his gentle brow, and the apples still hanging on their boughs, after the manner of the lustral rite, whereby our whole company purifies itself for the goddess and praises her for the year's capture.' It is a legitimate inference from this passage that apple-branches played an important part in the ritual of Diana Nemorensis. And the word here used for 'boughs' (*ramos*) is the same as that used by Servius in speaking of the 'bough' broken from the sacred tree. It might be urged too that, if Servius had meant the mistletoe, he would have been careful to say so, or at least to specify 'a particular bough,' whereas what he does say is 'if any one had been able to break thence a bough' (*si quis exinde ramum potuisset auferre*)<sup>3</sup>—which distinctly suggests 'any bough,' and so favours the apple-branch or oak-branch as against the mistletoe-branch explanation. This, however, is not the right place for discussing whether the tree at Nemi was a mistletoe-bearing oak, or an apple-tree, or for that matter a mistletoe-bearing apple-tree. My point is that the Irish parallels go to prove that the branch in question had berries or fruit popularly regarded as the food of the gods, and that the bearer of the branch *ipso facto* assumed the position of a god.

<sup>1</sup>G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. 15 no. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Gratt. *cyneg.* 483 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136.

Further, the two robins of Doolas Woods may correspond to the two birds associated with Virgil's Golden Bough. The berries of the mountain-ash are, as old John Evelyn<sup>1</sup> has it, 'such a tempting bait for the Thrushes, that as long as they last, you shall be sure of their company.' Mr. Step<sup>2</sup> says of them: 'They ripen in September, and are then a great attraction to thrushes, blackbirds, and their kind, who rapidly strip the tree of them. Though this at first sight may appear like frustrating the tree's object in producing fruit, it is not really so, the attractive flesh being a mere bait to induce the birds to pass the seeds through their intestines, and thus get them sown far and wide.' Aeneas was directed to the Golden Bough by two pigeons (*columbae*),<sup>3</sup> and, according to Pliny,<sup>4</sup> mistletoe cannot grow unless it be passed through the maw of birds, especially of the wood-pigeon (*palumbes*) and the thrush.<sup>5</sup> Athenaeus<sup>6</sup> too states that a mistletoe-plant springs from the droppings of a pigeon (*οἰνῶς*) that has fed upon mistletoe.<sup>7</sup> Naturally birds that fed on food divine were themselves deemed sacred; and it is probable that the robins<sup>8</sup> of Doolas

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn *Silva* p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees*, p. 106 f.

<sup>3</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 6. 190 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 247.

<sup>5</sup> The missel-thrush (*turdus viscivorus* L.) was called ἰξοβόρος or ἰξοφάγος by the Greeks, and is known as *viscada* in Italy (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 70). Hence Erasmus *Chiliad.* 1 cent. 1 adag. 55 *turdus ipse sibi malum cacat.*

<sup>6</sup> Athen. 394 E.

<sup>7</sup> The botanical facts are set out by Prof. H. M. Ward *Trees* iii. 266: 'The viscin of the fruit (*sc.* mistletoe) prevents birds from swallowing the seed, which they therefore rub off on to branches while cleaning the beak: the seed is then washed into a crevice by rain, and germinates.' The same view is recorded in Dr. A. Hunter's notes on Evelyn's *Silva* p. 8 f.

<sup>8</sup> On the robin as a sacred bird see C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 13 ff.: note especially the Scotch and Breton belief that the robin has some of God's blood within his veins (p. 15 f.), and the Welsh and Breton tales of the robin as a fire-bringer (p. 16 f.).



Woods, like the pigeons of the Golden Bough, were essentially connected with the sacred tree, perhaps as embodying the souls of previous Kings of the Wood.<sup>1</sup>

The bed of Diarmuid and Grainne is nowadays usually identified by the Irish peasantry with a rude stone monument of some sort. Cromlechs often bear the name *Leaba Diarmada agus Grainne*, 'the Bed of Diarmuid and Grainne,' and are associated with run-away couples and illicit unions. A girl who goes there with a stranger will be certain to grant him all that he asks; and it is believed that, if a woman be barren, a visit with her husband to 'Darby and Grania's Bed' will cure her.<sup>2</sup> But our myth in mentioning the Oak-grove of the two huts and the quicken-tree of Dubhros hints rather at a connexion with trees. So too an Irish poem by Dallan Forgaill<sup>3</sup> states that—

'Tolgne was the Druidic priest of Crann Greine'—

i.e. 'of the Tree dedicated to Grian.' This, if I am not in error, implies an organised cult of the celestial tree.<sup>4</sup> A folk-tale printed by Dr. Hyde<sup>5</sup> connects *Granya Òi*,

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore* xvii. 168 f.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 iii. 841 ff. (citing Dutton *Surv. of Clare* p. 78), cp. index p. 1210, W. G. Wood-Martin *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* London 1902 i. 348 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1857* Dublin 1860 v. 153.

<sup>4</sup> See *Folk-lore* xvii. 69.

<sup>5</sup> D. Hyde *Beside the Fire* London 1890 p. 167 ff. 'William of the Tree.' An Irish queen falls sick and dies, but first puts the king under *gassa* not to marry again till the grass is a foot high over her grave. Her daughter keeps it clipped. The king discovers her and vows to marry the first woman that he meets. This is an old hag, who on becoming queen falsely accuses her step-daughter of killing the king's hound. The king takes his daughter to a great wood, hangs her on a tree, and cuts off her hands and feet. As he departs, a thorn runs into his foot, and his daughter prays that he may never get better till she recovers hands and feet. Out of the king's foot grows a tree, which makes him open the window to let the top of it out. A gentleman passing by has heard the king's daughter screeching, taken her home, and married her. She bears him three sons at a birth. Granya

'Granya the Virgin,' with an Irish king and a tree. But a better parallel to the myth of Diarmuid and Grainne occurs in another tale edited by the same scholar, viz. *The Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway*:<sup>1</sup>

Cod, eldest son of Ioruaidh king of Norway, who was great-grandson of Daire Red-green, once entered a cave leading to wonder-land. Here he found a lake out of which bright-white birds kept rising. Puzzled at the sight, Cod dived down into the lake and saw a beautiful girl resplendent with satin and gold and gems: she was whittling a white rod, the chips of which flew off and away in the form of birds. She gave her name as *Grian Gnúis-sholais*, 'Bright-faced Sun,' daughter of the King of the Forest of Wonders, and presented Cod with her own rod, bidding him whittle it for a while himself. As he did so, evil and feebleness of every kind ceased to affect him. He learnt from her that the King of the Forest possessed another such rod, but would not part with it for love or hatred or fear. Next morning, when the sun shone full, Grian showed Cod the way towards the Forest. On the outskirts of it he encountered three ugly black giants clad in the skins of wild-deer and roebuck. They told him that in the middle of it was a Tree of Virtue (*Bile Buadhach*) adorned with every colour and all the fruits of life: so marvellous was it that he who set eyes on it could hardly part from it for ever, and no man entering the Forest had ever come out again. Cod pressed on till he saw the Tree of Virtues (*Bile na mBuadh*) in the distance. But now there met him a band of thirteen headless men including a king-warrior, who told Cod that he was Iollan, son of the King of Almain, and that his twelve comrades were his foster-brothers, children of the King of the Land-of-Snow.<sup>2</sup> Love for the daughter of King Under-Wave had induced

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Öi comes and puts hands and feet on her, bidding her take the boys at a year old to the king, tell her story before them, rub her hand on the stump of the tree, and so cure the king. She does so, and the tree falls off the king's foot. Next day he hangs the hag, and gives his estate to his daughter and her husband.

Mr. A. Nutt *ib.* p. 195 shrewdly suggests that there is here a *contaminatio* of the Virgin Mary and Grainne, the wife of Finn.

<sup>1</sup> D. Hyde in *Irish Texts Society* London 1899 i. 50 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A poem inserted in the text names the son of the King of Almainè; Breasal the lively, of the rough words, the good son of the King of the Land-of-Snow; Fiachadh and the furious Fionn, to whom women used to come on adventures; Corc and Cairbrè the shouting; Uaithne and the mighty Arthur, who gave not submission to heroes; Laighne the Red and Tuireann; Feachtna the White and Béinnè. The princes are here twelve in number, and

him to go in quest of the Tree of Virtues—for she would have none but the man who should bring her that Tree—and his foster-brothers had gone with him; but they had all been forced to behead one another through the enchantment of a little man with a harp. Cod buried them in one grave, and had scarcely done so when he saw the same harper advancing towards him. Cod leaped upon him and dashed his harp against a rock; but the little man gathered up the pieces, and it was whole again. Cod seized him a second time and severed his head from his body: thereupon the harper walked off with his head in one hand and his harp in the other. There next appeared a wondrous ox with golden horns, which blew a horn-trumpet and summoned all the cats and hags and spectres of the Forest. Cod speared the ox and amid a perfect pandemonium of sound—the creatures screaming, bellowing, moaning, stamping, the stones and trees shaking and thundering—collected the various beasts and drove them into a cave. Soon afterwards he beheld a queen with a bevy of fair women carrying the ox on a bier. At this he drew his sword and chopped the bier to bits. At length he reached the Tree of Virtues, plucked a great shoulder-load of its branches, and built himself a booth with them. He kindled a big fire for the night, but was tormented by the cries of hideous monsters till he arose, gathered them together, and again drove them into the cave. Returning from this task he found his fire extinguished and his booth changed into a close oak-wood of thin trees, smooth and very high, their tops laden with snow, while bitter winds were blowing and cold linns of water welling between them. After that, a hideous giant met Cod beside the Forest: he was clad in the skins of hornless deer and roebuck; he had two goats'-horns growing through his skull, a circular jet-black hand, and a single leg like a ship's mast; in one hand he held a thick club-staff of iron, in the other a thong attached to a wild-calf. Cod drove his sword through the head of the giant, who fell like a prime oak, but rose again and made for the cave's mouth with Cod on his shoulder and the sword through his head. Cod gripped the sword handle till he made fragments of it and so slipped on to the ground. Looking back he saw the giant transformed into a pillar of stone. Unable to withdraw his sword, Cod snatched the Fomorian club that the giant had and returned through the Forest, where he found trees and stones in one flag of ice. And now he was met by a maiden bearing a shining beautiful lamp, who proved to be Grian the Bright-faced. She welcomed him to her own palace, a *cathair* of unequalled splendour, where the King of the Forest sat on a golden throne surrounded by his knights and ladies. Cod declared that, had it not been for Grian, he would have severed their heads from their bodies and have seized the *cathair* for himself by force. As it was, the King of the Forest of his own accord vacated his throne for Cod, while all the people accepted him as chieftain and lord, swearing by the sun and moon to be faithful to

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only one of them is a son of the King of the Land-of-Snow. Elsewhere too the poems inserted in the text contain a variant tradition (D. Hyde *ib.* p. xi.).

him thenceforward. Grian too took her seat on a beautiful throne; and a great feast was made ready for all who were present. The next day Cod received the wondrous rod, and returned with Grian to the lake where he had met her at the first.

This is but a meagre outline of one episode in *The Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway*—a tale which, from the view point of comparative mythology, would repay detailed study—but it will suffice to show that Grian the sun-goddess in her subaqueous wonderland had a marvellous fruit-tree growing in an enchanted forest; that a number of princely champions went in quest of the tree, which was defended by a little harper with a magic harp, a hideous giant with an iron club, and a king known as the King of the Forest of Wonders; that this king and his daughter Grian possessed white rods of peculiar power; that Cod, the successful champion, thanks to the virtue of Grian's rod, vanquished the defenders of the tree, plucked some of its boughs, and himself became King of the Forest. All this savours strongly of the *rex Nemorensis*, and in particular resembles the other Irish tales concerned with Grainne and her tree. The harper with his magic harp recalls Tolgne the druid of Grian's tree.<sup>1</sup> The giant with an iron club has met us before at Dubhros in the person of Searbhhan Lochlannach.<sup>2</sup> The rod which, when whittled, conferred supernatural strength is like the branch of the mountain-ash borne by Sharving the Surly in Doolas Woods.<sup>3</sup> The story as a whole strengthens our conviction that Diarmuid in the cantred of Hy Fiachrach played the part of *rex Nemorensis*.

Fortunately the Dubhros myth can be brought into connexion with actual custom. For, not only were Irish kings often inaugurated under a sacred tree,<sup>4</sup> but Dr.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 439 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 443 ff.

<sup>4</sup> P. W. Joyce *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* ed. 2 Dublin 1870 p. 481 f.

O'Donovan in *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* makes clear two noteworthy facts with regard to the very locality in which Diarmuid's tree is said to have grown. On the one hand, the O'Dubhda (O'Dowd), king of this district, was in historical times inaugurated by means of a rod (*virga*) held over his head by Mac Firbis, his *ollamh* or chief poet.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the name Diarmuid occurs repeatedly in the pedigree of O'Dubhda and in the collateral branches of the royal family.<sup>2</sup> The original Diarmuid is often styled 'Dermat of the Bright Face'<sup>3</sup>—a name that must be set beside that of 'Grian the Bright-faced'<sup>4</sup> as well suited to a personage with solar powers. The meaning of the word *Diarmuid* is a matter of conjecture.<sup>5</sup> But we shall not be

<sup>1</sup>J. O'Donovan *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* Dublin 1844 p. 440 ff. Inauguration by means of a rod was common throughout Ireland; the rod was usually a straight white wand, free from knots in the wood, and deemed symbolic of rectitude, candour, and equity (O'Donovan *ib.* p. 425 ff.). My suggestion is that the rod was originally in all cases a branch of the *bile* or sacred tree beneath which the king was inaugurated.

<sup>2</sup>*Id. ib.* Genealogical Table opposite p. 476. According to Highland tradition, the Clann Campbell, represented by the Duke of Argyll, descend from Diarmuid, and their crest is a boar's head in memory of his death (P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* p. 439): cp. J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i. xxxiii. f., iii. 45, 50 ff., 82 ff.

<sup>3</sup>P. W. Joyce *op. cit.* p. 438. J. Bonwick *Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions* p. 194 states that 'one bard sings of "Diarmuid with a fiery face."' A folk-tale in J. Curtin *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* p. 344 calls him the 'Son of the Monarch of Light.'

<sup>4</sup>*Supra* p. 449.

<sup>5</sup>Prof. Rhys *Celtic Folklore* ii. 691 suggests connexion with the Welsh name *Bodermud* or *Bodermud* analysed into *Bod-Dermud*. Bruno Gütterbock is reported in the *Revue celtique* xviii. 108 to take *Diarmait* for \**diarmit*, i.e. \**dia-airmitiu*, 'honour of God.' A. MacBain *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* Inverness 1896 p. 358 says: 'Zimmer explains the name as *Dia-ermit*, "God-reverencing," from *dia* and *ermit*: \**are-ment*-, "on-minding," root *ment*, as in *dearmad*, q.v.' W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 iii. 898 cp. the Lapp deity *Tiermes*,

far wrong in supposing that Diarmuid himself was at once human and divine, a king believed to be the consort of Grainne, the sun-goddess, and as such installed as defender of Grainne's tree.

Again, we may recognise a certain Scandinavian element in these tales. Cod was the eldest son of the King of Norway; and we shall find that some features of his story are best paralleled by incidents recorded in old Norse mythology.<sup>1</sup> Searbhan too bore the epithet *Lochlannach*. Now *Lochlann* denotes 'of Norway,'<sup>2</sup> and appears as the modern name *Lachlan*, which means 'Norwegian.'<sup>3</sup> It is therefore interesting to find that the badge of the Clann McLachlan is the rowan-tree,<sup>4</sup> the very tree guarded by Searbhan *Lochlannach*.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be concluded in our next.)

who was a thunder-god, the word *tiermes* or *diermes* meaning 'thunder' (see J. A. Friis *Lexicon Lapponicum* Christianiae 1887 pp. 130 s.v. 'Diermes,' 725 s.v. 'Tiermes'). Dr. Whitley Stokes, in answer to a query from me, kindly sends the following note (dated Aug. 24, 1906): '*Diarmait*. The oldest O. Ir. form may have been \**Diormit*, as we see from the latinised *Diormitius*, Thes. pal.-hib. II. xxii. 275, 278, 281. This suggests *diformenti*- cf. *format*? In the later *Diarmit*, *Dermaít*, *ia*, *é* supplants *io*-. *Di(f)ormit* 'one without envy'???, a Greek *Ἀφθονος*, if there was such a name.' This would establish an interesting analogy between *Diarmait* and Nudos *Liberalis*.

<sup>1</sup> I must reserve my evidence on this point for another occasion.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Whitley Stokes in Stokes and Windisch *Irish Texts* iv. 370.

<sup>3</sup> A. MacBain *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* p. 362 s.v. 'Lachlan': 'probably from *Lochlann*, Scandinavia, possibly commencing as *Mac-Lochlainne*, a Scandinavian ('son of L.').'

<sup>4</sup> J. Cameron *Gaelic Names of Plants* p. 24.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### NOTES ON SPANISH AMULETS.<sup>1</sup>

BY W. L. HILDBURGH.

DURING a trip through Spain, in 1905, I made numerous inquiries concerning amulets, the results of which are embodied in the following notes. These enquiries were made entirely in towns of more or less importance, mostly upon objects in actual use or exposed for sale, and were addressed to persons of the lower and the middle classes. The scope of my paper is therefore somewhat limited, because in Spain, as in other countries, the beliefs in connection with amulets persist longer in the villages and smaller towns than in the cities.

At the present time, in the cities at least, the employment of the ancient amulets seems to be rapidly disappearing, their places being taken, to a certain extent, by the religious medals which formerly were worn simultaneously with them. Very few of the amulets noted appear still to be made, though some of the less rare ones may be found in use in a worn condition. Thus it was difficult, and sometimes impossible, to ascertain and to verify the nature of the use of an amulet, for which reason these notes must be taken as indicative rather than definitive. From various statements made it appears that of late years a considerable interest has been taken in the gathering of Spanish amulets, and that there are several collections of them in Spain, but I have not verified these statements, nor have I examined any of the collections reputed to exist.

<sup>1</sup> Forming the basis of a paper read before the Society, April 25, 1906.

There are very great resemblances between the secular amulets of Spain and of Italy, even more, perhaps, than might be expected to have resulted from the Roman colonisation of the country, and its subsequent close relations with Italy. From these resemblances we may draw conclusions as to the purposes of certain objects identical with objects still, or until recently, used in Italy, but the manner of whose former employment in Spain was not readily ascertainable. It is unfortunate that the fragmentary nature of the material available has made a fuller comparison of the amulets of the two countries impracticable. Besides the amulets showing the results of Roman and Italian influences there are others wherein the effects of the Moorish occupation may be traced, others which may be assumed to be of prehistoric origin, if not of prehistoric introduction, and finally those which are at present in process of infiltration from other countries.

It would be easy to give European or Oriental parallels, and in some instances many of them, to almost every amulet referred to, for a number of the Spanish amulets are outcrops of very widespread superstitions, but I have limited my comparisons almost exclusively to some of the parallel amulets of Italy, a co-heir with Spain of the ancient Roman influences which so largely predominate in the beliefs of the Spanish people.

A belief in the evil, envious, or jealous eye and its effects is still prevalent in Spain, but to a stranger the Spaniards will generally say very little regarding it or an amulet against it, unless some knowledge of the subject is shown by their questioner. Amongst people of the middle classes there appears to be some shame in acknowledging the belief to a stranger, and there seems to be a common opinion that it is unknown to, or not shared by, the residents of more northerly lands.

**HORNS.** But few of the ancient amulets against the evil eye are still in use, at least openly, in the cities; of those that remain the most noticeable are in the form, or of the nature of horns.

(Fig. 1, Pl. IV.)<sup>1</sup> A piece of deer's horn, with an iron loop for

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the descriptions the Arabic numerals are used to denote the figures of the objects, and the Roman numerals the plates on which they are shown.



suspension, hung by a cord beneath the neck of a donkey or mule; from Granada. In most cities this amulet is to be seen upon comparatively few animals, and seemingly only upon those of peasants from the surrounding country; it generally shows signs of long-continued wear. It is usually carried by only one or two of the donkeys of a party, and most often by the leading one. In several instances, where an attempt to purchase the amulet was made, a considerable disinclination to remove it from the animal was shown, despite the offer of more than the acknowledged cost of a new protective.

(2, IV.) A new piece of deer's horn, perforated for suspension; from Madrid. This and a few similar specimens at the same booth were the only donkeys' amulets seen at Madrid during a stay of two weeks. It was obtained from a small dealer in the market for old harness, and was probably kept for sale to a peasant.

(3, IV.) A large and handsome piece of rough-surfaced antler, mounted in silver; Toledo. A type of an amulet said formerly to be worn by children of the better classes, but now apparently no longer used.

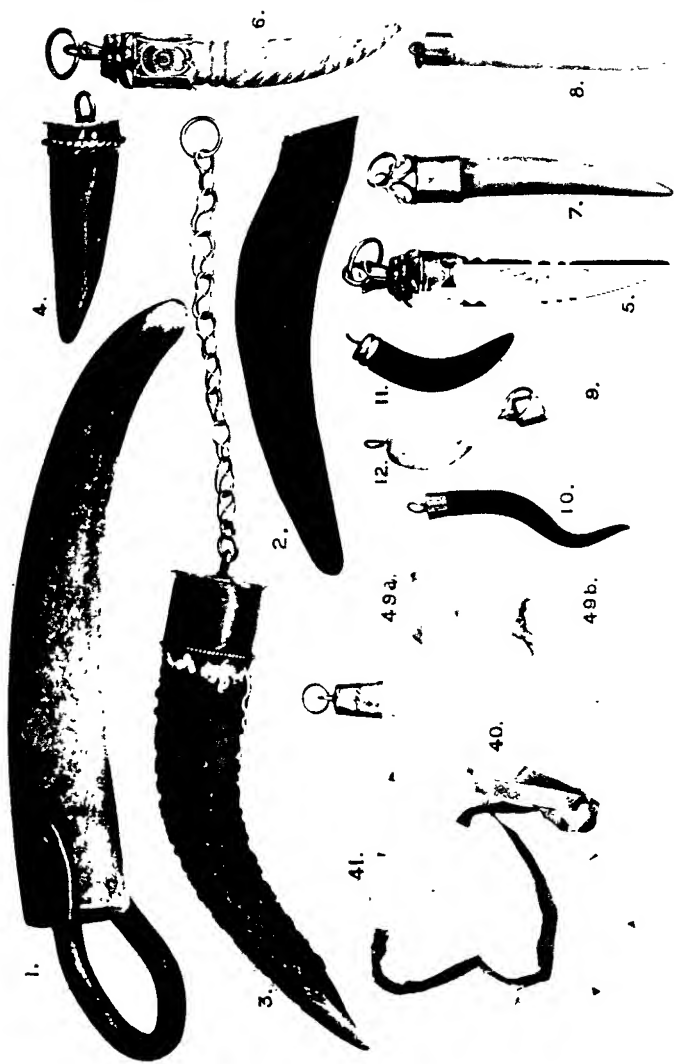
(4, IV.) A bit of antler, mounted in silver; Granada.

(5, IV.) A decorated bit of antler, mounted in silver; Seville.

(6, 7, 8, 9, IV.) Horn-shaped pieces of bone, of typical shapes, mounted in silver; Seville. Similar pendants are to be found in many of the silversmiths' shops in the poorer quarters of Seville, Granada, and other cities. These pieces of bone are worn by children, not against the effect of the evil eye only, but as an aid in teething as well, for which latter purpose the substance bone is considered to be particularly efficacious (compare AMULETS FOR INFANTS). Borrow<sup>1</sup> says that it is supposed, in Andalusia, that if an evil glance fall upon the child wearing it the little horn takes the evil upon itself and breaks. No definite confirmation of the present existence of this belief was obtained. Nos. 5 and 6 are particularly interesting as showing elaborate ornamentation applied to simple amuletic pendants.

(10, IV.) A horn-shaped piece of translucent horn or tortoise-shell, mounted in silver; Seville.

<sup>1</sup> Borrow, *Zincali*, vol. i. chap. 9.



SPANISH AMULETS: 1



(11, IV.) A horn-shaped piece of coral, mounted in silver; Seville.

(12, IV.) A horn-shaped piece of twisted glass, white and yellow, similar to pendants worn in other continental countries, and probably an importation; Gipsy Settlement, Granada (compare GIPSY AMULETS).

#### LUNAR CRESCENTS, BOARS' TUSKS, CRUSTACEANS' CLAWS.

In some of their protective aspects, these are closely related to horns, but, though formerly much employed against jealousy and the evil eye, they appear now to be obsolete in the Spanish cities; all of them are, however, contemporary Italian amulets. The lunar crescent occurs variously in the ancient amulets, but by no means so commonly as in contemporary Portuguese charms. That the boar's tusk has been employed until quite recently is evidenced by its fairly frequent occurrence in a used condition, whilst its almost complete absence from the stocks of silversmiths seem to indicate a decay of the belief in its efficacy.

(13, VII.) A human-faced crescent, of brass, with a projection for a strap to pass through; Granada. Said to be a horse's ornament formerly in use, but now no longer employed. Diligent inquiry amongst the numerous dealers in old harness at Madrid failed to bring any specimens of it to light. It is practically identical with a horse's amulet at present used in Naples.<sup>1</sup> A similar crescent was seen at Seville, and another at Madrid; another, of copper, and differing slightly from the brass ones just described was noted at Madrid.

(14, VII.) A brass crescent with strongly marked horns, enclosing a sun (or, possibly, a star); Seville. Probably a horse's amulet.

(15, VII.) A thin silver crescent, having a "fig" hand (compare HANDS) between the horns, and a four-petalled flowerlike emblem within its body; Seville. The significance of this emblem was not determined, but it has possibly some connection with the hand, having, in some instances, been found on the wrists of the "fig" hands in certain Portuguese compound amulets. It may possibly represent a rue-flower, or may be derived from the

<sup>1</sup> Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, Lond., 1895, p. 209.

same source as a modern Moorish decorative symbol, much like it, representing the protective number *five*.<sup>1</sup> A similar symbol, between the horns of a crescent, is a favourite decoration of Algerian amulet pouches; to some Algerians its meaning was unknown; to others it represented a star. An almost identical crescent was obtained at Toledo.

(16, VII.) A boar's tusk, mounted with chains as a pendant; Seville. This amulet was said to have been worn by a woman to secure abundance of milk during nursing; no confirmation, or other instance of this belief was obtained.

(17, VII.) A boar's tusk, mounted in metal; Madrid. A usual type.

(18, VII.) A boar's tusk, mounted in silver, with small bells; Granada. An amulet for children.

(19, VII.) A crustacean's claw, mounted in silver; Granada.

**HANDS.** Hands occur in two forms in Spanish amulets; hands making the "fig" gesture, and open hands. The former, in the shape of a closed fist whose thumb protrudes between the index and middle fingers, is the *mano fica* of the Italians, and is identical in form with the ancient Roman and Phœnician, and probably prehistoric, charms against the evil eye. This hand, which the Romans left wherever they founded colonies, was until recently a favourite Spanish amulet, but although it is still extensively employed in Portugal, it has, judging from the cheap ornaments and trinkets for sale on street stands, in the markets, and at the silversmiths' shops, almost or entirely lost its former vogue in Spain. Despite the fact that the only hands of this type met with, having the simple form, were of coral or of glass, it may reasonably be assumed that anciently numbers of such made of bone, of cow's horn, or of some similarly cheap material were used, just as in Portugal to-day, and that these, being neither beautiful nor curious, have disappeared.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, "The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs," *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xxxiv., 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. C. J. Tabor has called my attention to the fact that these hands are, or were until quite recently, worn at the neck, or at the wrist, or

In Spain the primitive and customary form of the "fig" hand developed in an extraordinary, and probably unique, manner, the cause of which may possibly be found in the reinforcement of the ancient belief by the Moorish faith in the protective virtues of a simple image of the hand. Not only was the original object magnified, and strengthened by the addition of several smaller and similar hands, but various other supposedly protective symbols were combined with it, and the whole design was executed in some material, generally jet, in itself deemed preservative against fascination. Two very elaborate amulets of this kind are referred to by Cuming;<sup>1</sup> one, of jet, has a crescent moon upon the palm, two little hands upon the sides of the wrist, and a figure with a child upon the frill at the end of the wrist; the other, also with a crescent moon upon the palm, has upon the wrist a construction upheld by four small hands, and terminating in a knob. They are said to be Spanish, dating probably from about the end of the sixteenth century, and to be charms against the evil eye. Compare JET.

The figure of an open hand, which is still used by the Mohammedan nations as a protection against the evil eye, is to be found on various Moorish structures in Spain, and notably on one of the principal gates of the Alhambra. A curious coincidence in connection with this figure, which, as an amulet, has probably long been neglected in Spain, is that it is being re-introduced in the shape of a metal "charm" of foreign, but European, manufacture, copied in miniature from a common North African form, and probably intended principally for sale in North Africa, sold in the streets of Madrid (as elsewhere on the continent) as a bringer of good fortune.

(20, V.) A glass "fig" hand, probably of Spanish manufacture, white, overlaid with streaks and spots of red, green, blue, and yellow; Madrid. Slightly broken. The bright colours,

both, by Spanish bull-fighters. Such men, being exposed at critical moments to the thousands of envious glances, and perhaps to some of naturally "evil" eyes, are likely to retain longer a belief in the necessity of these amulets than, probably, any other class of the population.

<sup>1</sup> Cuming, "On the Hand Amulet," *Jour. Arch. Assn.*, Lond., 1866, p. 291; as taken from Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare*.

irregularly disposed, were probably intended to avert fascination in the same manner as the bunches of multicoloured ribbons still worn in Italy and elsewhere for the protection of men and animals.

(21, V.) A "fig" hand of twisted clear, white, red, and blue glasses; Granada. The same observations apply as to No. 20.

(22, V.) A "fig" hand of red coral; Seville. A fairly common type.

(23, V.) A "fig" hand of jet, mounted in silver; Madrid. Above the palm, in heavy openwork, are a heart, a lunar crescent (?), and scrollwork.

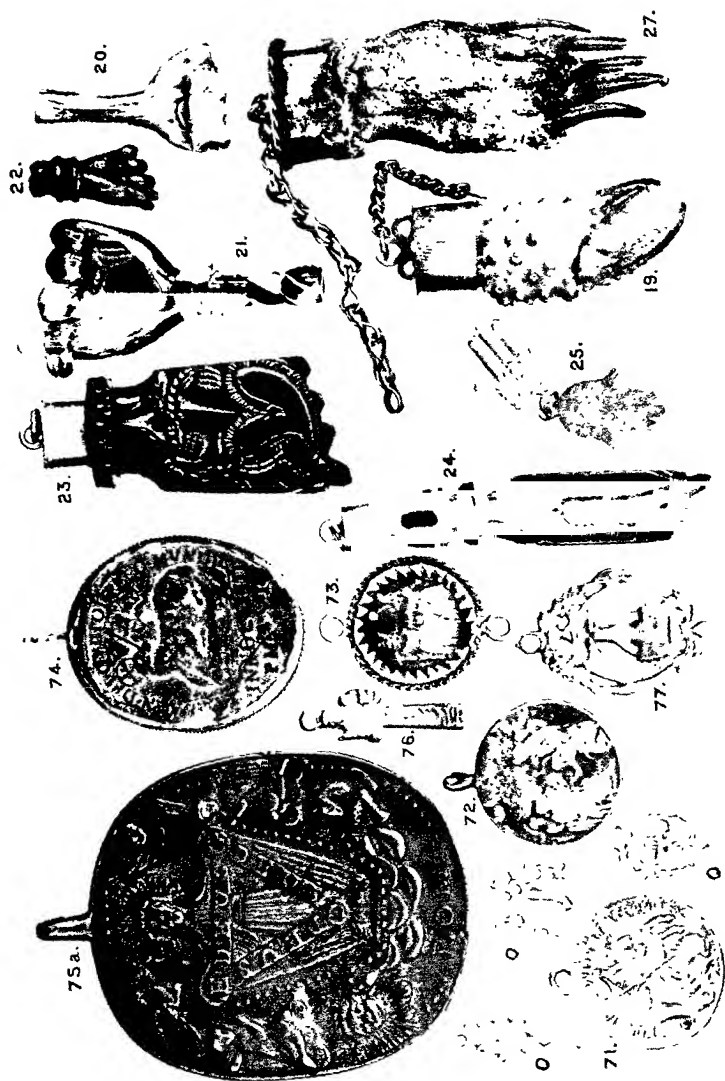
(24, V.) A "fig" hand of jet, in an apparently new silver mounting; Madrid. At the top of the wrist are four smaller "fig" hands terminating in the silver mounting, and within the curve of the index finger of the main hand is a human-faced lunar crescent. A similar hand, lacking the four supporting hands, and of rude workmanship, was obtained at Granada.

(25, V.) An unused pair of flat open hands, of white metal, with a six-pointed "Seal of Solomon," a crescent, and the Arabic word *mabrūk* (= blessed), on the back of each (see general remarks on Hands); Madrid.

CORAL. Coral as a substance, and independently of its conformation, is thought to be protective against the evil eye. At Madrid, in the windows of jewellers' shops in the better quarters, trays containing small pendants, mostly of purely ornamental shapes, and usually worn several together, of red, pink, or pink-and-white coral, are shown with the legend "*La Buena Sombra*," "The Good Shadow." Old single pendants of red coral, having the form of the *mano fica*, a "horn," or a branch at times rudely carved, are not infrequently to be met with. No mention of any virtue other than that of combatting the effect of the evil eye was made with respect to these.

(26, V.) A pendant of rough, slightly carved, red coral, mounted in silver; Seville. Compare Nos. 11 and 22.

JET. Jet also was supposed to possess similar preservative qualities, and it was the favourite material for the construction



SPANISH AMULETS. 2.





of the complex hand-amulets (compare Nos. 23 and 24). At Seville an ovoid pendant of jet having a cross rudely cut upon it, was noted, and at Madrid several small religious images of the same substance. A Spanish physician, Gutierrez, writing on fascination in the middle of the seventeenth century, says that infants wore a "fica" of jet, at the neck, against the evil eye, and that there was a belief that this would split, taking all the injury upon itself, if the wearer were exposed to the evil influence.<sup>1</sup> The "Antipathes" ("counteracting stone") mentioned by Pliny,<sup>2</sup> a black non-translucent stone which magicians recommended as protective against witchcraft, may have been jet.

BELLS. Small bells are in common use, frequently in conjunction with other amuletic objects. Practically every horse, mule, or donkey in Spain wears a bell, however tiny and feeble it may be, not necessarily, perhaps, as an acknowledged protection, but certainly as a concession to some once universal custom. To many children's amulets, also, there are little bells attached. It is fair to assume that the sound of these bells, as amongst the ancient Romans and the modern Italians, was formerly intended to keep the wearer from witchcraft and fascination. Compare Nos. 18 and 28 (VI.) ; and 39 (VII.).

BADGERS. (27, V.) A paw, mounted in silver, said to be that of a badger, brought into Spain from abroad, and formerly considered efficacious against the evil eye ; Granada. A similar paw, in much the same condition, was obtained at Toledo ; another was noted at Madrid.

The strap around the neck of a horse, to which the bells are attached, is often lined with badger-skin, the hairs of which form a narrow fringe around the edge of the leather. The use of this skin may be to keep the strap from galling the animal, but it is much more likely to be either amuletic or the survival of an amuletic custom. No statements as to

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Gutierrez, *Opusculum de Fascino*, Lugduni, 1653, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxvii. 54. He speaks elsewhere (xxxvi. 34) of a variety of jet under the names of "Gagates."

the virtue of the skin were secured. In Italy the paws and the hair of the badger are still much used as amulets against the evil eye and witches, the hair being a favourite with those having the charge of horses.<sup>1</sup>

SIRENS. (28, VI.) A silver ornament and whistle, for a child, in the form of a fish-tailed woman holding a comb in one hand and a mirror in the other, to which a number of small bells are attached; Saragossa. A similar siren was noted at Seville.

The "*sirena*" must formerly have been quite commonly worn by children of the upper classes, and it is sometimes to be seen represented in old portraits. Although I have seen only two specimens in Spain itself, two others were met with in different parts of the Netherlands; there is one at South Kensington, and there are three exhibited (as Spanish) at the Musée Cluny, at Paris. All these sirens were of the single-tailed variety; by their workmanship they are generally to be assigned to about the end of the sixteenth century. They are particularly interesting because of the rare distribution of the siren as an amulet. Silver sirens, differing somewhat from them in form, are still in common use as protections against fascination, in Naples,<sup>2</sup> and a siren of bone, mounted in silver, was obtained in the Roman Campagna,<sup>3</sup> but, so far as I know, sirens as amulets have not been reported elsewhere. In Italy, since a siren is believed to bewitch one by her glance, her likeness is supposed to protect one from a similar bewitchment produced by other causes—sorcery, or the evil eye.

EYE FORMS. (29, VIII.) A piece of rock-crystal, probably from an old reliquary, in shape like the Italian *vetro del occhio*,<sup>4</sup> mounted in silver; Seville. Probably formerly, as still in Italy, a charm against fascination.

(30, VIII.) A representation of an eye, in tin; Madrid. Its purpose could not be ascertained; it is probably an *ex voto*

<sup>1</sup> Bellucci, *Catalogo Descrittivo, Amuleti Italiani*, Perugia, 1898, XIII. 5, and xiv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 356 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Bellucci, *Cat. Des.*, 1898, XII. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Bellucci, *op. cit.*, Tablet X.

for the sight, but it may be, possibly, an amulet with the same object or (though quite improbably) against the evil eye.

(31, VIII.) A brass ornament, formerly gilt, composed of a sword, a piece of palm, and a pair of eyes in a bowl, the emblems of S. Lucy, patroness of the sight; Seville. Probably formerly considered to be in some way preservative of the sight.

Eye-forms as amulets against the evil eye appear to be rare in Spain, not common as in Italy.

At Cadiz, it is said, the people paint an eye upon each side of the prows of their boats, following a custom of their ancestors the Carthaginians, as shown by ancient coins.<sup>1</sup>

MISCELLANEOUS AMULETS, PRINCIPALLY AGAINST THE EVIL EYE AND TO SECURE GOOD-LUCK. (32, VI.) A compound amulet, reputed to have been worn by a child, from its components evidently a charm mainly preservative against fascination; Toledo. It is made up of a red bead, a faceted glass bead, a bone bead, and a date-stone, attached to a chain; the gourd-shaped piece of opal glass shown with it was said formerly to have been attached also, although it was not so when the amulet was purchased. In Italy, (where it serves against the evil eye), and not elsewhere, to the extent of my knowledge, the date-stone has been reported as an amulet;<sup>2</sup> the other objects are all more or less well-known preservatives for the same purpose.

(33, VIII.) An oviform piece of aventurine glass, mounted in silver, and said to have been worn anciently by a child to to secure good fortune; Granada.

The idea that good-luck is attracted by some particular object is a very natural development of a faith in that object as a repeller of ill-luck, such as might be caused by the evil eye. Aventurine, sown with a multitude of tiny flashing points, is just such a material as would, in accordance with a very ancient and deeply rooted belief, have been chosen as a protection against bewitchment and the evil eye. So that, whilst it is possible that aventurine glass as a luck-bringer owed its reputation

<sup>1</sup> *Stories by an Archaeologist*, Lond., 1856, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Marugi, *Capricci della Gettura*, VII.

to its name, it seems more likely to have derived its name from its supposed virtues and not, as is generally stated, from the traditional manner of its discovery.

(34, VI.) A hunchback, of silver, said to bring good luck ; Seville. This amulet does not appear to be commonly worn ; the specimen shown is probably of Italian manufacture.

(35, VI.) A numeral 13, of silver, and evidently of foreign manufacture ; Seville. This was said to be worn to secure good luck ; questioning seemed to bring out the fact that the belief in it, prevalent in Italy, was of recent introduction and by no means general.

(36, VI.) A shark's tooth, mounted in silver ; Madrid. A very ancient form of amulet against the evil eye. The purpose of this specimen could not be determined.

(37 and 38, VI.) Two teeth, said to be of the wild boar or of the domestic pig, mounted in silver ; Madrid. The purpose of these specimens could not be determined ; in Italy similar ones are used against the evil eye, and to favour the dentition of infants.<sup>1</sup>

(39, VII.) A wild chestnut, mounted with silver filigree, five small bells, and a chain ; Toledo. Formerly worn by children against the evil eye.

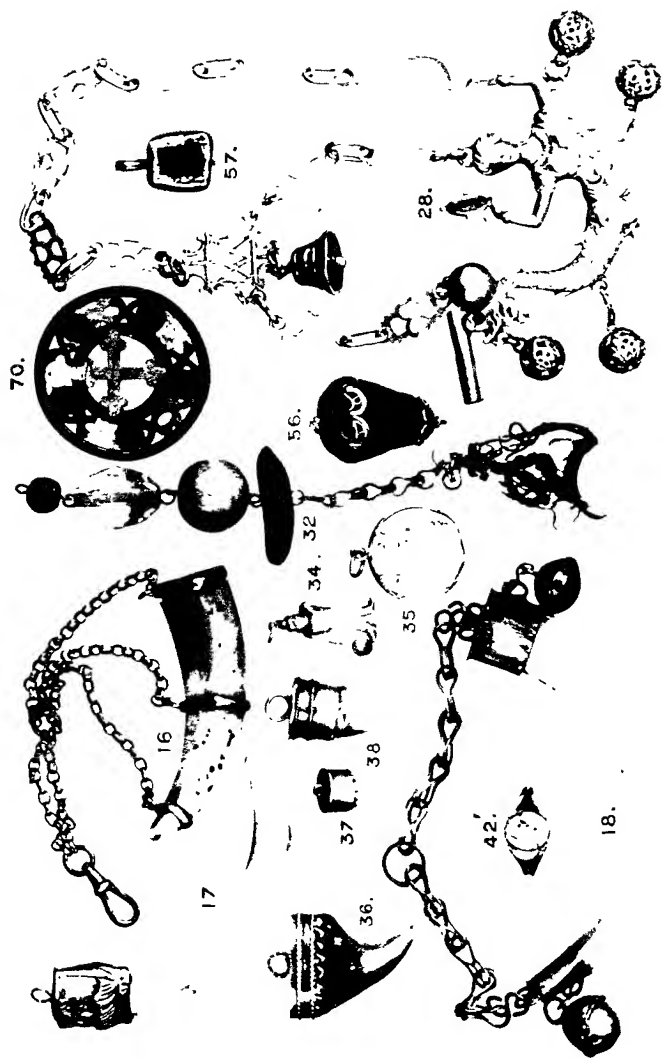
The wild chestnut (Spanish *castaña sylvestre*, a name which, as will be noted, is sometimes applied to the seeds of certain tropical plants, varieties of *Mucuna* and of *Entada*) has an extended reputation in Spain as a safeguard against the evil eye.

The heart, by itself, without the cross and anchor is, contrary to the Italian and Portuguese usage, seldom worn as an amulet in Spain. It was noted only upon some of the jet hands, and there comparatively infrequently.

For other amulets against the evil eye see AMULETS FOR INFANTS, SHELLS, SEEDS, GIPSY AMULETS.

AMULETS FOR INFANTS. The principal amulets used to avoid the ills accompanying the teething of babies appear to be the small horns of bone or ivory which have been described (see HORNS), and necklaces of bone or of amber beads. The bone and

<sup>1</sup> Beilucci, *op. cit.*, Tablet XII.



SPANISH AMULETS · 3



amber necklaces which are commonly employed in many parts of the Continent are in Spain retailed at the shops for the sale of surgical instruments. According to the popular belief these necklaces produce their effects through the mere wearing, and do not need to be bitten upon by the child. Most of the amber necklaces seen exposed for sale were composed of faceted beads which, so it was said, are preferred because of their finer and more brilliant appearance, though they are more irritating to the skin than beads having a smooth surface. It is possible that the teeth, Nos. 37 and 38, Pl. VI., were intended as aids in dentition.

The finger-rings noted below, set with infants' teeth, were said to be memento rings simply, and to have no amuletic significance.<sup>1</sup>

(40, IV.) A pointed piece of bone, rudely engraved, mounted in silver; Seville. A contemporary amulet commonly worn by infants as an aid to dentition and against the evil eye.

(41, IV.) A necklace of bone beads, for an infant; Madrid.

(42, VIII.) A necklace of smooth amber beads, for an infant; Madrid.

(42, VI.) A silver finger-ring set with an infant's molar; Toledo. A similar ring was obtained at the same time.

SHELLS. The opercule of the trochus shell, an amulet used in Asia and in Africa as well as in many parts of Europe, is common in Spain. Its popular Italian name, "The Eye of S. Lucy," and its reputed virtue, in Italy, as a remedy for eye-troubles,<sup>2</sup> appeared to be known, but not familiarly, to a few of the Spaniards questioned about it. In Spain it is called *haba* (pronounced "awa"), a bean, and is employed principally as a charm against megrims or headache, *jaqueca*, a trouble which, judging from the number of *habas* in use, must be rather general. In rare instances it was said to secure good fortune for the wearer. It is usually mounted in a finger-ring, often of silver, occasionally of copper. At Granada the statement was made

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *op. cit.*, XXVIII., 9, speaks of the first tooth an infant has shed, and which has not been permitted to touch the ground, set in a bracelet and worn constantly by a woman as a preservative against certain pains.

<sup>2</sup> Bellucci, *op. cit.*, Tablet XI.



that the strength of this amulet increased with the depth of its colour; that this belief is prevalent, even in that city, must be doubted, for, were it so, only the darker pieces of the shell, which is cheap, could be sold, and such is not the case.

The cowry-shells noted below are paralleled in Italy, where the cowry, an ancient and widely used amulet, is employed, because of the ideas suggested by the form of its aperture, particularly for infants, as a protection against the evil eye.<sup>1</sup>

(43a and 43b, VII.) Two pieces of trochus shell, ready for mounting, showing the outer and inner sides.

(44, VII.) A piece of trochus shell mounted in a silver ring; Madrid. Similar rings were obtained at Granada, both in the main city and in the gipsy settlement.

(45, VII.) A cowry shell, having a bluish back, set in a silver finger-ring so that only its back is visible; Granada. Said to be a protection against all diseases, and a bringer of good fortune.

(46, VII.) A large yellow cowry, in an apparently recent silver mounting; Madrid. Said by the shop-people to be merely ornamental; possibly originally intended as an amulet.

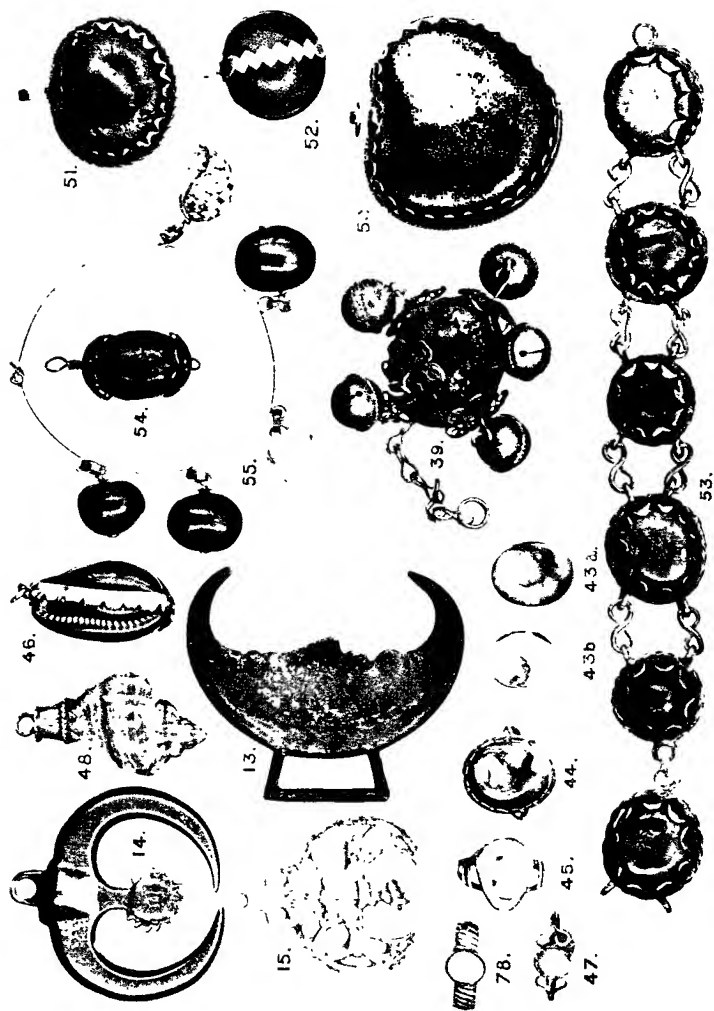
(47, VII.) A small, and not particularly decorative, clam-like shell set in a silver finger-ring; Madrid. Its amuletic purpose, if any, could not be ascertained.

(48, VII.) A shell, mounted in silver; Toledo. Amuletic purpose, if any, not ascertained.

**BONES FROM FISH'S HEAD.** A very interesting amulet, whose survival I have come across in Spain alone, consists of one of the bones (or perhaps the pair) taken from the head of a fish, and called, in English, the "ear-bones." Amongst the Romans these bones, taken from the *umbrina* (*Sciaena Aquila*) were greatly esteemed as amulets;<sup>2</sup> and the French naturalist Belon states that in his time, about the middle of the sixteenth century, they were called "colic-stones" because, though employed as a cure for various ailments, they were used especially against

<sup>1</sup> Bellucci, *op. cit.*, XI. 8.

<sup>2</sup> W. Jones, *Credulities Past and Present*, Lond., 1880, p. 155.



SPANISH AMULETS: 4



colic.<sup>1</sup> At Rouen, in 1905, I obtained one of these bones, mounted in silver as a pendant, and apparently very old; I have seen no other mounted specimen.

(49a and 49b, IV.) A pair of bones, said to be from the head of a dolphin ("golfin," the old and provincial form of *delfin*), to be quite rare, and to be known by the name of *amuletos* (amulets); when used they were to be pierced and worn upon the chest, in contact with the skin, as a very potent preservative against all diseases, and as a means of securing good luck; Granada. At Madrid a similar pair of these bones, also unpierced, was found upon a street stand at the rag fair, but the vendor could supply no information concerning them.

SEEDS, ETC. An amulet formerly commonly used in Spain is a seed of a leguminous plant, large, and usually dark red or brown, with a black edge, numbers of which, variously mounted in silver as pendants, are still to be found. It is a tropical product, and is generally from one of several varieties of *Mucuna* or *Entada*.

(50, VII.) Seed of *Entada*, mounted in silver; Granada. Said to be a "wild chestnut," and preservative against the effects of the evil eye and all diseases, but especially efficacious against the effects of the currents in the atmosphere which, striking upon a person, cause paralysis and distorted features.

(51, VII.) Seed of *Mucuna*, mounted in silver; Seville. Said to be a potent protection against sickness.

(52, VII.) Seed of *Mucuna*, mounted in silver; Madrid. Called an *haba* ("bean," the popular name for the pieces of trochus shell), and said to be employed against *jaqueça* (megrimms or headache). Another, slightly different, obtained at the same time, was said to be for the same purpose.

A seed of *Mucuna*, similarly mounted, was said at Toledo to be a wild chestnut, and to be worn to prevent the evil eye from taking effect.

(53, VII.) A bracelet or fob-chain (?) composed of six tropical seeds, some greyish, some brown, mounted in metal

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Belon on Natural History of Fishes, referred to by W. Jones, *pg. cit.*

and chained together; Granada. Amuletic purpose, if any, not ascertained.

(54, VII.) An undetermined seed, mounted in silver; Seville. Amuletic purpose, if any, not ascertained.

(55, VII.) A modern bangle, upon which several seeds, a shell, and a tooth (probably an alligator's) are hung; Seville. Probably imported, and purely decorative, with no amuletic meaning; interesting for comparison and as indicating how amulets may often have originated, and also as a possible survival of obsolete beliefs.

(56, VI.) A piece of blackish substance, apparently of vegetable origin, mounted in filigree as a pendant; Granada.

(57, VI.) A fragment of a hard, brownish, unknown substance, mounted in a silver frame as a pendant; Toledo.

STONE AND GLASS BEADS. (58, VIII.) Two opalescent glass beads, worn by women to secure an abundance of milk during nursing; Seville. In Italy similar beads, or other forms of milky glass, are worn for the same purpose.<sup>1</sup>

(59, VIII.) A long ovoid bead of white and grey agate, mounted in silver; Toledo. For the same purpose as No. 58.

(60, VIII.) A globular bead of whitish and reddish agate, mounted in silver; Toledo. Worn by women to secure an abundance of milk, and regularity in menstruation; said to have no other effect in connection with the blood. Similar amulets are common in Italy.

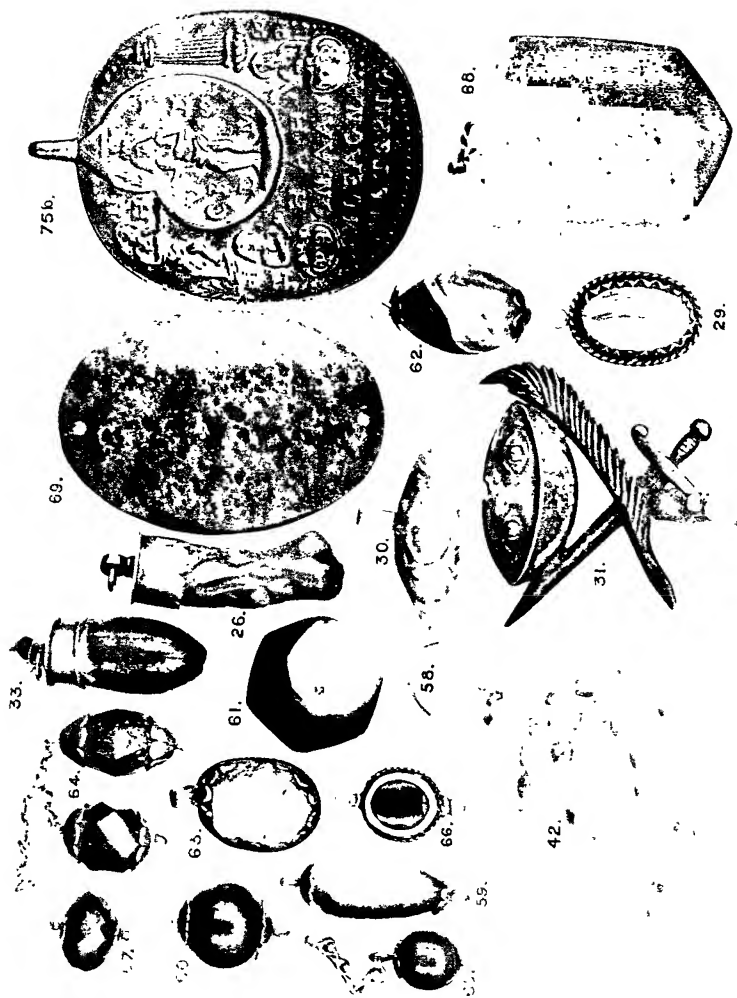
(61, VIII.) A large bead of greyish, white, and reddish agate, in the form of a pair of truncated pyramids set with their bases together; Seville. Said to be traditionally an amulet of the Moorish period; probably really for the same purposes as No. 60.

(62, VIII.) A white and red agate bead, mounted in silver; Madrid. Probably for the same purpose as No. 60.

(63, VIII.) A piece of white stone and a piece of red glass, set together in a silver frame, as a pendant; Seville. Probably for the same purpose as No. 60.

(64, VIII.) A pair of faceted beads, of a reddish brown agate

<sup>1</sup> Bellucci, *op. cit.*, Tablet VI.





mounted in silver; Saragossa. Said to be amulets; purpose unknown.

(65, VIII.) A globular brownish agate bead, mounted in silver; Seville. Purpose unknown.

(66, VIII.) A piece of clear reddish agate or cornelian, mounted in silver, apparently for tying on; Toledo. Purpose unknown; possibly against bleeding.

(67, VIII.) A faceted amber bead; Seville. Possibly from a necklace; possibly an amulet, purpose unknown.

(68, VIII.) A large pendant of a variegated green stone, perforated for suspension; Seville. Said to be an amulet of the Moorish period.

(69, VIII.) An oval tablet of variegated green stone, flat on one side, slightly convex on the other, and with two perforations; Seville. Found with a number of similar ones in the Roman ruins at Italica, and supposed to be an amulet.

AMULETS EMBRACING RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS. (70, VI.) An "electric medal" for the cure of disease, apparently of foreign manufacture, to which a religious flavour has been given by shaping as crosses the various bits of metal of which it is composed; Seville.

(71, V.) A medal of S. George, with the usual inscriptions; Madrid. Similar medals are fairly common; although no definite information concerning them was obtained it may reasonably be assumed that they are probably generally carried by horsemen, as in France and Belgium, as a precaution against accidents.

(72, V.) A medal of the "Three Magi Kings," of brass, and apparently of Spanish workmanship; Madrid. On the obverse the "Adoration of the Magi"; on the reverse, apparently, the "Adoration of the Shepherds." This was the only Spanish medal of the kind found; its specific purpose could not be ascertained. The mediæval custom of naming inns in honour of the "Three Kings," the patron saints of travellers, still exists in Spain.

(73, V.) An old brass medal, much worn, mounted in silver; Toledo. On the obverse, two crowned personages with crosses; on the reverse, what appears to represent a saint bearing a cross. It was said to be used for the cure of infants ill with a certain



nervous trouble, being tied for the purpose upon the upper arm of the patient.

(74, V.) A cake of wax, bearing the symbolical figure of the "Lamb of God" and the name of a Pope, partly beneath glass, in a silver frame, for suspension; Madrid. Apparently a cake of "Agnus Dei" wax from a candle blessed by the Pope at Easter, formerly a highly valued preservative against various evils, and one still considered by many Roman Catholics to be exceedingly efficacious.

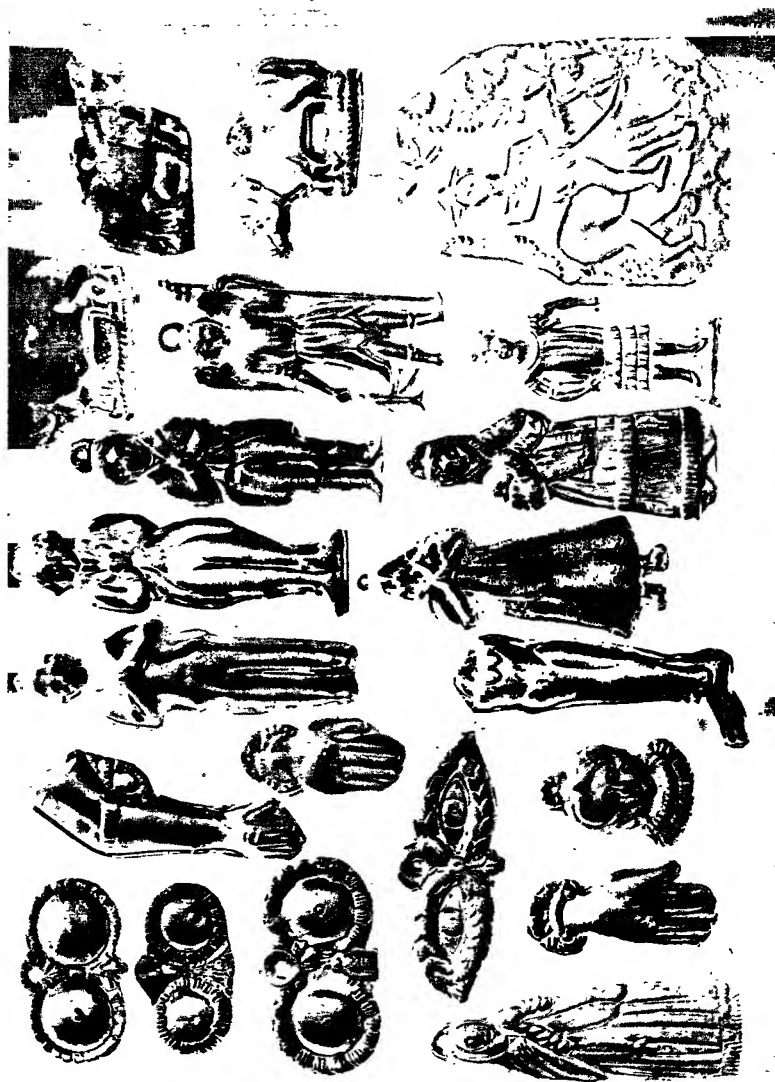
(75*a*, V., and 75*b*, VIII.) Obverse and reverse of a large bronze medal, apparently mystical or magical in origin; Madrid. On the obverse the Trinity, with the symbols of the Four Evangelists; on the reverse human figures, various symbols, and irregularly disposed letters. Probably of the sixteenth century. Of unknown origin and significance; probably not amuletic.

In all the Spanish cities, palm-branches plaited into ornamental designs, are to be seen in prominent positions upon many of the dwellings, and usually fastened to the balconies. These branches, which are renewed each year, have been blessed by a priest on Palm Sunday, and are regarded as being an excellent protection against lightning. A belief in the virtue of the blessed palm (or its equivalent) is, of course, not exclusively Spanish, but is to be found in most, if not in all, Roman Catholic countries.

**GIPSY AMULETS.** There is a large Gipsy colony at Granada, settled upon the Albaicin Hill, just outside of the city proper, which was carefully gone over in the expectation that amulets not employed by the Spaniards would be found. This expectation was, with a single exception, not fulfilled, although the settlement was traversed in the company of one of its principal women, who, assisted by several children, made enquiries of all those who she thought might be wearing amulets. The people seemed to have little hesitation in showing, or in speaking of, their various protections, and many such were exhibited. Religious medals and tiny images of saints, which appear to have almost entirely displaced the former secular amulets, are now worn against the effect of the evil eye, as well as against all other ills.

Horns in particular were asked about, but although their





SPANISH VOTIVE OFFERINGS

employment was freely acknowledged, upon searching all the numerous infants within reach, in the hope of making a sale, only two were found. One of these was of bone, and of the form commonly worn during teething; the other was of twisted glass (Pl. IV., No. 12). Besides these, a second one of bone, of the common type, at that moment not in use, was found. Most of the children examined wore only religious medals.

A number of women wore silver finger-rings set with trochus shell, similar to those worn by the Spaniards (compare SHELLS), called by them, as by the Spaniards, *haba*, but also, so it appeared, less frequently known as "The Eye of S. Lucy." These rings are worn for preservation from headache, *jaqueca*.

Several women wore silver rings set with a small piece of hard white glassy material whose nature could not be determined, and which was not recognised by Spanish residents of Granada to whom it was shown. This substance was said to be the petrified milk of a fish, and to prevent and cure headache and nervous troubles.

(76, V.) A small leaden figure of S. Antony of Padua, worn in contact with the skin, suspended from the neck, by a Gipsy woman, as a protection against all manner of ills; Granada.

(77, V.) A silver medal of S. Angustias (the patron saint of Granada), worn by an infant against all manner of ills; Granada. A favourite medal.

(78, IV.) A silver finger-ring set with a piece of a hard white substance (see above); Granada.

W. L. HILDBURGH.

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#### SPANISH VOTIVE OFFERINGS. PLATE IX.

*Ex votos* are still very extensively employed in Spain. The majority are made in moulds, of wax, of white metal, or of silver, and are bought, but some are made by the givers themselves. They are commonly very rudely executed, the ordinary ones of wax being cast, and those of metal stamped from very thin sheets. They take the forms of persons praying—men, women, or children; of parts of the human body—heads, eyes, hands, arms, or legs; and of domestic animals—donkeys, horses, pigs, or

oxen. They are called "*milagros*" ("miracles"), and are usually given after a cure has followed the application to a saint. Of such those shown on Pl. IX. are all, except the silver Archangel Raphael and the silver standing child, of cheap white metal, and, with one exception, standard types. The exception, which shows a man riding, was made, probably, by or especially for the giver, and may commemorate a safe journey.

In some cities the silversmiths sell, besides the metal *milagros*, tiny roughly made silver offerings, in various symbolical religious designs, which are presented at an altar when a miraculous intercession, generally for a curative purpose, is requested. Two of these, from Granada, are shown on Pl. VI.

W. L. HILDBURGH.

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#### TRAVEL NOTES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

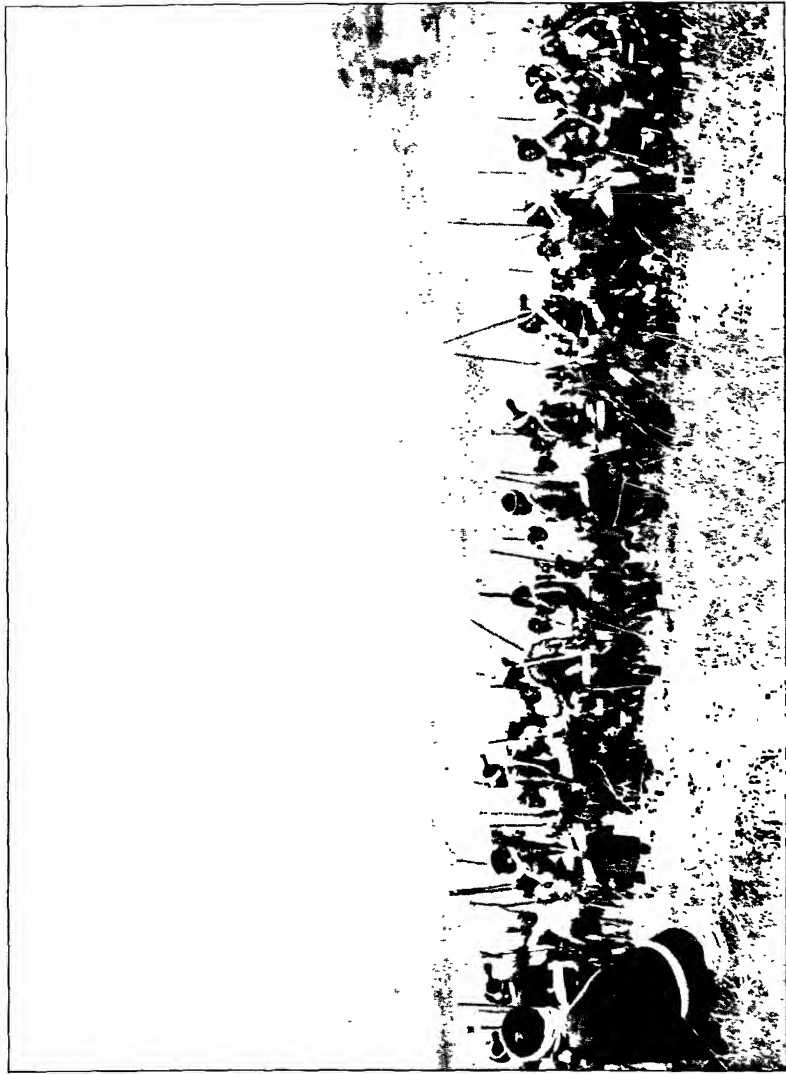
(*Read at Meeting of 16th May, 1906.*)

THE following rough notes record some of the scenes witnessed during the recent visit of the British Association to South Africa, and some of the information obtained from the natives and from British officials in the Native Department of more than one colony.

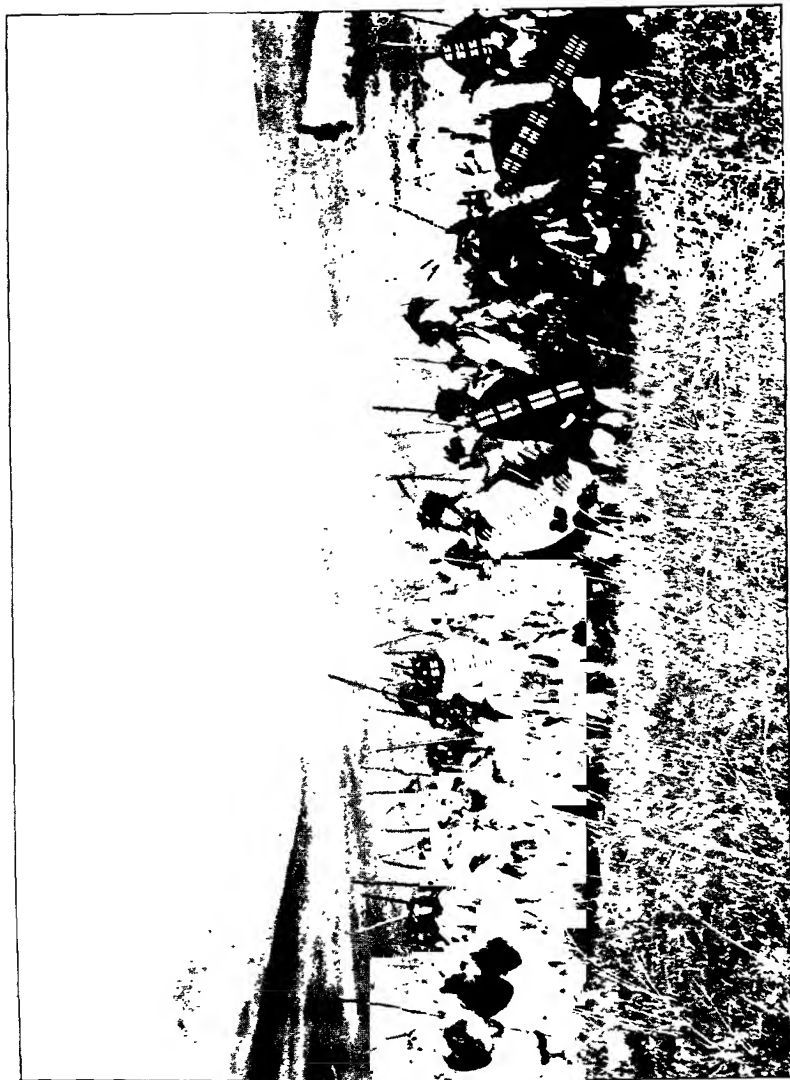
#### A ZULU WEDDING.

On Friday, the 25th August, in the presence of the Governor of Natal as Supreme Chief, at Henley, near Pietermaritzburg, the marriage of Mhlola (whose name means *Prodigy*), Hereditary Chief of the Inadi tribe, with one of the girls of the tribe, was celebrated. A large number of members of the Association and other visitors were present. The day was brilliantly fine and warm, but rather windy.

The Inadi tribe comprises kraals in the following divisions of the Colony, namely, Umgeni, Lion's River, Umvoti, Im-



ZULU WEDDING AT HENLEY · PROCESSIONAL DANCE OF THE AMAMPUMUZA



ZULU WEDDING AT HENLEY: MEN'S DANCE

pendhle, New Hanover, Underberg and Camperdown, with 1748 huts and an estimated population of 7429 persons. There were also present the chiefs and members of two other tribes. The first of these was the Amampumuza tribe, an offshoot of the Inadi, with its chief Laduma (whose name means *It thunders*). This tribe has kraals in Umgeni, Lion's River, Impendhle, New Hanover, Umvoti and Estcourt, with 842 huts and an estimated population of 3500. The other tribe was the Amafunze, described in the programme of the day's proceedings now before me as "an offshoot of the great Ngcobo clan of native tribes in the Colony, with kraals in Umgeni, Lion's River, Umvoti, Upper Umkomanzi, Ixopo, Impendhle and Camperdown Divisions, with 1833 huts, and approximately 7790 people." I am not able to decide exactly the meaning attached to the words "clan" and "tribe." The former is probably used more nearly in the sense in which we ordinarily use the word "tribe," and would thus mean a body owning allegiance to one chief, the heads of what are called "tribes" being subordinate to him. The Amafunze were headed by Umveli (whose name signifies *The Appearer*), their Acting Chief. Here again I have no means of deciding the accurate force of the expression "Acting Chief." It may mean a member of the chief's family appointed by Government during a vacancy of the office, or during the minority of the hereditary chief; or it may mean such a person appointed and acting under native law. The native law has been codified (and in certain particulars modified) under the direction of the Natal legislature.

The ceremony took place on a large open field sloping gently down to a stream. Each of the chiefs approached in turn with his procession of tribesmen and women. Most of them were dressed in purely native costume. They carried shields, but instead of assegais they bore tall wands. When they came before the visitors within what was considered respectful distance, they faced them and gave the Royal Salute to the Governor as supreme chief. This consisted of a long whistle and then a roar, and was given not only to the Governor but to the chiefs who were on the field. Umveli, who I think came first, and his people, after saluting, danced their tribal dance and



accompanied it with a chant. They then withdrew to a little distance aside, to make way for the procession of Laduma and his people, who went through in their turn the same performance. The chants used were tribal songs. The words of the chant by the Amampumuza tribe were, "We have thrashed all the nations of the world," repeated over and over again. During the dancing, princesses of the tribe and women of high rank, generally far from young, decked out in native finery, passed singly to and fro in front of the ranks of dancers with a peculiar swimming motion, and appeared to egg them on to further efforts and excitement.<sup>1</sup>

Laduma and his people withdrew when Mhlola, the bridegroom, and his procession advanced. They went through the same formalities. The bridegroom then sat down, and the bride's party approached. First her father and a number of men related to him and the bride came to the spot where the bridegroom was seated with his personal attendants, and performed an introductory dance. When they retired, a number of girls, the companions of the bride, came forward and danced in the bridegroom's presence. They were afterwards joined by the marriageable girls of the tribe, and a further dance was performed. Up to that time the bride had not made her appearance. She presently joined the party and danced with them. In a short time, however, she emerged with a companion on the left of the ranks of dancers, two other girls emerging at the same time on the right. All four, moving towards the bridegroom, performed a special dance of their own, and fell back into the ranks of their comrades. The whole body then retired, escorting the bride again to her position before she joined them.

At this point the bridegroom's go-between, probably his brother or uncle, who had conducted the negotiations for the match and arranged the amount of *lobola* to be paid for the bride, stepped forward and performed various antics or dances, in order to show his pleasure. Thereupon the bride presented him and his companions with an umbrella apiece, at the same time presenting one also to the bridegroom.

<sup>1</sup> See Plate X, which shows the women passing in front of the ranks of men. The chief's hoe-like sceptre or symbol is seen in the centre.



ZULU WEDDING AT HENLEY · MEN'S DANCE.



ZULU WEDDING AT HENLEY. THE BRIDE AND HER COMPANIONS.

All was now ready for what we should call the operative part of the ceremony, though the ceremonial slaughter of the cattle provided for the feast would rather be that which, according to native ideas, would seal the marital relation. In the Native Code of Natal it is provided that a Marriage Officer appointed by Government must be present as official witness to legalise every native marriage. The object of this is not merely to obtain proper evidence of the marriage, but to protect the bride from being forced into a marriage against her will. In the present case Mhlola was a young man. He was marrying a girl of his tribe, with the intention of making her his Chief Wife; and there can be little doubt it was a love-match. In his intention of making her his Chief Wife, however, he was reckoning without his host. He was marrying beneath his rank; and by-and-by it is quite possible that the under-chiefs and nobles may require him to degrade her and to take a lady of princely status to be his Chief Wife. No doubt she knew the risk, and was prepared to run it.

Mhlola sat with his back to us, and his men spread out in long ranks behind him. The bride and her party, men and women, stood in similar fashion lower down the field, facing the chief and his men. The marriage officer (who was a native), advanced towards her and in a loud voice put the usual questions. When asked if she consented of her own free will to be married to Mhlola, she replied: "Ten head of cattle have been given for me." This was no answer. The question was therefore put again. Again she showed a woman's capacity for avoiding a direct reply, while conveying the necessary meaning. "I love him," was all she said. This appearing satisfactory, she advanced and spread a mat before him, praying him to be seated upon it. He complied, and she then put round his neck and his waist bead circlets which she herself had made for him. The presentation of other gifts followed. It is said to be usual for the bride to present the bridegroom with things as civilised as a washing-basin and soap, "in token of her submission to him and her preparedness to attend to his needs." Whether this was done on the occasion in question I do not know, as the crowd around the chief was too great for me to see at the moment. The

bride, however, did give a chair to him, as well as to his mother, and, I think, to some other women of his relatives. Her attendants also brought forward trunks full of clothes and other articles of the white man's production, which she likewise distributed to the bridegroom's mother and other kinswomen.

The proceedings up to that point had taken some two or three hours. I was called away from the field, and though I returned for a short time, there was then a sort of pause in the proceedings, and I can report little more from personal observation.

It is usual that the bride's father returns an ox out of the *lobola*, and sometimes he adds other cattle. These usually stand by in view of the assembly while the bride is making her gifts. The bridegroom and his party then rise, move forward and perform a short dance. The programme with which we were furnished, and which was prepared by the Native Affairs Department, proceeds: "Upon the completion of this preliminary dance, which is done without the usual ornaments, the bridegroom's party retire to dress themselves, in order to return shortly thereafter and perform the real marriage-dance. In the interval the bride is to run away, to be chased and captured by other girls of the bridegroom's party and brought back. This is done in order to ensure the giving of more cattle on account of the bride, and also to elicit the fact as to whether she is cared for or not by the bridegroom's party; because, if she is not cared for, they will not pursue her, and she will be allowed to go home. The bridegroom's party will thereafter come up in full dress, and dance. This dance being completed, announcements will be made as to the position to be filled by the bride, and a stick, adorned at the head with catskin [not, of course, the skin of the domestic cat, but a native animal], will be handed to her as an emblem of her position, and the tribe will be told by some prominent native that the chief has now married the mother of the tribe."

I regret that we did not witness these, which were some of the most interesting of the ceremonies; but the day was wearing away and the only trains by which we could get back to Maritzburg were on the point of leaving. A Zulu wedding is



ZULU WEDDING AT HENLEY THE GOVERNMENT MARRIAGE  
OFFICER.



not a matter to be hurried over. The Governor or Supreme Chief had provided cattle to be slaughtered and cooked on the field for the food of the large concourse of natives. The running-down and slaughter of these cattle was proceeding when we left. It was a ceremony such as would have been performed in the old days, when the chief himself would have provided the animals.

In this connection I may mention that, two days earlier, we had witnessed at Mount Edgecombe Sugar Estate, near Durban, a native dance. As at Henley, the natives were for the most part in native costume. They came together in bands, each band from its kraal. A war-dance was first performed. It was of a most exciting description, for the men were gradually wrought up into what looked a perfect fury, dancing, leaping, and yelling. Had they had spears, as they would in their natural condition, instead of thin long sticks or wands which they actually carried, it would have required some amount of nerve to witness it unmoved. An interesting feature of the dance was the issuing forth from the ranks of first one and then another bragging, shouting, leaping, and imitating a real attack upon the foe, acting of course what he was boasting he would do. This is a well-known proceeding in Bantu war-dances; and it is not without magical intent. The women of rank also, as at Henley, paraded singly before the bands of dancers and urged them on.

Many of the dancers were labourers on the Sugar Estate, and the owners had provided three oxen for their food on the occasion. They were brought on the field. It was intended to shoot them; but unhappily at the last moment only small shot could be found to load the guns. Two of them were shot with this, but only dazed. They were then seized by the natives, as they staggered about the field, and killed by knifing them in the spinal column at the back of the head. The third ox broke away, and when we left for lunch was being chased about the field, evidently showing sport. We did not see it killed, but it was doubtless slaughtered in the same way. When we returned to the field, fires of branches had been lighted in various spots. The chief was cutting up the carcasses and distributing the meat. To cook it, all that was necessary was to lay it on the branches



and thus broil it. As a piece got browned on one side, it was turned with two sticks. When it was browned on both sides, though it must have been quite raw within, it was taken off the fire with the aid of these sticks and laid on leaves, to be afterwards consumed. I met a man carrying a big portion of the entrails, which he evidently considered a tit-bit. In the meantime Kaffir beer had been flowing. Dancing was going on no longer by the whole band but in little groups, surrounded by a delighted crowd. Sham fights were being enacted. The fighters were egged on by the crowd, and the fun was growing fast and furious.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to the marriage at Henley, it was understood that the bride's mother was not present, this being forbidden by native custom. The father's presence also is forbidden where the bride is his eldest daughter. The marriage ceremonies vary in detail from tribe to tribe. The description given above is partly from what we actually saw, supplemented from the official programme prepared by the Native Affairs Department; and it exhibits what are stated to be "roughly and generally the customs observed by the native tribes [of Natal] at these weddings."

Many of the native usages are becoming obsolete, as might naturally be anticipated, with the advance of what is called civilisation among the natives. Among such were specially enumerated to us the well-known taboo between the bride and her husband's father, and between the mother-in-law and son-in-law. A striking illustration of the decay of native superstition was displayed as we left the field. We met a native who had a brilliant green *imamba* snake, evidently freshly killed, wound round his body and over his right shoulder, its head fastened behind his back to its tail with a safety-pin. The green *imamba*, a poisonous snake, is the form frequently assumed by deceased chiefs; and I can hardly imagine any Kaffir, however

<sup>1</sup> It should also be mentioned that, in addition to the dances above described, the Village Main Reef Gold Mining Co. were good enough to arrange for a very large native dance by their employees on their ground near Johannesburg. In this dance members of many tribes (notably of Shangaans) took part. A dance by torchlight was also performed later on in Portuguese territory on our way from Umali to Beira. Both of these were very interesting and picturesque.

eager for a personal decoration, daring in the old days to kill and wear an imamba.<sup>1</sup>

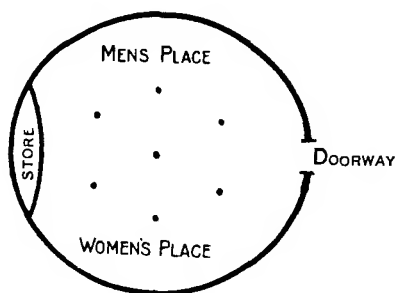
#### VISIT TO A ZULU KRAAL.

On the 26th August, under the guidance of Mr. H. C. Lugg, of the Native Affairs Office, a party of anthropologists visited the Chief Laduma's kraal. It is in the native location of Swartkop. From Swartkop station, a short distance outside Maritzburg, we walked up the hill. When we got to the top we found ourselves overlooking an amphitheatre of hills, with Laduma's kraal on the hill-side a few yards below us, and on the hills beyond were two other kraals. The kraals, as we saw in passing through the country, and as we were also told, are usually placed near, but not on, the tops of hills. Laduma's kraal, like all other kraals here, had the cattle-enclosure (which is properly the *kraal*) in the centre, and the huts stood round it. In this case, however, the huts were few in number, and they did not extend beyond the upper half-circle, leaving the lower open. Formerly the circle of huts would have been enclosed with a stout palisade or fence of mimosa against surprises, but since the British pacification the use of the fence has been discontinued as unnecessary. Formerly, too, the kraals consisted of a much larger collection of huts, the chief gathering his tribesmen together for the sake of defence. Now the tribesmen swarm off more readily to other spots under the immediate rule of lesser chiefs; consequently the kraals are reduced in size. Laduma's cattle-kraal was surrounded by a dry wall of rough stones, the lower side of which was partly broken down. The entrance was on the upper side near the chief's hut. Just outside it, on the right, a fire was built, and there were pots and preparations for cooking. The chief was in fact that day entertaining members of his tribe from a distance on two oxen given to him the day before by the Governor.

<sup>1</sup> See Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, pp. 198, 200, 204, 211.—With regard to the wedding, it will be understood that I have simply attempted to relate what took place at Henley. To point out the variations from the ceremonies at a wedding under more purely native conditions, and to describe the preliminary and subsequent proceedings, are beyond the compass of these notes.

The first sight that greeted us was that of a mother washing her child. She was seated at the back of one of the huts. Taking a mouthful of water from a calabash, she spirted it over the child, and then rubbed the child with her hands, repeating the operation until she had in this way gone over the whole of its body. The child was then set down in the dust again. Behind another hut women were dressing the elaborate cylindrical structures of hair on one another's heads.

The chief hospitably invited us into his hut. It was approximately circular, the internal measurement being about  $22 \times 23$  feet, bee-hive shaped, being made of a kind of wattle-work thatched with reeds. The doorway, which was towards the cattle-enclosure, was so low that it was necessary to creep in. Within, we found it supported on seven small tree-trunks, barked and smoothed, arranged thus :



Opposite the door is a slightly raised place where the pots, calabashes, baskets, and other household utensils are kept. The floor is plastered with earth from termites' nests, making an excellent smooth surface,<sup>1</sup> and a low ridge of the same encloses the raised place just mentioned. Stores of various kinds, including branches and stalks of millet, were hanging from the wattle-work of the roof. There was just room to stand upright in the highest part of the hut. The chief took his place immediately in front of the pot store, on the right side looking from the doorway. That side is the men's side of

<sup>1</sup> The floor is cleansed by smearing it with liquid cow-dung and then wiping it. This makes the surface clean and sweet. We saw a woman thus occupied in one of the huts.

the hut; the left side is the women's. A quantity of Kaffir beer stood beside him in a large pot. We sat down, and while we talked (Mr. Lugg interpreting) Laduma's brother skimmed the beer with a calabash-ladle, and poured some of the liquid from which he had thus removed the scum into another pot, and then covered it with an inverted bowl. Presently he ladled some from this second pot into a calabash and handed it to the chief, who drank and handed the calabash back. His brother then drank and passed the calabash round to us. He was sitting at the chief's right, and he passed the calabash round to the right. It happened that some of us, ignorant of the division of the hut between men and women, had seated ourselves on that side, and to us the calabash was first handed. Whether the direction in which the calabash was passed was accidental or according to etiquette I do not know. Kaffir beer is a thick, sour, greyish liquid.<sup>1</sup> It is composed of a mash of millet fermented in water. Considerable quantities would be required to intoxicate. At festivals, however, considerable quantities are provided, and intoxication follows. Neither its taste nor its appearance is particularly inviting at first; but it is said that a liking for it is easily acquired, and that after exercise on a hot day it is very refreshing—that, in fact, in properties as well as in taste, it approaches buttermilk.<sup>2</sup>

When we emerged once more into daylight (for there are no windows in a Kaffir hut) we found the skins of the newly-slaughtered oxen, each cut in two lengthwise and pegged out at full stretch on the ground, near one of the huts. They were being dressed with knives and axes to reduce them to the proper

<sup>1</sup> The best kind, I am informed, is of a pink or rather terra-cotta shade; but I am describing what I saw and drank.

<sup>2</sup> I may note here that Mr. Franklin White of Bulawayo afterwards informed me that it was a common belief in Rhodesia that Kaffir beer was made towards the East Coast by first chewing the millet and spitting it into a gourd, and that when he was in the United States of Columbia, South America, he was told that Chicha was there made in a similar way out of maize. Compare the making of Kava in the South Seas. A friend learned in Bantu customs informs me this is not the way in which "moa" (= pombi) is made in British Central Africa. There is a good description of the process in Barnes' *Nyanja Vocabulary*, s.v. "Moa."

thickness. Other hides of cattle, previously slaughtered, were undergoing a similar process.

The chief and his native visitors occupied the cattle-kraal. The visitors, who had been executing dances while waiting for dinner, now sat down in parties on different sides of it. We watched him cut up and distribute to them the flesh of the oxen. As he cut off and handed over each piece a roar of thanks followed. The orators got up from time to time and harangued in praise of the chief. His white visitors of course could not follow the remarks of these gentlemen, but they saw enough of Laduma, son of Teteleku, son of Nobanda, chief of the Amampumuza, to feel much interest in him. He is a man apparently of about thirty-five years of age,<sup>1</sup> about middle height, and in spite of the loss of sight in one eye, of a pleasing, good-humoured expression. The one clear brown eye which is left to him flashes in response to the thought or the word of the moment; and his courtly bearing and evident tact, made him, as one of the ladies said, "a most fascinating man."

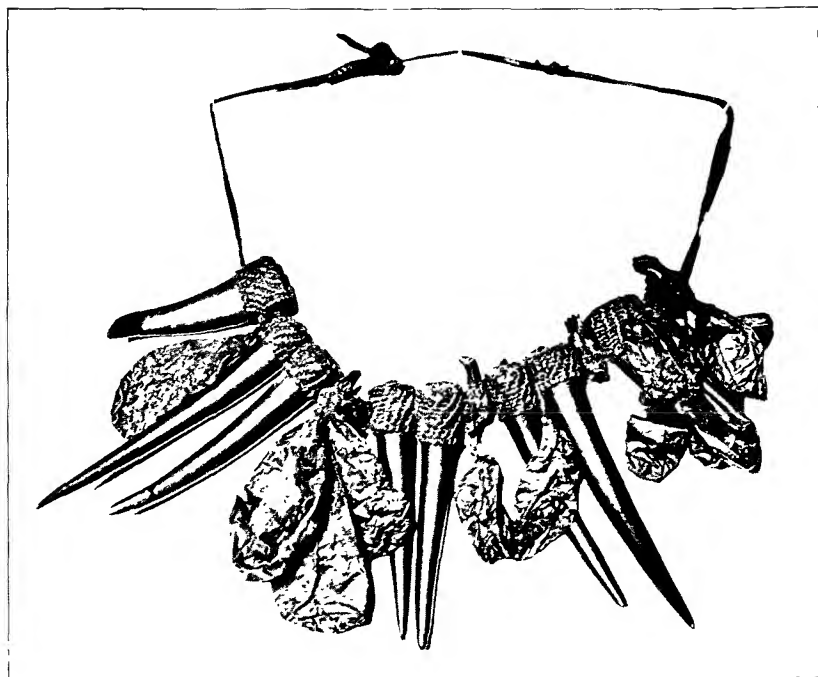
The women do not join the men in their feast. We found them at the back of the huts drinking together, chattering, and laughing. Some of us took photographs. Laduma himself submitted readily to the process, but his ladies objected on the ground, as was explained to us, that "they did not wish anything to be left of them when they were dead."

When Laduma knew that we must go he took us into his hut once more, followed by his wife and some other women. There we sat this time in better order, the white visitors and the men on one side and the native women on the other side. Again we were regaled with Kaffir beer; we expressed our thanks to the chief for his hospitality and our pleasure at the visit, and placed a small present in the hands of the official to be used for the benefit of the chief. As we left the kraal, the chief marshalled his tribesmen, led them out of the enclosure, and, charging round it, halted them before us, made an appropriate speech, and with a ceremonial cheer bade us farewell.

While at the kraal I made enquiries on various matters, through Mr. Lugg, from old men of the tribe. The following

<sup>1</sup>He did not wear the chaplet.





ZULU WITCH-DOCTOR'S NECKLACE.

are notes of the information I obtained. In making a sacrifice, an ox or "beast" is the largest, a goat the smallest offering. Only a rich man can offer a "beast." The usual offering is a goat, but sheep are now also killed. The animal is slaughtered by stabbing the breast. It is allowed to linger while an invocation is pronounced to the spirits of the departed, calling on them for help. They are invoked by turn, beginning with the most recent, and are addressed by name—"So-and-so, son of so-and-so," and so forth. All the departed whom the people remember should be named and the list exhausted before the invocation is finished and the animal finally despatched. If an ox be killed, the people making the offering surround the cattle-kraal and pronounce the invocation before they send for the assegai to stab it.<sup>1</sup> The gall of the slaughtered animal is sprinkled first on the right forefinger, then on the shoulders, and lastly on the navel. If the offering be on the occasion of a marriage, the bride is sprinkled that she may win favour with the spirits, and so obtain children. If it be for a sick person, the patient is sprinkled. In fact, everyone on whose behalf an offering is made is thus sprinkled. A little of the gall is also drunk. The small stomach of the animal killed is hung up at the back of the hut (inside) as an offering for the spirits. Several of the men present at Laduma's feast wore in their hair the gall-bladder of a goat. It was explained to me that if a goat were killed as an offering on account of a son, the son was entitled to wear (or did wear) the gall-bladder. If the goat were killed for a patient, the medicine-man kept the bladder and wore it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Callaway, *Religious System*, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> In such a case I believe the usual custom is for the medicine-man to add it to his collection of amulets worn round the neck. I bought a witch-doctor's necklace at Durban which comprised several. It is figured in Plate XV. The dealer from whom I bought it gave me the following certificate :

"374 West Street, Durban, Natal, 22nd August, 1905.

"The witch-doctor's necklace, made of horns etc., belonged to a Zulu well known to myself. He belongs to a tribe near Tugela. This doctor was on a visit to Durban for the purpose of trading, and was wearing this necklace when I purchased it. He was very unwilling to part with it. Some of the pieces of medicine in the necklace the Zulus use for snake-cure.

F. W. FLANDERS."



I was further informed that when a goat is killed three things are kept: the gall-bladder, the sinews of the back for sewing purposes, and the tail for the chief.

I was shown the place where the chief or head of the kraal is buried, and where consequently Laduma's father and predecessor was laid. It is just inside the entrance to the cattle-kraal, not exactly under the threshold, but a yard or two inside and on the right of the entrance. The women and all who die of pulmonary diseases are buried outside at the back of the hut in which they died. Other members of the kraal are buried at the back and sides of cattle-kraal, but outside it. Sick persons are not removed from the hut before death, but allowed to die in it. I could not ascertain that any opening was made at the back of the hut to take out the body.

#### THE SHANGAANS.

The next day, in going from Maritzburg to Johannesburg, we travelled part of the way with Mr. H. D. Hemsworth, Native Sub-commissioner, Zoutpansberg District, in the Transvaal. He told us that his district chiefly comprised the Shangaans, or Knobneuzen, who belong to the Thonga people. One of their principal clans is that of the *Baperi*, or Duiker clan. After going through the puberty ceremonies the men of this clan wear duiker-skin aprons.

Among the Shangaans, when twins are born, one of them is put to death. Dead bodies are taken out of the hut by a hole at the back, and buried outside at the back, and the hut is then deserted. Sometimes on a death the whole kraal is removed.

Marriage within the clan is favoured. A chief's "great" wife should be his cousin, his father's brother's daughter, and therefore of the blood royal. When a chief wishes to bespeak such a girl for his great wife, he sends a white ox to her parents. Mr. Hemsworth had, a short time ago, to decide a case in which two men claimed the succession to the chieftainship. One of them was the eldest son of the first wife of the chief deceased, and the other the eldest son of another wife, who, he claimed, was the "great" wife. The case turned on

the evidence whether or not the white ox had been sent by the deceased to the wife's parents before the marriage. This determined whether or not she was the "great" wife.

#### VISIT TO A MANYIKA KRAAL.

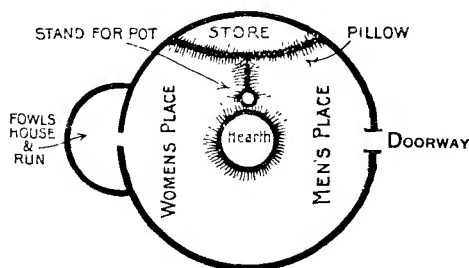
From Umtali, on the 16th September, under the guidance of Mr. H. G. Gouldsbury (Assistant Native Commissioner), we visited a kraal of the Manyika near the Malsetter Road, five or six miles south of Umtali.

The word Manyika means bush-people, country-people. The Manyika are Macharanga, but not pure-bred. They formerly lived in the mountains, but have now been brought down from their fastnesses by the Government, so as to be more under control. I enquired about the organization of the tribe, and was informed that the head or king is called Mambo. This is his title. The present Mambo is named Zimunya. He is not, however, head of all the Manyika; only of the Gindwi division of the Manyika. I could not learn that he recognized any native superior. Subordinate to him are headmen of what Mr. Gouldsbury called sub-districts. I could not ascertain whether this territorial division exactly corresponded with a division of the tribe. This is a point on which further enquiry should be made. The Mambo Zimunya has under him seven headmen of sub-districts, whose native title is Ishe, plural Rishe. The present Ishe of the sub-district to which the kraal we were visiting belonged was named Mtanda. Subordinate to the Ishe is the Samsha, or head of the kraal. The Samsha whom we visited was Gutukunuwa.

The native settlement is not built in the regular manner of the Zulu kraal, but in detached groups of huts a few hundred yards apart. It is situated in a beautiful wooded valley, the groups of huts being placed in small clearings.

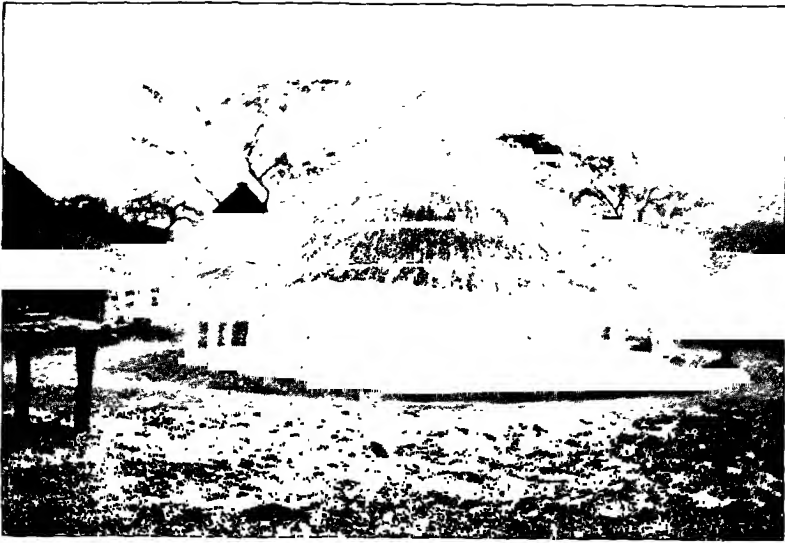
The huts are of palisades or branches of trees stuck upright in the ground close together, with pointed thatched roofs. The roof overhangs, and is supported in front by posts like a verandah. The walls are plastered with mud (or termites' earth?) inside. The better houses are also plastered outside, and have the overhanging roof with supports all round. At the side of each hut

is a small fowls' run with access from the hut. The better houses have the fowls' house plastered outside. The doorway of the hut is, like that of all other Bantu huts, low. It is closed with a door of solid timber, or of reeds. There are no interior props in the hut. The hearth is in the middle of the hut, enclosed with a raised rim of mud or termites' earth, hard and smooth like the floor, about two inches high. On the right side looking from the door is a place where implements, etc. are stored, marked off with a similar rim, forming an arc and joining the side of the hut at its two ends. This rim, we were informed, was used as a pillow. From its centre, a little way towards the centre of the hearth, a branch rim runs, the end of which, conveniently near to the fire, is made into a circle used as a stand for a pot. This figure will make the description clearer.



The women lie in the inner part of the hut beyond the fire ; the men on the side of the fire nearer the door. Grain is stored in circular grain-stores, made of wattle-work, plastered with mud and raised from the ground on a scaffold, or frame-work of wood. We saw women building some of these. Others were standing hard by, completed and probably in use.

The women are elaborately scarred over the body and on the face ; and many of them wear in the upper lip a labret called *imanda*. I bought one of these, made of the central whorl of a marine gasteropod shell, probably a conus, ground smooth, about 51 mm. long and 14 mm. in diameter. They are worn standing out straight in front. Both men and women wear a number of brass wire bangles. The Manyika do not circumcise.



MACHARANGA VILLAGE NEAR UMTALI, RHODESIA.



GRAIN-STORE IN MACHARANGA VILLAGE.



I made enquiries, through Mr. Gouldsbury, as to some of their customs, and was informed that a sick person is allowed to die in the hut and not removed before death. When dead, he is taken out by the ordinary door and buried "far away" on the veld. There is no ceremony at burial, but about three months later there is a "drink." In case of a chief (*Mambo*), a head of cattle is killed, for a common man a fowl or a goat is killed, on this occasion. The hut is not pulled down or abandoned on a death. If the deceased were a married man, his nearest in blood would take over the widow and the hut. Succession is traced exclusively through males.<sup>1</sup>

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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<sup>1</sup> I have had little opportunity for comparing the foregoing extracts from my notes with the information previously collected by travellers, missionaries and others, and scattered in a hundred volumes. Possibly, even probably, there may be little new in them. They are however, a brief record of some of the things seen and heard in a memorable, but all-too-hurried, visit to a land of deep and abiding interest.

I should like to add that the warmest thanks of the anthropologists who had the privilege of being members of the party are due especially to the officials of the Native Departments of the various Colonial Governments, and to Mr. Newton, the Acting Administrator, and the Government officials of Rhodesia, for all their trouble and often for their patience under the fire of cross-examination to which we mercilessly subjected them. Several of these gentlemen have been named above, but we were hardly less indebted to others. One and all were not merely courteous, but tireless; anxious to ascertain what we wanted to know and see, and to gratify us accordingly. Their kindness will not easily be forgotten.

I am indebted to Mr. Henry Balfour for permission to reproduce the photographs of the wedding at Henley, Plates X. to XIV., and to Dr. H. W. Marett Tims those of the Macharanga village and grain store, Plate XVI.

## REVIEWS.

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MYTHES ET LÉGENDES D'AUSTRALIE : ÉTUDES D'ÉTHNOGRAPHIE  
ET DE SOCIOLOGIE. ARNOLD VAN GENNEP. Paris, E.  
Guilmoto, N.D. [Preface dated November, 1905.]

THE author of *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar* has here sought to put the French public in a position to judge of the problems raised by recent discoveries on the sociology and religious beliefs of the natives of Australia now under discussion among anthropologists. The method employed is to give translations from the English of all the most important traditions, preceded by a general introduction occupying half the volume, in which the problems are subjected to a full and critical consideration. A bibliographical notice enumerates as the works most frequently consulted those of Brough Smyth, Curr, Mrs. Langloh Parker, Spencer and Gillen, Howitt, and Roth, and contains critical strictures upon them.

On the whole the conclusions adopted are those of Dr. Frazer, whom M. van Gennep defends against Mr. Lang's attacks, himself attacking in turn M. Durkheim's view of Australian sociology. After an account of the somatic and cultural type of the natives and an excellent discussion of the value of cultural types (as embodied in various practices, the use of certain implements, and so forth) in determining ethnic relations, he considers the different systems of filiation. This naturally involves a pronouncement on the relative primitivity of the Arunta. Though he is careful to characterize the conclusion of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen to this effect as still only an hypothesis, he argues in favour of it and evidently accepts

it as the best explanation of the facts so far as they are known.

No complete account of Australian sociology can be rendered until the tribes of the vast territory comprised in West Australia have been explored. Until that is done conclusions as to the march of culture and the relative primitivity of the tribes are insecure. Still we may under this reserve form an opinion as to the position of the Arunta in Australian civilization. I am in the unfortunate position of agreeing wholly with neither party to the controversy. I admit that the Arunta possess primitive traits. The office and authority of Headman is undeveloped as compared with many of the tribes to the South and South-East. The knowledge of the physical relation between a child and its father, which is well understood by many other tribes, is wanting. On the other hand, the social organization on the basis of father-right (despite M. van Gennep's interesting argument), the eight matrimonial classes, the extraordinary multiplication of the ceremonies, and their quasi-private ownership, the totemic anomalies and the wealth of myths (largely ætiological) are to my mind all evidences of advance. If, as Messrs. Spencer and Gillen think, changes always come from the north, then the Urabunna to the south of the Arunta should be more "primitive" than the Arunta. Now they are still in the stage of mother-right, they present something like what we are acquainted with elsewhere as the ordinary features of totemism, and they have the Piraungaru relation, which is certainly more "primitive" than the Arunta individual marriage. That some ceremonies do travel from north to south we know. For example, the corroboree of Molonga has travelled within the last fifteen or twenty years from the Worgaia to the Dieri and even further.<sup>1</sup> Whether that dance, however, originated among the Worgaia we do not know. The straw-bottle-envelope-shaped helmets of which Dr. Roth speaks as worn by the performers, and which are shewn in the illustration by Dr. Howitt, are worn at ceremonies by the Warramunga, and are shewn several times in Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's *Northern Tribes*.

<sup>1</sup> From the Dieri it seems to have gone not only southward but also north-westward. Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 787.



The words sung during the dance were unintelligible at Roxburgh, less than two hundred miles from the Worgaia. Dr. Roth has reported them from two sets of performers ninety miles apart, and their language and meaning have yet to be identified. Until this is done we cannot determine what tribe invented the dance. Meanwhile, the evidence of the helmets and the inexhaustible fertility of the Central Tribes in ceremonies justify a suspicion that its native place will be found somewhere among them, rather than further to the north.

It is not merely in ceremonies that the Central Tribes are prolific. M. van Gennep himself notes that the theory of reincarnation becomes more and more elaborate in its details according as we go from the circumferent tribes towards those of the centre. How are we to interpret this? Are the elaborate details current in Arunta belief an integral part of the belief, and have they been peeled off onion-wise by the circumferent tribes as they departed more and more from the "primitive" condition of the Arunta? Or have the Arunta elaborated a belief general in the lower culture and not entirely absent even from the highest? It is beyond doubt that the latter is the case. The theory of reincarnation in the form held by the Arunta is closely connected with the sacred objects known as Churinga. These are nothing but a kind of bull-roarer, usually made of stone, though sometimes of wood. "In all of the tribes with which we are acquainted," say Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, "we meet with Churinga or their equivalents, but it is in the central area only that we find them intimately associated with the spirit parts of the different individual members, and carefully treasured up and hidden away from view in the *Ertnatulunga* or sacred store-houses of the various local totemic groups." It is admitted by these authors that beliefs and practices peculiar to the central area are found at their greatest development among the Arunta, and as we recede from the Arunta these peculiar beliefs and practices connected with the Churinga grow fewer and less important. North-eastward in the Worgaia tribe, they say, "we meet, so far as we have been able to discover, with the last traces of the Churinga—that is, of the Churinga with its meaning and significance as known to us in the true central tribes, as

associated with the spirits of Alcheringa ancestors." It is interesting to find Dr. Roth reporting independently that certain of the Queensland tribes, though they use small bull-roarers as play-things, are obliged to have recourse to the Worgaia for the more elaborate implements they want for the more serious purposes of love-charms and the initiation ceremonies;<sup>1</sup> and from the Worgaia the use of these implements, at all events as love-charms, has been learned. That is to say, both their manufacture and their magical if not their religious use are derived from the outlying central tribe of the Worgaia. Indeed, upon the Tully it is believed that they have only been introduced within recent times.

The question would take too much space to argue here at length, as M. van Gennep does; but I may say that I am wholly unconvinced by his arguments, and it seems to me the only possible conclusion is the converse of that enunciated by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen and by himself. The greater the development of the Arunta in the respects enumerated, the wider seems to me their departure from any condition that can be described by the term "primitive." Messrs. Spencer and Gillen find it "more easy to imagine a change which shall lead from the present Arunta or Kaitish belief to that which exists among the Warramunga," and from that to the beliefs of the tribes further away, than the converse. The statement is made specifically of the belief in the connection between the Churinga and the ancestors of the Alcheringa; but I think the authors will admit that it represents their mental attitude to the beliefs and social institutions of the Central Tribes in general. To me, on the contrary, the facts they record raise difficulties in the way of their conclusion which at present appear insurmountable.

I have dwelt upon this question of the relative primitivity of the Arunta because it is one of the main issues raised in M. van Gennep's carefully reasoned introduction. There are many other points deserving of attention on which I am happy to find myself more nearly in agreement with the author. He defends

<sup>1</sup> This latter, however, is not quite clear, though it seems implied. Cf. Roth, *Ethnol. Studies*, 129 (s. 215), and *Bull. v., Superstition, Magic and Medicine*, 24 (s. 87).

with force and justice the explicit statements of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen as to the physiological views of the Arunta on the subject of conception. His analysis of the native ideas on what he denominates magico-religious power—what has elsewhere been called *orenda* and *mana*—is acute and interesting. He insists on the intimate relation between myth and rite. When he comes, however, to deal with the myths, he analyses them somewhat too curiously, applying criteria to them which would occur only to an educated European—the very fault he finds with Dr. Frazer and Mr. Lang in reference to other matters. He is puzzled, for instance, by the hybrid nature of the animals brought on the scene. Sometimes they act as animals pure and simple; sometimes they are described as making use of human implements and weapons; sometimes they appear as the ancestors of the present race of human beings; sometimes, on the contrary, they are descended from former races of men. The author distinguishes two native theories of evolution; and when he cannot avail himself of these, he explains the animals on very slender grounds merely as representatives of totemic clans. The fact is that the stories originate in the interpretation of the external world by the savage thinker in the terms of his own consciousness—an interpretation he could not escape with the limited knowledge he possessed. He could not and did not draw the line we now draw between humanity and other forms of being. Moreover, his habitual vagueness of thought and want of logical coherence rendered him unconscious of the contradictions in his speculations. Hence to seek explanations and distinctions is very often to seek what really cannot be found.

As M. van Gennep properly points out, the stories are not all ætiological. But their historical value is very small. M. van Gennep lays stress on the fact that, perhaps with one exception, no recorded legend attempts to explain the most important characteristic of totemism, namely, the sexual and alimentary taboos, although plenty of them represent the ancestors as acting exactly contrary to the present rules in freely eating the totemic animal or vegetable and having sexual relations with persons of their own totems; yet the contradiction neither puzzles nor astonishes the natives. There is good reason why the Arunta

legends should not explain the sexual taboo, seeing that it does not exist in that tribe. In any case it is a large deduction to draw from the premises, to conclude with M. van Gennep that the mode of life ascribed to the ancestors in the Alcheringa—beings who are conceived as living under conditions by no means the same as those of the present day, and who in a large number of cases are not differentiated from the animals whose names they bear—"must correspond to a mode of life formerly real." Besides, it does not solve the difficulty, since the transition to the present totemic regulations would still remain to be explained, and this the stories do not attempt to do.

The collection of tales which follows the critical introduction is handy even for English readers. The references to the originals are conscientiously given; the notes are often decidedly useful. So far as I have tested the translation, it is fairly accurate. The most important mistake I have noticed is on p. ii. of the introduction, where M. van Gennep has presented Dr. Roth's "some man may have told her to be in an interesting condition" as *un homme lui a affirmé qu'elle était enceinte*. The difference between a command and an affirmation is in the circumstances not very serious: in both cases an exercise of magical power is involved.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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THE CULT OF THE HEAVENLY TWINS. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., D. Litt. (Dubl). Cambridge University Press. 1906.

IN this book the author sets forth the view that the cult of the Heavenly Twins is one of the oldest religions, if not the oldest, in the world. The heavenly brethren with whom the plain man of to-day is most familiar are the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, or Pollux, the one mortal, the other rendered immortal by Zeus. Former investigators of the statement that

the Twins were mortal and immortal have traced the idea to an early belief that the morning and evening star, from which the cult is supposed to have originated, were really two stars. At a later period came the removal of the brethren to the zodiacal sign. But Dr. Rendel Harris takes back the idea of the mortal and immortal brothers to indefinite ages before the invention of the Zodiac or the rise of astronomical investigation. He shews the ubiquity of the ancient cult, and of the functions ascribed to the Twins. He begins with the present-day beliefs and customs of savage races. On the first-hand testimony of missionaries we learn that among the Essequibo Indians the occurrence of twins is regarded as preternatural and uncanny. One of the twins must needs be the child, not of its true father in the flesh, but of a sort of vampire or disembodied spirit called Kenaima. It follows that the child has a malign influence and must be destroyed. Here is a parallel to the double siredom of the Dioscuri. Among the tribes of West and South Africa is found a variety of attitudes towards twins. In some tribes they are reckoned lucky, but the prevailing view is that they are unlucky. In this case the destruction of both children and mother is common, though the mother sometimes escapes with banishment. Sometimes one child only is destroyed. Further, there are traces of the belief that twins are unnatural, and hence we find them spoken of as "children of the sky." In certain localities, again, where twins are welcomed as of good omen they have fixed names, and in some cases they are honoured with monthly worship.

This widespread superstition among savage peoples of different parts of the globe points to the conclusion that the origin of twin worship was the same all over the world. Twins were a phenomenon outside the ordinary course of nature, and their occurrence was an uncanny event for which a preternatural cause must be assigned. This appears to be a perfectly sound and common-sense deduction.

Dr. Rendel Harris goes on to shew the wide diffusion of Dioscurism amongst the ancients. It is found in a variety of forms among the Greeks, Phœnicians, Indians, Persians,

Romans, and Syrians. He sees traces of it in the Old Testament. The pillars set up in the Temple by Solomon and called Jachin and Boaz were Dioscuric. The three men who appeared to Abraham and delivered Lot from Sodom were Dioscuri. This identification is superficially tempting; but here we feel that the argument is becoming somewhat *a priori*. If there is a theophany recorded in the Old Testament which contains a suggestion of Dioscurism, it is surely that described in Josh. v. 13 ff. The 'Captain of the Lord's host' irresistibly recalls the Great Twin Brethren and the battle of Lake Regillus. But then he is only one, whereas, had the cult in question had any currency among the Hebrews, it is strange that a writer of legends should have so barely missed introducing it here.

We pass on to the chapters in which the author deals with Twins in the Calendar, a subject which he has already exploited in *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*. And here, looking at the case as impartially as we can, we cannot follow him in his main contention, viz. that almost all the pairs of saints in the Calendar who have like-sounding names, or to whom are assigned functions analogous to those exercised by the Dioscuri, are myths invented by the Churchmen for the purpose of supplanting a local cultus of the Twins. We are far from denying that in some cases the early hagiologists have embellished their stories of the martyrs with reminiscences of classic folk-lore. We think that Dr. Rendel Harris has shewn that. But having discovered it, he is inclined to look at everything through Dioscuric spectacles; and he fails at times to allow due weight to the independent investigations of impartial scholars. The note of confidence which rings throughout the book is pitched somewhat too high, nor are the lights and shades of probability sufficiently emphasised. Dr. Rendel Harris has apparently as little doubt that the inscription upon one of the great columns at Edessa (of which more just now) mentions the Twins as he has about the Dioscuric character of Romulus and Remus. Among the pairs of saints whom he maintains must be 'baptized' Dioscuri are Nearchus and Polyeuctes. Polyeuctes must be the Christian form of Polydeuces; he is

therefore a Dioscure, even though Nearchus is not his brother. This name however was, on Dr. Rendel Harris' showing, a common one in Asia Minor; and Mr. F. C. Conybeare in his *Monuments of Early Christianity* maintains that our Polyeuctes (he of Melitene) was a real person, and that the early extant *Acts* of him contain portions of a still earlier, probably authentic, narrative of his martyrdom. The *Acts* of another pair whom Dr. Rendel Harris will have none of, *i.e.* Donatianus and Rogatianus, are held to be genuine by so impartial a critic as Prof. Bardenhewer; those of Phileas and Philoromus, who ought according to analogy to be Dioscuri, are accepted by both Bardenhewer and Harnack; whilst an apparently genuine *Passion of St. Dioscurus* has recently been discovered by Dom Quentin in two Latin MSS. of the British Museum. But even in the case of saints whose *Acts* are partly or even wholly legendary, are there no other hypotheses which will account for them, and at the same time allow for the manysidedness of human nature and the complexity of human motives, apart from the assumption that general and reckless mendacity was a leading characteristic of the early Christians? Dr. Rendel Harris is compelled by his theory to bring this charge against men of such high character as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. It is not as though the burden of blame could be laid upon the much-abused Middle Ages. The fourth century martyrologies contribute their quota of names which a little ingenuity might easily convert into Dioscuri. The names of Perpetua and Felicitas have an artificial appearance, and if our information about them were little less reliable and precise they might easily have been added to the Dioscuric catalogue. We should be interested to hear Dr. Rendel Harris' account of our own Hengist and Horsa. To allow that in the *Acts* of martyrs there were sometimes introduced features borrowed from pagan myths is quite another thing from asserting that the veneration and invocation of the martyrs was not of native Christian growth and a spontaneous product of the belief in the resurrection and future life. We recommend those who are anxious to have some hints on the manner in which early, very early, and genuine *Acts* of Martyrs were composed to read the

*Passion of S. Perpetua* in Dean Robinson's edition (*Texts and Studies*), and to study the learned editor's Introduction, especially on p. 26 ff.

We turn to the East, to Edessa. A Dioscuric cult existed in pagan and early Christian times in that city. Prof. Burkitt, however, has shewn that the inscription on one of the two great columns on the Citadel does not, as Dr. Rendel Harris believed, contain any allusion to the Twins; and we understand that his proofs have been accepted by Dr. Rendel Harris. It is questionable, moreover, whether the pillars were twin monuments at all. We do not yet know that they are not merely the chance survivors of a larger number.

There remains the strange feature in the Gnostic *Acts of Judas Thomas* by which the hero of the *Acts*, Judas Thomas, is made to be the twin brother of Jesus. The story certainly contains a strong suggestion of Dioscurism; but it may be doubted whether the author set out with the purpose of substituting Jesus and Judas for the Dioscuri. There are traces of Docetism in the *Acts*. Moreover, there are solid grounds for assigning the *Acts* in their original form to the school of Bardaisan. St. Ephraim, in his commentary upon the apocryphal Corinthian letters (which were included under St. Paul's name in the Syriac Canon of the fourth century), says that Acts of Apostles had been written by this school, having told us just before that the errors of the Daisanites included a Docetic view of the Incarnation. Now, one of the characteristic features of early Docetic writings, especially of Acts of Apostles, was the appearance of Christ in a variety of forms. When we remember that the name Thomas means 'Twin' we seem to have a satisfactory answer to the question, why does Christ appear as the twin brother of Judas Thomas? But what of the name *Judas*? Did the author of the Acts purposely add this in order to have a Dioscuric pair of names, Judas and Jesus, and further, perhaps, to give the name Thomas its full Dioscuric force by converting it into a mere *kunnāyā*, or descriptive epithet? The facts do not point in that direction; for we find the double name, Judas Thomas, in the Sinaitic MS. of the Old Syriac version at Joh. xiv. 22 substituted for



'Judas, not Iscariot,' while the Curetonian MS. has simply 'Thomas,' evidently a relic of the reading just mentioned. We know, moreover, that in the Old Syriac version Barabbas was called *Jesus* Bar-Abba; and, as Prof. Burkitt has pointed out, "it was also the reading of Origen, and there is good reason for thinking that it stood in the immediate archetype of B" (the best Greek MS. of the Gospels). May we not suppose that the reading in Joh. xiv. 22 had a similar tradition behind it?

Dr. Rendel Harris has set forth his thesis in a highly attractive and readable form, and with not less learning than skill. He has thrown much light on obscure subjects, and opened up many questions of extraordinary interest, but until most of these questions have received even more careful and minute investigation he can scarcely claim to have said the last word on the subject of the Dioscuri in the Christian Calendar.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

THE JATAKA, OR STORIES OF THE BUDDHA'S FORMER BIRTHS.  
Vol. V. Translated by H. T. FRANCIS, M.A. Cambridge:  
1905.

WITH this volume the great Cambridge edition of the Jātaka approaches conclusion. The sixth and last volume is in progress under the capable hands of Dr. Rouse. The present instalment is perhaps not quite so interesting as some of its predecessors. It includes a larger proportion of stupid verse, and the editor has not been very diligent in hunting up parallels from Indian and general folk-lore. But the translation is admirably done, and, as will be seen, the book contains much of interest to the student of Indian beliefs and superstitions.

Thus (p. 6) we have the legend of the discovery of strong drink. The birds drop grains of paddy from a tree, which falling into water, ferment; the birds and other animals drink of

it and become intoxicated; the cats drink and fall asleep, while the rats bite off their ears, noses, teeth, and tails. The new discovery ruins the people, and their destruction is checked only when the Master appears and orders the king to abstain.

In Jâtaka, No. 513 (p. 11), we have one of the two cannibal stories which are perhaps the best in this volume. In the first, a female Yaksha carries off a royal infant, rears the boy as her own, and teaches him to eat human flesh. In course of time the man-eater captures his brother, the reigning prince, but releases him on condition that he returns and surrenders himself as soon as he redeems his promise to reward a Brahman who had recited some verses in his honour. When this duty is discharged, the son of the prince offers himself as a victim in lieu of his father, on which the man-eater, who is now recognised as the king's brother, is converted and becomes an ascetic. Incidentally we are told (p. 18) that "the eyes of ogres are red and do not wink; they cast no shadow." It is also noted by the editor (p. 248) that the only cases of cannibalism in the Jâtakas are those of men who have been reared by a Yaksha, or who have been Yakshas in a former birth, and he refers to Dr. Grierson's interesting paper on Indian cannibalism (*R.A.S.J.*, 1905). In the second and more elaborate cannibal tale (No. 537, p. 246), the king, who had been a Yaksha or ogre in a previous birth, develops a taste for human flesh, and causes his subjects to be murdered to supply him with his favourite food. When the crime is brought home to him he refuses to abandon his evil ways and is driven out of his kingdom. He takes up his abode in a forest and kills all travellers who pass that way. At length he captures a king who had once been his friend, but as in the former tale, releases him on condition that he performs a promise which he had made to a Brahman. When he surrenders, the man-eater sees the error of his ways and is restored to his kingdom.

No. 514 (p. 201) is the famous Chaddanta or "Six-toothed" Jâtaka, so graphically represented in one of the frescoes of the Ajanta Caves, which can be studied in Mr. Griffith's splendid album of pictures. Here a royal elephant has two wives, one

of whom, owing to an imaginary slight, conceives a grudge against her lord, and subsequently when re-born as the favourite wife of a king, pretends to be sick, and says that she has seen in a dream a six-tusked elephant, whose ivory must be secured for her if she is to recover her strength. At last a bold hunter slays the beast, and when the queen receives the tusks she dies of a broken heart.

In No. 518 (p. 42) we have a curious snake-story. The bird-king, Garuda, enemy of the snakes, finds that his people are now unable to catch them. So he goes to an ascetic, who treacherously worms out of the snake-king the method by which his subjects have hitherto escaped. "When they attack us," he says, "why in the world do they seize us by the head? If the foolish creatures should seize us by the tail and hold us head downwards, they could force us to disgorge the stones which we have swallowed, and so, making us a lighter weight, they could carry us off with them." The ascetic betrays the secret, and Garuda by this means overcomes the snake-king, but in pity releases him, and justice is satisfied by the result of the curse of the snake upon the ascetic, who is swallowed up by the earth to be re-born in hell.

In No. 519 (p. 48) we have a tale of the Griselda type. A king is afflicted with leprosy and retires to a forest. His faithful wife tends him, is pursued by an ogre, and rescued by the Buddha. Her husband, without reason, suspects her virtue, returns when healed of his disease to rule his kingdom, and neglects his wife. Finally he is brought to a sense of his misconduct by the remonstrances of his father, begs for her forgiveness, and restores her to honour.

In No. 531 (p. 141) we have an echo of "Beauty and the Beast." The Beast, a king's son, ill-favoured but supernaturally wise, says he will marry only that princess who exactly resembles an image which he himself has made; he makes another condition, that the bride is not to look on the face of her husband by daylight until she has conceived—a taboo of which other instances might be furnished. When she accidentally discovers how ugly her husband is she leaves him and returns to her father. The prince tries many means to regain her affection, but in vain.

At last the Master arranges that her despised husband shall save her life, whereon she is reconciled to him.

Among miscellaneous matters may be noticed in No. 522 (p. 68) the account of the archer whose arrow traverses the four corners of a square and returns to the hand of its owner—a suggestion of the boomerang which is still used by some of the tribes in South India. In the same tale we have a remarkable episode in which people spit on the matted hair of an ascetic and thus transfer their sins to him, with which the editor aptly compares Dr. Frazer's account of Divine Scapegoats (*Golden Bough*, iii. 120). We meet (p. 101) with an ascetic who is able to prevent rain from falling by looking angrily at the sky; and (p. 142) a very curious device to secure offspring for a childless queen. No. 536 is a quaint account of the wiles of women, in which (p. 239) we have what looks like a survival of polyandry. Here a queen when rescued shares her favours with her husband and her preserver. The matter is so arranged by the councillors on both sides to avoid a war. Both kings were quite content, "and built cities on opposite banks of the river and took up their abode there, and the woman accepted the position of chief consort to the pair of kings."

What I have said will be sufficient to show the value of this volume to all students of folklore, who will look forward to the completion of this great work which they owe to the learning and perseverance of a body of Cambridge scholars.

W. CROOKE.

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SIMLA VILLAGE TALES, OR FOLK-TALES FROM THE HIMALAYAS.

By A. E. DRACOTT. London: John Murray, 1906.

THE announcement of a collection of stories from the lower Himalayas naturally interests Indian folklorists, who hitherto possessed little from that region except the Russian tales of Minaef, which are not readily accessible. Mrs. Dracott has given us a pleasant budget of stories collected at first hand from

women near Simla. She tells us that she refused the aid of a Pahári man who was well versed in the local folk-lore. Though such tales are often naive and deal with subjects taboo in respectable circles in the West, they are not usually grossly indecent in the sense that they are told with an immoral purpose. Unfortunately the authoress seems to be unacquainted with the work done by other collectors in India. If she had studied even such well-known books as the *Wideawake Stories* of Sir. R. Temple and Mrs. Steel, the *Folk-tales from Kashmir* of Mr. Knowles, or Mr. Swynnerton's *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, she would have avoided the risk of repeating tales already familiar. In fact, she seems hardly to have tapped the vein of really indigenous folk-lore, and some of the tales which she prints appear to have been obviously derived from the Plains, where they have been affected by literary contamination. Thus the resemblance between some of her stories and the *Arabian Nights* can hardly be accidental. The tale of "Sheik Chilli," who dreams of wealth and power as he carries his pot of oil which is finally smashed, is our old friend, Al-nashshár, the fifth brother of the immortal Barber. To the same collection may be attributed the tale of "Abul Hussain," which appears to have come direct from Abú al-Hasan, "The Sleeper Awakened," with which Burton's *Supplemental Nights* open. So the "Magician and the Merchant" is based on the "Eldest Lady's Tale," the "First Shaykh's Story," and the "Trader and the Jinni." That of "Bickermanji the Inquisitive" is of the familiar "Forbidden Door" type, and better told in the Arabian version as the "Tale of the Third Kalendar." In the Plains Hindustani translations of the *Arabian Nights* are largely read in almost every bazaar, and thence they have doubtless filtered to the people of the lower hills. The "Dog Temple" story localises in the usual way the well-known "Bethgelert" tale in the Central Provinces. Its literary record in India is as early as the Panchatantra and the Katha Sarit Ságara of Somadeva.

Though considerable portions of the tales here recorded suggest foreign influence, much of interest remains, and we find good examples of familiar incidents—the mango tree giving

sons; revival by means of blood; trees springing from the grave; the separable soul; falling in love with a lock of hair; helpful animals; shape-shifting, and so on.

Mrs. Dracott has obviously acquired the knack of making friends with native women, the best story-tellers, and she tells her stories simply and effectively. But at this stage of her career as a collector she would be well advised to undertake a systematic study of the printed materials. She would thus be enabled to make a more careful selection from the stores at her command, to detect the traces of foreign contamination of the indigenous folk-lore, and so to make her next book more novel and interesting to serious students of the subject.

W. CROOKE.

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THE CHILDHOOD OF FICTION. By J. A. MACCULLOCH. London: John Murray, 1905.

IN this new introduction to the study of folk-tales Mr. MacCulloch closely follows the methods employed by Mr. Hartland in his well-known *Science of Fairy Tales*. Much additional material has been collected, but the principles and conclusions of the earlier writer remain undisturbed. The present book is an attempt to survey the more irrational incidents of folk-tales and to interpret them by the methods of what is now called the "Anthropological School." The author shows that "the key which unlocks their meaning is found in the beliefs and practices of past ages, exemplified still in those of modern savages." He thus follows in his analysis of story cycles a truly scientific method, and he is, as will be seen from the long list of authorities which he has consulted, and to which copious references are given in the footnotes, well equipped for such an arduous undertaking. It would be easy to show that he has not explored some of the byways of storiology, but he does not pretend to quote all the variants

of his tales. It is curious that his bibliography does not include the *Pausanias* of Dr. Frazer, who there accumulates references to many story cycles in his usual encyclopaedic fashion. If the author seems at times hardly to exhibit the deftness with which workers like Miss Cox or Mr. Hartland thread their way through the complicated incidents from which the tales have been built up, his exposition is always lucid and readable.

The book, then, consists of a series of disquisitions on the leading incidents of the corpus of folk-tales—the Water of Life, the Separable Soul, Friendly Animals, Beast Marriages, Cannibalism, as in the tale of the Cyclops, Tabu in Folk-tales, The Clever Youngest Son, the Dragon Sacrifice, and so on. European folk-tales, he remarks, “exhibit traces of two worlds—that of the irrational past, that of the existing present everywhere tending to modify the other; while that other, in turn, has its marvels magnified.” And he traces various strata of influence—the prehistoric, corresponding largely to the beliefs of the modern savage; secondly, that resulting from barbaric civilisation, and the story-teller’s exaggerated conceptions of it; and, last of all, the later strata, consisting of ideas derived either from the new religious beliefs of the time, Buddhist, Mohammedan, Christian, or from the ever-evolving conditions of modern social life. The separate incidents, of which any folk-tale usually contains two or more, were, he suggests, once separate stories. In their origin, he supposes, folk-tales may have had some other purpose than mere amusement; “they may have embodied the traditions, histories, beliefs, ideas, and customs of men at an early stage of civilisation. It was only later that they became mere stories told to amuse, delight, or terrify an entranced audience.” He discards the idea that the centre of diffusion can be limited to India or the East; “it is inevitable that man’s psychic life being everywhere one and the same, similar conditions, social, geographical, etc., will inevitably produce similar ideas, beliefs, and stories.” And “wherever there was communication between race and race, whether by migration, war, and consequent capture of prisoners and slavery, trade or marriage, the stories of one race were bound to be communicated to other races.” He supposes that

there may have been some primitive rhythmic narrative, neither verse nor prose, out of which the ballads on the one hand and folk-tales on the other were evolved. Or in other cases there may have been ballads which degenerated partly or wholly into prose. Even prose tales may have existed from the very first. "A comparison of ballads and folk-tales preserving the same story or incident would do much to elucidate the problem, if pursued over a sufficiently wide field."

In all this there is nothing peculiarly novel or startling. It constitutes the gospel which has long been preached by this Society, and the conclusions which he has reached would have been impossible without the spade-work done by our members within the last generation. Mr. MacCulloch's name does not appear on our members' list, and this possibly accounts for the absence of any special acknowledgment of the Society's work, though many of its publications appear in his bibliography. This Society, at anyrate, gives a hearty welcome to an independent worker who closely follows its recognised methods and uses the stores of material which it has collected.

W. CROOKE.

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RECUEIL DE MEMOIRES ET DE TEXTES PUBLIÉS EN L'HONNEUR  
DU XIV CONGRÈS DES ORIENTALISTES. Pierre Fontana,  
Algiers, 1905.

THIS publication, as its title states, has been issued in connection with the Oriental Congress held in Algiers last year, but the essays were not presented to it. The contents, relating altogether to North Africa, have been written by professors attached to the École Supérieure des Lettres and to the Medersas of Algeria, among whom are many distinguished scholars. This volume is a gift offered to delegates only; other volumes, composed of papers actually submitted to the Congress, will soon be at the disposal of all members.

The collection embraces a great variety of subjects; only those concerning folklore will be discussed here. The first in order



is a description by Monsieur A. Bel of some rites performed by the Mussulmans of Morocco in order to obtain rain in time of drought. Orthodox prayers, called *Istisqua*, are offered, like the Christian rogations, but sympathetic, or more precisely imitative, magic is chiefly relied on, operating by methods similar to those used in many other parts of the world. An instance is found in the Bible (1 Kings xviii. 33), where the prophet Elijah acts as rainmaker.

Another Moroccan usage illustrative of primitive customs, the *Kotba*, a burlesque festival, is described by Monsieur E. Doutté. It is celebrated annually in the spring by the *t'olba* (students) either in the holy and learned city of Fez, or else in the city of Morocco, in whichever of the two the Sultan happens to be residing at the time. The students choose a mock sultan, who is treated regally, even by the real Sultan, for three weeks, when he flies like a thief at midnight. Mr. Budgett Meakin has also described the feast (*The Moors*, p. 312), giving some other interesting details, such as the sale at auction of the somewhat lucrative office, and the release of a prisoner at the mock Sultan's request. One need hardly refer to the *Golden Bough*.

There is one folktale, *Le fils et la fille du roi*, relating the adventures of a wife and her children persecuted by her jealous sisters, a favourite among the few existing plots of popular invention, and widely spread. It is found in the collections of Grimm, Graal, Prohle, Wolf, Cosquin, Andrews, Rivière, Spitta, Straparola, Imbriani, Galland, and Madame d'Aulnoy. Carlo Gozzi made a play from it in *L'Angellino Belverde*, as he also did from another well-known folktale in *Le tre melarance*. The polygamous marriage of our variant, above all with three sisters, renders European influence improbable. Spitta's story, from Egypt, is the most like it. The hero bears the same name, but ours lacks a remarkable incident concerning the ogress. Rivière's story from Kabylia, though nearer locally, has less resemblance. The present one seems genuinely traditional, with a character of its own in the minor incidents. Galland inserted it in his version of the Arabian Nights, but it has not been found in any Oriental text of that work.

Some examples of Semitic influence upon the Egyptian

pantheon are described by Monsieur E. Lefebure. Monsieur A. de Motylinski gives a translation of the creed professed by the heretical Abadhites, called also Kharidjites, the exclusive and intolerant sect which includes the Mozabite race, sometimes styled the "Puritans of Islam," who slew Ali, husband of Fatimah, daughter of the prophet, for his apostasy. Monsieur Leon Gauthier presents Averroes' treatise in favour of religious freethought. In another essay new light is thrown on the ancient geography of North Africa. Monsieur René Basset, Director of the École Supérieure des Lettres in Algiers, contributes, besides the preface, an erudite bibliography, such as few others could write. In sum, the volume may be read with great pleasure and profit, imparting as it does valuable local knowledge of a kind difficult to acquire otherwise, at least so easily and agreeably.

J. B. ANDREWS.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### TWO QUERIES.

Are there any recorded cases in *English* folklore of spooks with feet like birds' feet? I think so, but cannot find a reference.

Further, does anybody know a game called Golowain? if so, in what part of England is it so called, and what is—or is supposed to be—the origin of the name?

A. LANG.

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## LIST OF WORKS DEALING WITH THE "EARLY INSTITUTIONS" SIDE OF FOLK-LORE STUDIES.

(*Supplementing Mr. Rose's brief list, supra, XVII. I. p. 112.*)

*N.B.*—Standard works of a general character such as those of Prof. Tylor and Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) are not included.

**Hartland (E. S.)** *Folk-Lore: What is it and what is the good of It?* 1900. Nutt. 6d.

**Lang (Andrew)** *Custom and Myth.* 1884. Longmans. 3s. 6d.

∴ Although Mr. Lang's work is concerned rather with the folk-lore basis of belief and story he also examines the primitive elements of rites and customs.

**Gomme (G. L.)** *Folk-lore Relics of Early Village Life.* 1883. Elliot Stock. 7s. 6d.

∴ Mr. Gomme's conclusions rest in the main upon a comparison of English and Hindu practices, but the book is rather a study of a hypothetical stage of early institutions generally, than a definite historical study of the institutions of certain races.

### EARLY SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

These have been chiefly studied in connection with the less advanced races. The subjects which have attracted most attention are:—

(a) THE MARRIAGE SYSTEM and the organisation of kindred connected therewith:

**Bachofen.** *Das Mütterrecht.* 1862 (reprinted 1897). 18s.

∴ The chief repertory of facts concerning the matriarchal stage of social organisation.

**McLennan (J. F.)** *The Patriarchal Theory.* 1884. Macmillan. 14s.

——— *Studies in Ancient History.* 1876. Macmillan. 16s.

**Morgan (Lewis)** *Ancient Society.* 1877. Macmillan. 16s.

**Lang (Andrew)** *Social Origins.* 1903. Longmans. 10s. 6d.

**Kohler (J.)** *Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, Totemismus, Gruppenehe Mütterrecht.* 1897. Stuttgart. 6 Mk.

**Post (A. H.)** *Die Geschlechts-genossenschaft der Urzeit und die Entstehung der Ehe.* 1875. Oldenburg. 3 Mk.

**Smith (W. Robertson)** *Marriage and Kinship in Early Arabia.* 1885. Camb. Press. 7s. 6d.

**Westermarck (E.)** *A History of Human Marriage.* 1891. Macmillan. 14s.

**Crawley (A. L.)** *The Mystic Rose.* 1902. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

(b) TOTEMISM, which stands in a connection as yet not clearly defined to the marriage system.

**Frazer (J. G.)** *Totemism.* 1888. Black. 3s. 6d.

∴ Still the chief repertory of facts. Cf. also Kohler's work cited above.

**Spencer (Baldwin) and J. F. Gillen,** *The Native Tribes of Central Australia.* 1899. Macmillan. £1 1s.

——— *The Northern Tribes of Australia.* 1904. Macmillan. £1 1s.

∴ During the last six years the discussions upon Totemism have taken an entirely new direction, thanks to the Australian evidence brought forward in the above two works. The three following should also be studied:

**Howitt (A. W.) and Lorimer Fison,** *Kamilaroi and Kurnai.* 1880. Melbourne. 15s.

**Howitt (A. W.)** *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia.* 1904. Macmillan. £1 1s.

**Mathew (J.)** *Eagle-Hawk and Crow.* 1899. Nutt. 18s.

**Lang (Andrew)** *The Secret of the Totem.* 1905. Longmans. 10s. 6d.

∴ A discussion and examination of the Australian evidence.

**Reinach (M. Salomon)** articles reprinted in *Mythes, Cultes, et Religions*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905, 15 frcs.

∴ These excellent articles deal with the subjects of sections *a* and *b*.

### (c) THE ORIGIN OF OFFICES OF DISTINCTION.

This subject is dealt with by:—

**Tylor (Professor E. B.)** in *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*;

**Avebury (Lord)** *Origin of Civilization*; and  
**Spencer (Herbert)** *Principles of Sociology*.

It entered upon a new stage with the publication of

**Frazer (J. G.)** *The Golden Bough* (first edition, 1890, second edition, 1900), Macmillan, 36s. A third and greatly enlarged edition is in the press, and a portion of this has appeared separately as:

*Lectures on the History of the Kingship*. 1905. Macmillan. 8s. 6d.

As a general treatment of the above sections, though of course without reference to recent evidence,

**Maine (Sir Henry Sumner)** *Early History of Institutions*, (1875, several times reprinted) may still be studied. It is chiefly based upon evidence provided by communities of Aryan speech, with which the two following works are exclusively concerned.

**Fustel de Coulanges.** *La cité antique*. First issued 1862 (3 f. 50), frequently reprinted.

∴ M. Fustel's work is a masterpiece, but the reader must bear in mind that it takes up a discussion of the subject at a comparatively late stage of development and confines itself to a special class of evidence.

**Hearn (W. T.)** *The Aryan Household*. 1879. Longmans. 16s.

On Aryan land tenure and agricultural systems there is a considerable literature in English. The following may be mentioned:

**Maine (Sir H. S.)** *The Village Community*. First issued 1871. 3rd ed. 1876. 12s.

**Baden-Powell (B. H.)** *The Indian Village Community*. 1896. Longmans. 16s.

**Vinogradoff (P. G.)** *The Growth of the Manor*. 1905. Sonnenschein. 10s. 6d.

#### EARLY LEGAL INSTITUTIONS.

This section overlaps a good deal with the last, but it is convenient to keep the sub-division.

**Maine (Sir H. S.)** *Ancient Law; its connection with the Early History of Society and its relations to Modern Ideas*, first published in 1861, new edition by **Sir Fred. Pollock**, with Introduction and Notes. 1906. Murray. 5s.

∴ On the whole the best general handbook for the English student.

**Post (A. H.)** *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz.* 2 vols. 1894-95. Oldenburg. 16 Mk.

∴ Of wider scope and based upon a much wider field of comparison.

**Westermarck (A.)** *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas.* Vol. I. 1905. Macmillan. 14s.

∴ Practically a History of the sanctions underlying the Criminal Law, based on evidence mainly derived from the customs and ideas of people in the lower stages of culture.

**Post (A. H.)** *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz. Zur Kenntniss der einheimischen Rechte Afrikas.* 2 vols. 1887. Oldenburg. 10 Mk.

∴ The best work for this section of the human race.

**Cook (Stanley A.)** *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi.* 1903. Black. 3s.

∴ The whole subject of Semitic legal antiquities has been revolutionised by the discovery of the Code of Hammurabi, at the present the oldest known body of written law. The above is the best handbook for English students.

**Leist (B. W.)** *Altarisches Jus Gentium.* 1889. Jena. 12 Mk.

∴ The best comparative study of the earliest recoverable stages of Aryan law.

Separate Aryan systems are specially treated of in the following works, besides Maine, who is chiefly concerned with Roman, Greek and Hindu law.

#### EARLY HINDU.

**Manu.** *Institutes*, translated by G. Bühler. 1886. Clarendon Press. 4s.

#### CELTIC.

**D'Arbois de Jubainville,** *Etudes sur le droit celtique.* 2 vols. 1895. f. 17.

*Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland.* 6 vols. (Vol. VI. Glossary.) Text and Translation. 1856-1903.

*The Ancient Laws of Wales*, edited by H. Lewis and J. E. Lloyd. 1890. Stock. 12s. 6d.

**Joyce (P. W.)** *Social History of Ancient Ireland.* 2 vols. 1903. Longmans. 21s.

∴ Is largely based upon the legal evidence, but takes note of the literature, and of the archaeological evidence as well. It is the best work on the subject, though lacking in a truly critical analysis of the evidence.

**Seebohm (F.)** *Tribal System in Wales.* Longmans. 12s. 6d.

## SLAVONIC.

**Kovalevsky (M.)** *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia.*  
1891. Nutt. 5s.

## TEUTONIC.

There is no good comparative study in English on the legal antiquities of the various Teutonic peoples. The best introduction to the subject is

**Amira (K. U.)** *Grundriss des germanischen Rechts.* 1897. 4 Mk.

The standard edition of the Laws of the Continental Teutons is that contained in the

*Monumenta Germaniae historica* :

That of the laws of the Insular Teutons (Anglo-Saxons), is

**Liebermann's** *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vols. I., II. 1897, 1906.  
£2 8s.

**Jacob Grimm's** *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (last edition by  
Hendler and Hübner, 1899. 2 vols. £1 10s.):  
and his great collection of mediaeval legal records,

**Ibid** *Weisthümer.* 1840-1878. £3,  
are invaluable to the folklorist student of legal antiquities  
as examples of the study and interpretation of legal texts  
by the greatest master in folk-lore.

**Pollock (Sir F.) and F. W. Maitland,** *History of English Law  
before Edward I.* 2nd ed. 2 vols. 1899. C. J. Clay. £2.  
∴ Is valuable for comparative as well as for historical study.

**Holmes (O. W.)** *The Common Law.* 1881.

A. N.

## INDEX.

- Abadhites, Moslem sect, 507  
 Aberdeenshire : game, 218-9  
 Aberdovey : legend, 50  
 Abû-Nowâs, vizier of Harûn-er-Rashîd, in folktale, 191-2  
 Accounts of Folk-Lore Society, 10-1  
 Acorn : in British crown, 315 ; crown of acorns, Ireland, 168 ; 'means of living,' S. Slavonians, 57 ; in sword of state, Scotland, 315  
 Acts of Judas Thomas, 497  
 Additions to "The Games of Argyleshire," by R. C. Maclagan, 93-106, 210-29  
 Adonis : Diarmuid compared to, 442 ; related to Aphrodite, 442  
 Adoption : Paraguay, 124  
 Aed Slâne, sons of, 61, 64-5, 68  
 Aedh, son of Aedh na Nabusach, gifts from, 170  
 Ægipan, in struggle of Zeus and Typhon, 28-9  
 Æneas : directed by pigeons to golden bough, 447 ; finds sow on Alban Mount, 311  
 Aengus the champion, 70  
 Æschylus on crystal-gazing, 232-3, 374  
 Aeta tribe, 120  
 Afreet, Egyptian : kept off by five-toed cock, 198  
 Africa : (*see also* Algeria ; Amazulu ; Bantu ; British Central Africa ; Bushmen ; Dahomey ; Egypt ; Ewe tribes ; Kabylia ; Kamerun ; Koranas ; Libya ; Masai ; Mashonaland ; Natal ; Pokomo river ; Rhodesia ; Transvaal ; *and* Tunis) ; *east*, string trick, 357-8, 364 ; new house tenanted by evil spirit, 265 ; *north*, papers published for Oriental Congress, 505-7 ; sacrifice in new house, 268 ; scapegoats rare, 265 ; *south*, twins, beliefs about, 494 ; Travel Notes in South Africa, by E. S. Hartland, 385, 472-87 (*plates*) ; *west*, owl messenger of wizard, 264, twins, beliefs about, 494  
 Afrit, *see* Afreet  
 Agnation or father-right : Australia, 19-20, 236-8, 489 ; Manyika, 487 ; origin of, 19  
 Agnus Dei wax as amulet, Spain, 470 (*plate*)  
 Agricultural folklore : (*see also* Corn ; Corn spirits, vegetation souls, and the like ; Harvest customs and beliefs ; Maize ; Millet ; Ploughing customs and beliefs ; *and* Sowing customs and beliefs) ; Njord, Frey, and Freyja agricultural deities, 389  
 Ahriman origin of crystal-gazing, 232  
 Ailill, King, *see* King Ailill  
 Ailill Oll-cháin, 34  
 Aillen, son of Midhna, 429-30  
 Airi, demon huntsman, India, 136  
 Ajanta caves : jâtaka represented in, 499-500  
 Alba : Domhnall the sorceress, 138  
 Albain, king Dathi of, 164  
 Albania, *see* Pilitor ; *and* Skodra  
 Alban Mount : finding of sow by Æneas, 311  
 Alchemilla vulgaris, *see* Lady's Mantle  
 Alcheringa of Australian tribes, 491, 493  
 Alexander, King, *see* King Alexander  
 Alfred, King, *see* King Alfred  
 Algeria : folktale, 506  
 Ali, husband of Fatimah, slayers of, 507  
 All-Father belief, *see* Deity, conceptions of  
 Allhallow Even, *see* Hallow Eve  
 Alligator : tooth on bangle, Spain, 468  
 Almhain, battle of, 34  
 Almu (Leinster) : palace of Nuada the druid, 33  
 Alnaschar type of folktale, 502  
 Altjira ilunka, god of Arunta, 134-5  
 Amafunze tribe : dances, 473 ; location, 473  
 Amampumuza tribe : dances, 474 (*plate*) ; kraal, 479-84 ; offshoot of Inadi tribe, 473  
 Amathonga, *see* Shangaan tribe  
 Amazulu : kraals, 479-84 ; marriage customs, 472-9 (*plates*)  
 Amber amulets for aiding teething, Spain &c., 464-5  
 America, *see* Central America ; North America ; *and* South America



- Ammonites in folklore, 7  
*Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco: A Story of Missionary Work in South America*, by W. B. Grubb, reviewed, 122-4  
 Amulets and talismans, 2-3, 7, 257, 268, 319, 325, 454-71 (*plates*), 483 (*plate*)  
 Anbechtach Glas, 34  
 Ancestors: animals as, Australia, 492; churinga associated with, Australia, 490-1; reborn, Australia, 21  
 Andalusia: (*see also* Cadiz; Granada; and Seville); amulet against evil eye, 456 (*plate*)  
 Andaman islands: Mincopies grouped with Zambales Negritos, 120  
 Andrews, J. B.; review by,—*Recueil de Memoires et de Textes publiés en l'honneur du XIV Congrès des Orientalistes*, 505-7  
 Anglo-Saxons: root cognate to Nuada, 47  
 Angus, father of King Lughaid Menn, 170  
 Animals in folklore: (*see also* Badger; Basilisk; Bear; Birds in folklore; Buffalo; Cat; Cattle; Crustacea in folklore; Deer; Dog; Donkey; Dragon; Duiker; Elephant; Fish in folklore; Fossils in folklore; Fox; Gazelle; Goat; Hare; Horse; Hyæna; Insects in folklore; Jerboa; Lion; Mou-e; Mule; Pig; Reptiles in folklore; Seal; Sheep; Shellfish in folklore; Stag; Walrus; Wer-beasts; Whale; and Wolf); as ancestors, Australia, 492; in folktales, 504, India, 503  
 Animism: Clodd's *Animism: the Seed of Religion*, reviewed, 254-5; preanimistic religion, 127-8  
 Anito, spirit, Philippines, 122  
 Anna, sister of King Arthur, 51, 55, 59  
 Annual meeting, 4-5: Report of Council, 6-9, 230  
 Ant: earth from nests on floor of huts, Amazulu, 480, Manyika, 485-6  
 Anthrax, cures for, Bantu, 249  
*Anthropos: Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker-Sprachenkunde*, reviewed, 256  
 Antrim: (*see also* Emain Macha; and Lisnabilla); amulets and charms, 7  
 Aonghus of the Brugh, 437, 440-1  
 Aphrodite: related to Adonis, 442; swine of, Hierapolis, 396  
 Apollo Grannus, 441  
 Apple: borne by oak of Mugna, Ireland, 61; connected with Avallach, king of Otherworld, 308, Diana Nemorensis, 446, and Nuada, 58; crab-apple food of Manannan, 143; in folktales, Ireland, 148, 151-4, 156, 158, 160, 164, 169-70, 310, 333, 337, 431, 435, 444, and Scotland, 430-1; in nursery rhyme, England, 56; snap-apple night, Ireland, 58, 320; as symbol of sun, Celts, 159, 164; as votive offering, Nemi, 445-6; in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349  
 Applecross (Ross): bulls sacrificed, Aug. 25, 333; connected with St Maree, 333  
 Apple-tree: blossoming at Christmas, 311; connected with Avallach, king of Otherworld, 308-9, and St. Columcille, 328; of Emain, 337; Emhain of the Apple-trees, Manannan's palace, 143-5, 157, 308, 328; as equivalent of oak, Europe, 57-8, 159, 310; in folktales, Ireland, 144-5, 149, 151, 154-6, 158, 169, 170-1, 328, 431, 445; in nursery rhyme, England, 56; of Paradise, Cornwall, 56-7; sacred tree, Nemi, 445  
 April, *see* May Eve  
 Apurcrossan, *see* Applecross  
*Arabian Nights*, tales from, 191-2, 502  
 Aragon, *see* Saragossa  
 Archangel Raphael: figure as votive offering, Spain, 472  
 Archery, *see* Arrows  
 Ardbraccan: tree of Tortu, 65-6  
 Ardrishaig: game, 96-7  
 Argyllshire: (*see also* Ardrishaig; Campbeltown; Cowal; Kintyre; Lochgilphead; Lorne; and Oban); Additions to "The Games of Argyleshire," by R. C. MacLagan, 93-106, 210-29; folktales, 316-7, 347, 429-31  
 Aricia, *see* Nemi, wood of  
 Arizona, *see* Moqui Indians; and Oraibi  
 Arms, human: figures as votive offerings, Spain, 471  
 Arran: game, 103  
 Arrows: flint arrowheads as charms, Antrim, 7, Leitrim, 202  
 Artemis: sacred cattle, Phocis, 396  
 Arthur and Gorlagon, tale of, 316

- Arthur, King, *see* King Arthur
- Arunta tribe; churingas, 490; conception beliefs, 19, 119, 489, 492; deity, 134; folktales, 492-3; marriage customs and organisation, 178, 183, 186, 302; not primitive, 17-8, 20-1, 488-91; reincarnation beliefs, 21, 490; totemism, 16-26, 236-42
- Ascension Day: birds caught, carried, and freed, W. Germany, 271
- Asgard, hierarchy of, 387, 389-97
- Ash-tree: (*see also* Yggdrasil-tree); as life-index, Wiltshire, 322; place names, Ireland, 62; as tree of sky-god, 62-6
- Asia: (*see also* Asia Minor; Baloches; China; Japan; Korea; Malay Peninsula; Palestine; Persia; Syria; and Tibet); east and south, scapegoats, 265
- Asia Minor, *see* Cilicia; Lycia; and Phrygia
- Ass, *see* Donkey
- Assam, *see* Kukis
- Assuan: (*see also* Qubbet el-Hawa); shadûfs and shadûf songs, 198-9
- Aston, W. G., Hand Impressions instead of Seals, 113-4
- Astrology: Tibet, 3
- Astronomical folklore, *see* Dioscuri; Moon; Stars; and Sun
- Athens: Dionysus' annual marriage, 378; Siren from tomb, 135
- Atnatu, supernatural being, Australia, 188
- Atonement Day, *see* Day of Atonement
- Attendorf: cat sacrificed, 276
- Attica: (*see also* Athens); Cecrops local hero, 406
- Attis, myths and worship of, 253-4
- Auditors, election of, 5
- Augury, *see* Divination
- August: (*see also* St Bartholomew's Day; and St Maree's Day); calends, privileges of Irish king on, 162; 1st, Lammas fair, St Neot's, 44, Lughnassad, 162
- Australia: (*see also* Carpentaria, Gulf of; New South Wales; Queensland; South Australia; Torres Straits; Victoria; and West Australia); aborigines, life of, 15, 254; fire lighted at grave, 261; firestick carried to keep off spirits, 261-2; Gunn's *The Little Black Princess* reviewed, 254; van Gennep's *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie: Études d'Éthnographie et de Sociologie* reviewed, 488-93; The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, by A. W. Howitt, 107-110, 119, 174-89; Mauss' *L'Origine des Pouvoirs Magiques dans les Sociétés Australiennes* reviewed, 125-6; south, souls as birds, 264; spirits, beliefs about, 261; string games, 86
- Austro-Hungary, *see* Bohemia; Bukovina; Carinthia; Carniola; Croats; Hungary; Illyria; Istria; Moravia; Pokutia; and Styria
- Autumn: (*see also under names of months*); feast and sacrifice at the close of harvest, Iceland and Norway, 416, 418
- Avallach, son of Beli, 308-9
- Avallon, isle of: origin of name, 308
- Aventurine as protective against evil eye and witchcraft, 463
- Bâba month: rhyme, Cairo, 197
- Babies, *see* Children
- Backfooted Beings, by A. T. Crawford Cree, 2, 7, 131-40
- Badb the death goddess, 166
- Badger: paw &c. as amulet, Spain, 461-2 (*plate*)
- Baetyls, *see* Stones
- Baiame, Father of All, Australia, 116-7
- Baile's strand, in Cuchulainn sagâ, 150
- Baillieborough: scooping water against stream for cure of elf-shooting, 206
- Balance Sheet of Folk-Lore Society, 11
- Balar Balbéimnech, 29, 32, 58-60, 68-9, 165
- Balar, hill of, *see* Uisnech
- Balconies: palms protect from lightning, Spain, 470
- Baldr: deified hero, 409; not named in Icelandic sagas, 395, 426; tree spirit, 389
- Ballads, *see* Folk-songs
- Ballynafunshin, meaning of, 62
- Baloches: Popular Poetry of the Baloches, by M. Longworth Dames, 8-9
- Ban, King, *see* King Ban
- Banffshire: fairs, 333; games, 104, 218-9
- Bantu: (*see also under names of tribes*); *Bantu Folk Lore*, by M. L. Hewat, reviewed, 248-51; moa, 481; war dances, 477

- Baperi or duiker clan, 484  
 Barabbas, in old versions, 498  
 Baramhât month: first 7 days, conception unlucky on, Cairo, 197  
 Barbarossa legend: parallel, Inishowen, 32  
 Barcelona: expulsion ceremony, Easter, 263  
 Barius, servant of St Neot, 43-4  
 Barra island: games, 97, 225-7  
 Barra, Sound of, *see* Fuda island  
 Barrow river: gigantic oak near, 60-1  
 Barry, Miss F., exhibit by, 7  
 Barwon: ceremony of expelling ghosts, 261  
 Basilisk: cock's egg thrown over roof, 281  
 Bath: string trick, 366  
 Bavaria, *see* Naaburg; Oberpfalz; and Würzburg  
 Bear: skin used to wrap sinews of Zeus, 28  
 Beast fables: Cairene, 196  
 Beating, ceremonial, 274-5, 279, 383  
 Beaulieu: charm against evil eye, 7  
 Beauty and the Beast type of folktale, 500  
 Bec Hellouin: festival of St Neot at abbey, 43  
 Bedaween: Holman Hunt as chieftain, 376  
 Beddgelert, *see* Dinas Emreis  
 Bedouin, *see* Bedaween  
 Bee: charm to find swarm, 278  
 Beech-nut: 'means of living,' Slovenians, 57  
 Belgium: (*see also* Flanders; and West Flanders); amulet for horse-men, 469  
 Beli, Celtic deity, 59, 68, 70, 143, 308  
 Beli the Great, 55, 59  
 Belios, *see* Bile  
 Bells: as amulets, Spain &c., 461, 464 (*plate*)  
 Beltane, feast of: arrival of Tuatha Dé Danann, 30; instituted at Usnagh hill, 64; meaning of name, 65; ritual of, Ireland, 30, 325  
 Bendigeid Vran, King, *see* King Bendigeid Vran  
 Berberines, drolls about, 195-6  
 Berkshire, *see* Kingston Lisle; and White Horse Vale  
 Bernlak de Hautdesert, 340  
 Berry: marriage customs, 280; wren customs, 280  
 Bethgelert type of folktale, 502  
 Bethra, son of Noah, 154  
 Betrothal customs, *see* Courting customs and beliefs  
 Bibliography: 12-5; for beginners, 112-3; of "early institutions," 508-12  
 Bile: ancestor of Milesian kings, 59, and Gaels, 64, 70, 143; or Belios, god of death, 55, 59; a divinised tree, Ireland, 60, 65, 67-8, 171-2, 315, 452; not known in Isle of Man, 141  
 Bili Tortan: Bimudine the poet, 66  
 Billatinny, Irish place name, 65  
 Bimudine, the poet, 66  
 Binbinga tribe: marital terms and organisation, 179  
 Birds in folklore: (*see also* Blackbird; Black duck: Cock: Crow; Cuckoo; Dove; Duck; Eagle; Eaglehawk; Emu; Falcon; Fowls; Goose; Hawk; Hen; Hoopoe; Kite; Mooldtharp; Ostrich; Owl; Partridge; Peacock: Pigeon; Raven; Robin; Seamew; Starling; Stork; Swallow; Swan; Thrush; Toucan; Wood-pigeon; and Wren); in *Adventures of Tadg*, 153, 155; back-footedness a sign of bird-like qualities, 133, 139-40; bird-footed spooks, England, 507; deities take shapes of birds, Lapps &c., 134, 140; in exorcism, S. America, 266-7; Garuda the bird king, Jâtakas, 500; Irish king related to, 167-8; king's soul escapes as bird, 165; Nemglam king of b., 167; semi-divine powers of, 133; shape-shifting into, Erin, 166, 167; as souls, Ireland, 169; white, in folktale, Ireland, 449; white, wings of, as thatch of Manannan's palace, 152, 168; wings as palace thatch, Kerry, 171  
 Birrahgnooloo, 'Mother of All,' Australia, 116  
 Birth customs and beliefs: (*see also* Twins); amulets to secure abundance of milk, Italy and Spain, 468 (*plate*); baby bled for luck, Bantu, 250; baby fed with sour milk, Bantu, 250; baby held in smoke, Bantu, 250; baby purged, Bantu, 251; baby rubbed with cowdung and rolled in skin, Bantu, 250  
 Black Anna, cave haunter, Leicester, 55

- Blackbird : in folktale, Ireland, 435  
 Black duck : phratry and totem of Wiraidjuri tribe, 246  
 Blaiman, son of Apple, tale of, 172  
 Blathnath, wife of Curoi, 334, 336  
 Bleeding, amulet against, Spain, 469 (*plate*)  
 Blindfolding customs : Wales, 275  
 Blind man's buff, 274-5 ; Wales, 275  
 Blodeuwedd, tale of, 311-2  
 Blood : in casting lots, Scandinavian temples, 414 ; drawing implies betrothal, Ireland, 114 ; revival by, in folktales, India, 503 ; sprinkled on temple walls and people, Scandinavia, 414, 417, 420  
 Blue : Anbechtach Glas, 34  
 Boar, *see* Pig  
 Boconnoc : oak in sympathy with king, 324  
 Bodhb Derg, son of the Daghdha, 170  
 Boghmuin, fostermother of Finn, 428  
 Bohemia : (*see also* Jičín ; Lopaš ; Nitran ; Pilsen ; Prague ; Slovenes ; and Vlašim) ; cat buried in cornfield &c., Christmas Eve, 277 ; harvest custom, 276  
 Bohoet, King, *see* King Bohoet  
 Boinne, *see* Boyne  
 Bone amulets for teething, Spain, 456, 464-5, 471 (*plates*)  
 Bones, human : built into prison of Manawyddan, Gower, 142 ; as sorcerer's sash &c., Tibet, 3 ; as trumpet, Tibet, 3  
 Bonfires, *see* Fire  
 Books presented to Folk-Lore Society, 2, 9  
 Boomerang : suggested in Jātaka story, 501  
 Borneo, *see* Dyaks  
 Borrisokane : the 'Big Bell Tree,' 63  
 Bower, H. M., *The Ceri of Gubbio*, 9  
 Boy Bishop, the, 383  
 Boyne river : burst from sacred well, 31 ; fish eaten by Irish king, 162 ; fore-arm of Nuada's wife, 31, 45  
 Bradgate Hall, home of Lady Jane Grey, 323  
 Bran, the voyager, 144-5, 155, 158-9, 163, 166, 169, 309, 320, 326, 333, 343, 431  
 Brandenburg, *see* Liepe  
 Branwen, daughter of Llyr, tale of, 309  
 Brauthahn custom, 280-2, 284  
 Brazil : folktales, 256 ; wood-god back-footed, 131, 135  
 Brefney : king in story of shield of Hugh son of Duach, 70  
 Breg Leith, fairy mound of, 67  
 Bres, chief of Fomore, 29, 33, 45-6, 324, 326  
 Bretagne : (*see also* Redon) ; ballad, 313-4 ; doves and oaks, 327 ; robin, beliefs about, 447  
 Bridal customs and beliefs, *see* Marriage customs and beliefs  
 Brigantians : oak coffin, 321  
 Brigit, Irish goddess, 325-6  
 Bri-Leith : heath-fruit eaten by Irish king, 162  
 Bristol : mistletoe carved on tomb, 323 ; string tricks, 353, 356, 367, 373  
 Bri the wizard, 161  
 British Central Africa : moa, 481  
 British Columbia : folktale, 133  
 British Guiana, *see* Essequibo Indians  
 Brittany, *see* Bretagne  
 Broad Sound, *see* Kuinmurbura tribe  
 Broom : maid formed from blossoms of, Wales, 311-2  
 Brosnach river : cresses eaten by Irish king, 162  
 Brugh na Boinn : in *Colloquy with the Ancients*, 170 ; in tale of Diarmuid and Grainne, 441  
 Buan, King, *see* King Buan  
 Buckinghamshire, *see* Woburn  
 Buddhism : Jātakas, 13-4, 498-501 ; Tibet, 3  
 Buffalo, Indian : as scapegoat in Dusserah festival, India, 269, 274  
 Bukowina, *see* Huculs  
 Bulgaria : goat or sheep as marriage gift, 283 ; "The Shades of the Balkans," by Miss M. E. Durham, 113  
 Bull : (*see also* Cattle) ; head worn in annual marriage of Dionysus, Athens, 379 ; sacrificed at cutting of mistletoe, Gauls, 33-4, after holmgang, Iceland, 407-8, and on St Maree's day, Ross-shire, 333 ; shape-shifting into, Iceland, 422 ; white, sacrificed, Ireland, 34  
 Bullfighters' amulets, Spain, 458-9  
 Bull-roarer : churinga, Australia, 490  
 Burial customs and beliefs, *see* Death and funeral customs and beliefs  
 Burne, Miss C. S. : Does the Folk-Lore Society exist for the Study of Early Institutions?, 233-5 ; review by :—*Anthropos : Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker-u-Sprachenkunde*, 256

- Burrel Green : luck dish, 173  
 Bushmen : folklore, 13; in Korana myth, 253  
 Bute county, *see* Arran  
 Butterfly : expulsion ceremony, Feb. 22, Westphalia, 263, 271; first killed or freed for luck, 277-8; wings as fairy clothes, Ireland, 442  
 Butter lamps, Tibet, 3  
 Byamee, *see* Baïame  
  
 Cadenham oak, New Forest, 311  
 Cadiz : eyes painted on boats, 463  
 Caeilté, 170  
 Cael O'Neamhain, 170-1  
 Cailte of the Fianna, 436  
 Cairbré, King, *see* King Cairbré  
 Cairene Folklore, III, by A. H. Sayce, 130, 191-200  
 Cairns : Thorgerd the maid of the cairn, worshipped, 405-6  
 Cairo : Cairene Folklore, III, by Prof. A. H. Sayce, 130, 191-200  
 Cairpré, son of Ogma, 29  
 Caithness-shire : holed stones, 7  
 Cakes : "Thor," Lancashire, 2, 7; wedding, Great Russia &c., 282-4  
 Caledvwlch, Gawayn's sword, 343  
 Calf : (*see also* Cattle); dedicated to Thor, Floamanna saga, 391; ghost reincarnated in, Iceland, 412  
 Calraighe Laithim : in poem, 34  
 Cambria : prince always subject to bishop, 329-30  
 Cambridge : cat's cradle, 84-5  
 Cambridgeshire, *see* Cambridge; and Fulbourn  
 Camelot : in Arthurian legends, 338  
 Campagna, Roman : amulet, 462  
 Campania, *see* Capua  
 Campbell : Clan descends from Diarmuid, 452, and crest in memory of, 452  
 Campbelton : game, 105  
 Camperdown (Natal), *see* Amafunze tribe; and Inadi tribe  
 Camulos, Celtic deity, 428  
 Candle, wax, blessed by Pope, Easter, 470  
 Candlemas : bonfires, 325  
 Candlemas Eve, *see* St Brigit's Festival  
 Cannibalism : in folktales, 504; in Játakas, 499  
 Canton Grisons : string trick, 373  
 Capua : St Ruffus, 333  
 Carayas : figure on gables, 268  
 Carbury Hill : Trinity well, source of Boyne, 31  
  
 Cardwell : tribal All-Father, 175  
 Carinthia, *see* Slovenians  
 Carlow, *see* Barrow river; and Rathvilly  
 Carmarthenshire : (*see also* Cynwyl Gaeo); Roman inscriptions, 38  
 Carnarvonshire, *see* Beddgelert; and Snowdon  
 Carniola, *see* Slovenians  
 Carnival : buried or cast out in effigy &c., 258  
 Carnock : ash-tree, 63  
 Caroline islands, *see* Uap island  
 Carpentaria, Gulf of : tribal beliefs, 178  
 Carrowmore : battle of Northern Moytura, 209  
 Carthaginians : eyes painted on boats, 463  
 Cassibellaun, King, *see* King Cassibellaun  
 Castor, *see* Dioscuri  
 Cat : buried in cornfield &c., Christmas Eve, Bohemia, 277; cast from high place annually, 270; cooked for newly married, La Creuse, 283; driving out devil as, Esthonia, 263; in marriage customs, Poland &c., 281; thrown into new house, 265-6, 281; skin of native cat on emblematic stick, Zulu wedding, 476; thrown out of gates, Kirmess, Holland, 270, or from height, Belgium &c., 276, or through broken window, Poland, 281  
 Catalonia, *see* Barcelona  
 Catamenia, amulets for use in, Italy and Spain, 468 (*plate*), Pliny, 465  
 Cathair, King, *see* King Cathair  
 Cat's Cradle, by W. Innes Pocock, 73-93 (*illustrations*)  
 Cattle : (*see also* Bull; Calf; Cow; and Ox); blood sprinkled on temple and people, Scandinavia, 420; cattle kraal as burying place, Zulus, 484; connected with Nuada &c., 45, 47; driven between fires, Beltane, Ireland, 30, 45; murrain averted by casting victim over precipice, Wales, 276; owned by divine king, Ireland, 46; sacred, of Artemis, Phocis, 396; at Zulu wedding, 476-7  
 Caucasus : marriage custom, 283  
 Cavan : (*see also* Bailieborough); cure of elf-shooting, 200-10

- Cawdor Castle : hawthorn, 172-3  
 Celebes : lycanthropy, 262  
 Celtchair, champion of Ulster, 70  
 Celts : early institutions, 511; linguistic divisions, 27; sky-god, 27-71, 141-73  
 Central America : calendar systems &c., 13  
 Ceres, statuette of, Lydney Park, 40  
*Ceri of Gubbio, The*, by H. M. Bower, 9  
 Cesair, granddaughter of Noah, 154  
 Champ d'Ioux : wren freed annually, 270  
 Changelings : change prevented by charmed mistletoe, Perthshire, 319  
 Charms and spells : (*see also* Amulets and talismans);  
     *against*—backache, 278; barrenness, Amazulu, 483; cattle ailments, Ireland, 7, 30; diseases, Amazulu, 483, Philippines, 122; epilepsy, Bantu, 250; freckles, Germany &c., 278-9; evil eye, Beaulieu, 7; fairies, Perthshire, 319; mumps, Bantu, 250; witchcraft, Perthshire, 319;  
     churingas as love charms, Australia, 491; to find swarm of bees, 278; to guard in battle, Perthshire, 319; to obtain rain, Grosselfingen, 272; weatherspells, Iceland, 424-5  
 Charnwood Forest : (*see also* Bradgate Hall); oaks in sympathy with Lady Jane Grey, 323  
 Chase, J. Smeaton : exhibits by, 1, 7, 72-3 (*plate*)  
 Chatillon-sur-Seine : 'bachelette' custom, Good Friday, 280  
 Chepara tribe : marital terms and organisation, 179, 181, 185  
 Chepstow, *see* Lydney Park  
 Cherokee Indians : annual festival of purification, 262  
 Chestnut, wild : as amulet, Spain, 464 (*plate*); seeds used as amulets so named, Spain, 467 (*plate*)  
 Chicha, United States of Columbia, 481  
 Chicome coatl, maize goddess, Mexico, 127  
 Childbirth customs and beliefs, *see* Birth customs and beliefs  
 Childermas, *see* Innocents' Day  
*Childhood of Fiction, The*, by J. A. MacCulloch, reviewed, 503-5  
 China : (*see also* Yung-Ping-Fu); charms, 7; hand impressions instead of seals, 113; hairdressing, 256; tree worship, 190 (*plate*)  
 Chippewa Indians : string trick, 366  
 Chirionossos, South Amer. tribe, 135-6  
 Christmas Day : Cadenham &c. oaks budded, New Forest, 311; Glastonbury cornel or hawthorn budded, 311  
 Christmas Eve : in Arthurian saga, 339; cat buried in cornfield &c., Bohemia, 277; wren hunted, Entraigues, 270  
 Christmastide : (*see also* Christmas Day; *and* Christmas Eve); apple-trees blossoming at, 311; blood sprinkled at Yule feast, Scandinavia, 414; expulsion ceremonies, S. Germany &c., 262-3; Glastonbury walnut in leaf, 311  
 Chthonian deities, 31-2, 55, 59, 277, 397, 399-400, 409  
 Churels, demons, India, 136  
 Churingas : associated with ancestors, Arunta tribe, 238-41; bull-roarers, connected with reincarnation beliefs, Australia, 490  
 Ciabán, tale of, 338  
 Cilicia, *see* Corycus  
 Cimaruta, the, 7  
 Circumcision : not amongst Manyika, 486  
 Clann McLachlann : badge the rowan tree, 453  
 Clapham : string trick, 367-8  
 Clare, *see* Magh-adhar  
 Claudas de la Decerte, in Arthurian sagas, 231  
 Clenor : sacred ash, 64  
 Clionda of the Fair Hair, 154-5  
 Clodd, E. : Crystal-Gazing, 373-4; his views on crystal-gazing discussed, 231-3  
 Cloonnafunchin, meaning of, 62  
 Clyde river, in miracle of St Kentigern, 329  
 Cock : basilisk egg thrown over roof, 281; cockthrowing ceremonies, 274-5, 279, 282; figured on wedding cakes, Great Russia, 282; with five toes keeps off afrits, Cairo, 198; head thrown on roof, Jan. 13, Russia, 281; in marriage customs, 281-3; sacrificed, eve of Day of Atonement, Jews, 275-6, 281; valued, 285; white, given to virtuous bride, E. France, 283

- Cod : as local nickname, 22  
 Coffee, cup of, omens from, Cairo, 198  
 Coins : in elf-bags, N.W. Ireland, 202-3  
 Colic : fish bones as 'colic-stones,' France, 466-7  
 Collectanea, 72-106, 190-229, 349-73, 454-87  
 Colours in folklore, *see under various colours, such as* White  
 Columbia, United States of, *see* United States of Columbia  
 Conaing, son of Aidan, 66  
 Conaire, King, *see* King Conaire  
 Conall Cearnach, 168, 334-5  
 Conception : caused by spirit from totem centre, Australia, 18-9, 489, 492 ; unlucky on first 7 days of Baramhât, Cairo, 197  
 Conchobar, King, *see* King Conchobar  
 Connaught : (*see also* Cruachan ; King Crimthán Cass ; Leitrim ; Mayo ; *and* Sligo) ; eponym, 169 ; meaning of "ditch," 204  
 Conn-eda, story of, 169-70  
 Connla, folktales of, 146-7, 154, 159, 163, 169, 326, 333, 343, 444  
 Connolly, R. H. : review by,—Rendel Harris's *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, 493-8  
 Contin : 'Maree's Bush,' 331  
 Cook, A. B., *The European Sky-God*, IV-VII, *The Celts*, I, 27-71, 141-73, 308-48, 427-52  
 Coptic folklore : folktales, 194 ; month rhymes, 197  
 Coracle, magic, of Manannan, 142  
 Coral ; amulets, Spain, 457-8, 460 (*plates*) ; itself protective against evil eye, Spain, 460  
 Coran the druid, 146-7  
 Corbie, *see* Raven  
 Corinthian letters, apocryphal, 497  
 Cork country, *see* Clenor  
 Cormac, King, *see* King Cormac  
 Corn : (*see also* Oats ; *and* Wheat) ; stores for, Manyika, 486-7 (*plate*)  
 Cornel, *see* Hawthorn-tree  
 Corn spirits, vegetation souls, and the like : Brigit, Hebrides, 326 ; "churn" or corn baby, Ulster, 7 ; cult among Slavs, 258  
 Cornwall : (*see also* Bocontoc ; East, hundred of ; Lanhadron Park ; Lostwithiel ; Probus ; *and* Truro) ; acran or plum, 57 ; ancient drama, 56-7 ; King Arthur living as raven, 313 ; pig's nose thrown over house, 281 ; St Neot, 42-6, 55  
 Correspondence, 107-114, 230-5, 373-4, 507  
 Corrigan, in ballad, Bretagne, 314  
 Corrinshigo or Corrinshigagh, meaning of, 62  
 Corycus : Corycian cave as prison of Zeus, 28  
 Cos : nickname as surname, 23  
 Côte d'Or, *see* Chatillon-sur-Seine  
 Coughing : shows baby not bewitched, Bantu, 250  
 Council of Folk-Lore Society : election, 5 ; report, 6-9, 230  
 Courting customs and beliefs : Bohemia, 252 ; cock in, Indre, 282 ; Ireland, 114  
 Cow : (*see also* Cattle) ; charms to cure, Antrim, 7, or to protect, Antrim, 7 ; dung rubbed on baby, Bantu, 250 ; flint arrows discharged at milch cows by fairies, Leitrim, 202 ; ghost as, Iceland, 412 ; as local nickname, 22 ; in marriage custom, Illyria, 283 ; signs of elf-shooting, N.W. Ireland, 203 ; White, name of Boyne, wife of Nuada, 45  
 Cowal : games, 96, 222  
 Cowrie shell : as amulet, Italy and Spain, 466 (*plate*)  
 Crab : as local nickname, 22  
 Crab-apple, *see* Apple  
 Credé, daughter of Cairbré, 170-1  
 Cree, A. T. Crawford : Backfooted Beings, 2, 7, 131-40  
 Creiddylad, daughter of King Lludd, 48  
 Creidné, worker in bronze of Irish gods, 29  
 Cremation, *see* Death and funeral customs and beliefs  
 Cress : of Brosnach eaten by Irish king, 162  
 Crete : baetyl near sacred tree, 61  
 Crim Tartars : marriage custom, 283  
 Crimthán Cass, King, *see* King Crimthán Cass  
 Croatians : 'means of living' denotes orchard fruit, 57  
 Crocodile : human, in Nile, 198  
 Cromlechs : at Kiltubbid, 443-4 ; barren women cured by visit, Ireland, 448 ; often called Bed of Diarmuid and Grainne, Ireland, 443-4, 448 ; wishes granted after visit, Ireland, 448

- Crooke, W., Betrothing Custom, 114; reviews by,—MacCulloch's *The Childhood of Fiction*, 503-5; Francis's *The Iliada, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, vol. V, 498-50; Reed's *The Negritos of Zambales*, 120-22; Dracott's *Simla Village Tales, or Folk-Tales from the Himalayas*, 501-3
- Cropping Animals' Ears, by J. Smeaton Chase, 72-3
- Cross: in amulets, Spain, 469 (*plate*); on coin in elf-bags, N.W. Ireland, 202; of straw, amulet against fire, Ireland, 325
- Crow: in beast fables, Cairo, 196; dwells on poisoned hazel-tree, 58, 165; in folktale, Bretagne, 313-4; name of death goddess &c., Erin, 166; as phratry, Australia, 24, 110, 242, 246; white, eye salve from, Cairo, 198
- Crown: of acorns, Ireland, 168; of flowers, Ireland, 168; of oak-leaves, Greece and Italy, 315
- Croydon: Vicar's Oak, 322-3
- Cruchan: palace, 160
- Crustacea in folklore: (*see also* Crab); claw as amulet, Spain, 458
- Crystal-gazing, 231-3, 373-4
- Cuan O'Lothchain the poet, 161-2
- Cuchulainn sagas: competition for championship, 168, 334-5; C. &c. back-footed, 131-2, 135, 138; embodiment of sun god, 163-4, 169, 335; Gawain the British equivalent of C., 338, 427; gold cup, 168, 335; the mating of C., 163, 326; The Sick-bed of C., 148-50, 158-9
- Cuckoo: customs on first seeing, 278
- Culross: apple-tree of St Serf, 328; life of St Kentigern at, 329-30
- Cult of the Heavenly Twins, The*, by J. Rendel Harris, reviewed, 493-8
- Cumall, father of Finn, 427-9, 438
- Cumberland, *see* Edenhall; Muncaster; Tearne-wadling; and Workington
- Cumhal, *see* Cumall
- Cup, magic, of Irish kings, 152-3, 155, 169
- Curapira, wood genius, Brazil, 135
- Cure of Elf-Shooting in the North-West of Ireland, by Rev. J. Meehan, 130, 200-10
- Curoi, King, *see* King Curoi
- Custom and Belief in the Icelandic Sagas, by Miss L. W. Faraday, 386, 387-426
- Cyclops type of folktales, 504
- Cynwyl Gaeo: inscribed stone, 41-2
- Czech Ethnographical Review, The*, reviewed, 251-2
- Daghda, The, 170, 325
- Dahomey: serpent god, 268-70
- Dáire Doimthech, 342
- Dalhousie Castle: the Edgewell Oak, 322
- Dalkeith: the Edgewell Oak, 322
- Dallan Forgaill the poet, 69
- Dames, M. Longworth, Popular Poetry of the Baloches, 8-9
- Danbe, serpent god, Dahomey, 268-70
- Dances: Amazulu, 473-4 (*plates*), 476-7; Australia, 489; Moqui Indians, 1; Philippines, 122; sword, 382-3; war, 477; wedding, 279-80, 474 (*plates*), 476
- Danu, Irish goddess, 28
- Darling river: tribal All-Father, 175
- Datestone, as amulet, Italy and Spain, 463
- Dathe, the tree of, 63-5, 68-9
- Dathi, King, *see* King Dathi
- Day of Atonement: sacrifice on eve, Jews, 275-6, 281
- Days and Seasons: April, 48; Ascension Day, 271; August, 44, 162, 311, 333; Autumn, 416, 418; Båba, 197; Baramhât, 197; Beltane, feast of, 29-30, 64-5, 325; Candlemas, 325; Candlemas Eve, 325; Carnival, 258; Christmas Day, 311; Christmas Eve, 270, 277, 339; Christmastide, 262-3, 270, 277, 311, 339, 414, 417-8; Day of Atonement, 275-6, 281; December, 44, 262-3, 270, 283, 311, 339, 383, 414, 417-8; Dioscuri in calendar, 495; Dusserah festival, 269, 274; Easter, 7, 263, 280, 470; February, 263, 325, 420; Friday, 197, 280; Good Friday, 280; Hallow Eve, 58, 211-2, 319-20; Innocents' Day, 383; January, 197, 271, 281, 338-9, 341; July, 43-4; June, 141, 311, 417; Lammas, 44; Lent, 258; Lugnassad festival, 44, 162; March, 197; May, 29-30, 45, 48-50, 64, 262, 382, 384, 434; May Day, 30, 45, 48-50, 64, 262, 434; May Eve, 48; Midsummer, 141,



- 417; Midsummer Eve, 141; Midwinter, 414-5; Moharrem, 196-7; Monday, 197; New Year's Day, 271, 338-9, 341; November, 30, 349; October, 44, 58, 197, 211-2, 319-20, 420; Palm Sunday, 470; Ramadan, 197; St Barnabas' Day, 311; St Bartholomew's Day, 311; St Brigit's Festival, 325-6; St Maree's Day, 333; St Nicholas' Day, 383; St Ruffus' Feast, 333; Samain, feast of, 30, 44, 58; September, 276; Shrove Tuesday, 275; Spring, 197, 279, 286-7; Sunday, 197, 470; Thursday, 272; Tuesday, 46, 275; Wednesday, 197; Winter, 258, 262, 414, 416, 418
- Death and funeral customs and beliefs: (*see also* Ghosts; *and* Graves); burial customs, Icelandic sagas, 397, 400-5, 408, 410-1, Manyika, 487, Shangaans, 484, Zulus, 484; corpse not passed in front of, Iceland, 411; corpse removed through hole in wall, Shangaans, 484; cremation, Norway, 410; dead affected by condition of howe, Iceland, 404; dead, gifts to, Iceland, 397, 402-3, Philippines, 122, Upper Egypt, 197, 199-200; dead inhabit black boulder, Philippines, 122, or howe, Iceland, 404-5; dead invoked at sacrifice, Zulus, 483; feast among graves, end of Ramadan, Upper Egypt, 197; feast three months after death, Manyika, 487; fire lighted at graves, Australia, 261; future life, beliefs about, Iceland, 400-4, 410, Paraguay, 124, Philippines, 122; graves slept upon, N.S. Wales, 261; kraal removed after death, Shangaans, 484; sick allowed to die in hut, Manyika, 487, Zulus, 484
- 'Death' buried or cast out, 258-9, 286
- December: (*see also* Christmas; Christmas Day; Christmas Eve; Innocents' Day; *and* St Nicholas' Day); 6-8, annual fair, St Neot's (Hunt.), 44; 17th St Nicholas' fair, St Neot's (Hunt.), 44
- Dechtire, mother of Cuchulain, 163-4, 166
- Deer: Finn MacCumall connected with, 435-6; in folktales, Ireland, 342, 435; horns as amulets, Spain, 455-6 (*plate*); in legend of St Neot, 46; of Luibnech eaten by Irish king, 162; Oisín's mother a deer, 435; shape-shifting into, Ireland, 435; skins worn by Finn MacCumall, 433; white, in ballad, Bretagne, 314
- Deity, conceptions of: Australia, 116-7, 174-6, 186, 188, 288-90; Kamtchadales, 248
- Delhi: string game, 88
- Delos: Nike of Mikkiades, 139
- Delphyne, snake gaoler of Zeus, 28
- Demons and evil spirits: (*see also* Devil); Airi the huntsman, India, 136; back-footed, India &c., 131-2, 136; churels, India, 136; snake-man, New Caledonia, 131, 138
- Denmark: (*see also* Faroes; Greenland; *and* Iceland); cat's cradle, 92; root cognate to Nuada, 47
- Deorgreine, bride of Laegaire, 163
- Dergcroche, King, *see* King Dergcroche
- Devil: back-footed, Ireland, 131, 133; cloven hoof, 140; driving out, Esthonia, 263; goat's legs, 133, 140; origin of crystal-gazing, 232; in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349
- Devil outwitted type of folktales, 253
- Devon: Dumnonii, 42; string trick, 358-9
- Diamantina river: relationships, 109
- Diana: Grainne compared with, 441; Nemorensis, solar, 441, 445; related to Virbius, 442; St Brigit compared with, 326
- Dian-Cecht, leech of Irish gods, 29, 209
- Diarmuid and Grainne, 439-444, 448, 451-3
- Dice games: Philippines, 121
- Dieri, *see* Dieyeri
- Dieyeri tribe: 293; corroborree, 489; marriage customs, 177-9, 181-6, 294-7, 301, 305; no All-Father belief, 289; relationships, 108-10, 296-7, 303; totemism, 108-9
- Dinas Eiddyn, *see* Edinburgh
- Dinas Emreis or Ffaraon, in tale from Mabinogion, 49
- Dingwall: sacrifices on St Maree's day, 333
- Dinnsenchus, the, 60-7, 161
- Dinodig, tale of prince of, 311-2
- Dionysus: annual marriage, Athens, 378-9
- Dioscuri, The, 493-8

- Dirr : offerings to dead, 199-200  
 Dis, Celtic parallel to, 55  
 Diseases : (*see also under names of diseases*) ; amulets against, Spain, 467 (*plate*) ; boats for, 264 ; can be transferred, Bantu, 250  
 Diseases : caused by snake, Bantu, 249, spirits, Philippines, 122  
 Disir, *see* Fylgja  
 Distaff, shape-shifting into, Iceland, 422  
 Divination : (*see also* Omens ; and Oracles) ; by birds, Loch Lomond, 50 ; by dreams, Scandinavia, 415-6 ; by nuts, Hallow Eve, Ireland, 58 ; by yew rods, Ireland, 67 ; at Yuletide, Scandinavia, 414-5  
 Dodona, oak of, 67, 327  
 Does the Folk-Lore Society exist for the Study of Early Institutions?, by Miss C. S. Burne, 233-5  
 Dog : as local nickname, 22 ; in temple of Nodons, Lydney Park, 40 ; white, sacrificed, Iroquois, 265  
 Dolls : The Folklore of Dolls, by E. Lovett, 129 ; in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349-50  
 Dolphin : bones as amulets, Spain, 467 (*plate*)  
 Domald, King, *see* King Domald  
 Domhnall back-footed, 131-2, 138  
 Domnall, son of King Murchad, 61, 68  
 Donegal, *see* Inishowen  
 Donkey : amulet for, Spain, 456 ; ears cropped, Moqui Indians, 72-3 ; figure as votive offering, Spain, 471 ; valued, 285  
 Doolas woods : fairy tree, 442-4, 451  
 Dove : associated with oak, 327, and St Columcille, 327 ; on British sceptre, 315 ; golden, on cup handles, Greece, 168 ; white, in ballad, Bretagne, 314  
 Dragon : fiery, guards buried treasure, Iceland, 412-3 ; in Mabinogion, 49  
 Drama, Folk, *see* Folk-drama  
 Dreams : divination by, Scandinavia, 415-6 ; in Icelandic sagas, 397-8 ; of King Cathair, 161  
 Drolls : Cairo, 192-6  
 Drontheim : Thorgerd to Iceland from, 407  
 Druids : Ireland, 33-4, 69-70 ; Nuada, 33-4 ; sacrificed white bulls, 34 ; tree divinity and stone pillar associated, 61 ; white associated with, 33-4  
 Druim Suithe, the poet, 66  
 Druminshin or Drumnahunshin, meaning of, 62  
 Drums, musical : Tibet, 3  
 Duach Dubh, King, *see* King Duach Dubh  
 Dubhros : the fairy quicken-tree, 438-9, 443-5, 451  
 Dublin county, *see* Howth  
 Duck : earth-dwarfs with feet of, Germany, 134 ; figured on wedding cakes, Great Russia, 282  
 Duiker : skin worn as apron by Baperi, Transvaal, 484  
 Dumbartonshire, *see* Loch Lomond  
 Dumnonii : Nudos king of, 37, 42, 143  
 Dungarvan : Finn's leap, May Day, 434  
 Durban : dances, 477 ; witch-doctor's necklace, 483 (*plate*)  
 Durham, Miss M. E., "The Shade of the Balkans," 113  
 Durrow : apple-tree, 328 ; named from oak-groves, 327  
 Dusserah festival, Mhars, 269, 274  
 Dutch folklore, *see* Holland  
 Dyaks : religious rites, 256  
 Dyved, kings of realm of, 143  
 Eagle : in armorial bearings, Scotland, 322 ; auguries from, May Eve, Loch Lomond, 50 ; in folk-tale, British Columbia, 133 ; on sceptre as symbol, 165, 315 ; shape-shifting into, Wales, 312-3  
 Eaglehawk : phratry, Australia, 24, 110, 242, 246  
 Earth dwarfs, in German saga, 134-5, 140  
 Earth gods : fly before new religion, Iceland, 399 ; Jupiter, 31 ; Nuada, 31-2 ; Zeus, 31  
 Easter : (*see also* Good Friday) ; candle blessed by Pope, 470 ; eggs, Huculs, 7 ; expulsion ceremony, Barcelona, 263  
 East, hundred of : Painter's Oak, 323-4  
 East Indies, *see* Borneo ; Celebes ; and Nias  
 Eastwell : oaks in sympathy with Finches, 323  
 Eating : of horseflesh test of paganism, Iceland, 419-20  
 Eber, Milesian leader, 153  
 Eberswald : birds caught, carried, and freed, Ascension Day, 271

- Echtach mac Edarlamh, father of Nuada, 32  
 Edda, Snorri's, 405-6  
 Edenhall: luck cup, 173  
 Edern, son of Nudd, 35  
 Edessa: Dioscuri, 497; inscription, 495, 497  
 Edgewell oak, 322  
 Edinburgh: descent of St Kentigern, 330  
 Edinburghshire, *see* Dalhousie Castle; Dalkeith; *and* Edinburgh  
 Egg: Easter eggs, Huculs, 7  
 Egil's saga, 400-2, 407-8, 412-3, 421-3  
 Eglia saga, 388, 411, 416-7  
 Egypt: (*see also* Assuan; Cairo; Helwan; Luxor; Nile; Nubia; Qasr es-Sayyad; *and* Qubbet el Hawa); ancient religion, 14, 506-7; folktale, 506; soul-bird, 134; tree worship, 199  
 Einherjar, Odin's host, 409  
 Elephant: in *jataka* story, 499-500  
 Elf-doctors, *see* Wizards  
 Elginshire, *see* Urquhart  
 Eliwlod, son of Madog, 313  
 Ell: to measure cow to detect elf-shooting, N.W. Ireland, 203-4  
 Elm-tree: Howth Castle, 173  
 Elton, O: review by,—Chambers' *The Mediaeval Stage*, 379-84  
 Elves, *see* Fairies  
 Elysium, *see* Hades  
 Emain Macha: contest for championship, 335; Royal House, 160, 168, 337; taboos on Cuchulain, 336  
 Emer, wife of Cuchulainn, 150, 338  
 Emhain of the Apple-trees, Manannan's palace, 143-5, 157, 308, 328  
 Emu: Arunta deity with feet of, 134-5  
 England: (*see also under names of counties*); crown, 315; string tricks, 352-73  
 Entada: seed as amulet, Spain, 467 (*plate*)  
 Entraigues: hunting of wren, Christmas Eve, 270  
 Eochaid, son of Lughaid Menn, 170  
 Eochaid Airem, King, *see* King Eochaid Airem  
 Eochaid Juil, 149  
 Eochu, gift of apple by, 151  
 Eogan Táidlech, the Splendid, 39-40  
 Eohy the druid, 70  
 Epilepsy, treatment of, Bantu, 250  
 Erin, *see* Ireland  
 Erinyes, The, back-footed, 131, 137-8  
 Errol: vital sympathy of man and tree, 317-9  
 Escalibor, Gawain's sword, 343  
 Essequibo Indians: twins, beliefs about, 494  
 Estcourt (Natal), *see* Amampumuza tribe  
 Esthonia: driving out the devil, 263; kids &c. thrown on roof, 281  
 Etain, daughter of Eochaid, 167  
 Etain, wife of Eochaid, 67, 153, 167  
 Eterscel, King, *see* King Eterscel  
 Ethelwulf, King, *see* King Ethelwulf  
 Euahlayi tribe: *Euahlayi Tribe, The: a Study of Aboriginal Life in Australia*, by K. Langloh Parker, reviewed, 115-9, 291; naming of children, 245; reincarnation beliefs, 241-2  
 European Sky-God, The: The Celts, IV-VII, by A. B. Cook, 1, 27-71, 141-73, 308-48, 427-53  
 Evil eye: amulets and charms against, Scotland, 7, Spain and Italy, 455-64, 466-7, 470, (*plates*); strikes fish if fisher watched, Cairo, 198  
 Evil spirits, *see* Demons and evil spirits  
 Ewe tribes: songs and music, 256  
 Ewen the Great, 313  
 Exhibits at meetings, 1-3, 7-8, 257, 385  
 Exogamy: Australia, 21, 110, 242-3, 291-2, 295; relatively primitive, 17, 22  
 Exorcism: of spirit in new hut, S. America, 266-8  
 Ex votos, *see* Votive offerings  
 Eyes: amulets for eye troubles, Italy, 465; amulets in form of, Italy and Spain, 462-3 (*plate*); cure for diseases of, Cairo, 198; figure as votive offering, Spain, 471  
 Eyrbyggja saga, 388, 396-7, 403-4, 411, 414, 419-20, 422  
 Fables, *see* Beast fables  
 Fairies: back-footed, India, 136; charmed mistletoe protects from, Perthshire, 319; The Cure of Elf-Shooting in the North-West of Ireland, by Rev. J. Meehan, 130, 200-10; dance under female oak, Monmouthshire, 54; flint arrows shot at milch-cows, Leitrim, 202;

- holed stones protect from, Antrim, 7; luck cups from, 173; Midir the fairy king, Ireland, 67, 153, 162, 167, 170, 336
- Fairs: St Maelrubha, Scotland, 333; St Neot's (Hunt.), 44
- Falcon: Gwalchmei the f. of May, 50; in *Parzival*, 344; white, haunted oak of Hays, Perthshire, 319-20
- Fand, wife of Manannan, 149-50, 167, 336
- Faraday, Miss L. W., Custom and Belief in the Icelandic Sagas, 386, 387-426
- Farbill barony: the Fir Bile, 64
- Faringdon Clump: 'Blowing Stone,' 320
- Faroës: life in, 13
- Father-right, *see* Agnation or father-right
- Fatimah, daughter of Mohammed, 507
- Faunus as king of Latium, 409
- Fawn, *see* Deer
- Feast of Fools, 382
- Feathers: hen's f. in diviner's cushion, Iceland, 414; on magical stick in exorcism, S. America, 266-8; of hunted wren, 270
- February: (*see also* Candlemas; Candlemas Eve; and St Brigit's Festival); 22nd, expulsion ceremony, Westphalia, 263; Roman Equiria, 420
- Feet: Back-footed Beings, by A. T. Crawford Cree, 2, 7, 131-40
- Fez: burlesque festival, 506
- Fiacha, son of Lughaid Menn, 170
- Fiachna, son of Betach, 150
- Fianna, *see* Finn MacCumall and the Fianna
- Fifeshire, *see* Carnock
- Findmag Feimin: Nuada Find Feimin reared at, 34
- Finger-rings, *see* Rings, finger
- Finland: Finns as diviners, Scandinavia, 415; folklore publications, 14-5
- Finmark: buried treasure, 413
- Finn MacCumall and the Fianna, 59, 170, 316, 427
- Fir Bile, the, 63-4
- Fir Bolgs: in folktale, 154, 169; Nuada's wars with, 28
- Fire: amulet against, Ireland, 325; bonfires, Beltane, Ireland, 30, 45, 64-5, 325, Candlemas, 325, Samhain, 30, 162, 325; firestick carried to drive off spirits, Australia, 261-2; fires lighted at graves, N.S. Wales, 261, in hut to be exorcised S. America, 267; Greek god backfooted, 135; hymn of St Columcille sung against, Ireland, 327; Loki a fire spirit, 389; robin a firebringer, Brittany &c., 447, of St Brigit, Kildare, 325
- First: butterfly &c., killed for luck, 277-8
- Firth of Forth, *see* Inchkeith
- Fish in folklore: (*see also* Cod; Dolphin; Salmon; Shark; Trout; and Umbrina); of Boyne river eaten by Irish king, 162; "ear bones" as amulets, 466-7 (*plate*); petrified milk as amulet, Spain, 471 (*plate*); sacred fish connected with Nuada, Nodons, and Neot, 45
- Fishing: Lapp god, 134; Nuada and his parallels connected with, 47; watching fisher makes fish worthless, Cairo, 198
- Five: as protective number, Morocco, 458
- Flageolets: Tibet, 3
- Flanders: (*see also* West Flanders); cat's cradle, 83
- Flavius Senilis, Roman fleet commander, 39
- Flints: in elf bag, Ireland, 202
- Fljótsdoela saga, 389, 403, 423
- Floamanna saga, 389, 391, 396, 401, 413
- Flowers in folklore: (*see also* Broom; Meadowsweet; and Rose); crown of f., Ireland, 168; in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349
- Flute: dance, Moqui Indians, 1
- Folk-drama: Cornwall, 56-7; Chambers' *The Medieval Stage* reviewed, 379-84; Tibet, 3
- Folklore: scope of study, 233-5
- Folklore of Dolls, The, by E. Lovett, 129
- Folk-Lore Society: Does the Folk-Lore Society Exist for the Study of Early Institutions?, by H. A. Rose, 111-3, and Miss C. S. Burne, 233-5
- Folk music: Ewe tribes, 256; Slovenes, 252
- Folk-sayings, *see* Proverbs
- Folk-songs: Amazulu, 474; Baloches, 8-9; Bretagne, 313-4; Ewe tribes, 256; Germany, 271; Ireland, 60, 161, 316; as related to folktales,

- 505; Robin Hood ballads, 383-4; Slovene, 252; Yorkshire, 350-1
- Folktales; (*see also under various types, such as* Devil outwitted type of folktales); Algeria, 506; Australia, 115, 117, 492-3; Brazil, 256; British Columbia, 133; Egypt, 191-6, 506; England, 338-40; Germany, 134, 253; Iceland, 385-426; India, 501-3; Ireland, 32, 143-58, 169, 172, 316, 334-5, 342-3, 347, 428-30, 434-5, 436-43, 448-51; Jataka, 13-4, 498-501; Kabylia, 506; Kashmir, 133; Koranas, 253; MacCulloch's *The Childhood of Fiction* reviewed, 503-5; Magyar, 133; Maori, 133; Scotland, 163, 316-7, 347, 429-31; Wales, 48-50, 309, 311-2, 316
- Fomore, Nuada's wars with, 28
- Forbidden door type of folktale, 502
- Forest of Dean: holly, 54, 341; oak-trees, 53-4
- Fortuna, in temple of Nodons, Lydney Park, 40
- Fossils in folklore, 7
- Fowls: (*see also* Cock; *and* Hen); cooked with cat for newly married, La Creuse, 283; sacrificed, death feast, Manyika, 487
- Fox: in beast fable, Cairo, 196
- France: (*see also* Berry; Bretagne; Cote d'Or; Gauls; Indre; La Creuse; Languedoc; Limousin; Loire Inférieure; Nivernais; Nord; Normandy; Poitou; Provence; Vaucluse; *and* Vosges); amulet for horsemen, 469; cat's cradle, 92; *east*, white cock given to virtuous bride, 283; king of France in game, Argyllshire, 101; kings communicate in both kinds at coronation, 375; local nicknames, 22; swallow caged unlucky, but freed lucky, 271
- Frazer, J. G.: his theory of totemism discussed, 16-26
- Freckles, charms against, 278-9
- Fresen, in Irish folktale, 153, 155
- Frey: agriculture and arms, god of, 389, 409; ancestor-king, 408; animals devoted to, 396; buried in mound, 409; oath by, Icelandic sagas, 392-3; sacrifices to, 389, 416, 418
- Freyja: agricultural deity, 389; not named in Icelandic sagas, 395, 426; toasted, Yule feast, Scandinavia, 417
- Friday: (*see also* Good Friday); morning unlucky to begin or end work, Cairo, 197
- Frigg: goddess, 389; not named in Icelandic sagas, 395, 426; Saxo's attack on, 395
- Friuch the swineherd, 166
- Frog: as local nickname, 22
- Fruit and vegetables in folklore: (*see also* Acorn; Apple; Corn; Heath-fruit; Lemon; Nuts; Orange; Plum; *and* Sloe); acron, Wales, 57; 'means of living' denotes orchard fruits, Croatsians, 57
- Fruit-trees: (*see also* Apple-tree); cat buried under, Christmas Eve, Bohemia, 277; cultivation in Europe, 57
- Fuda island: exhibit, 7
- Fulbourn: cat's cradle, 82-3, 85
- Funcheon river, meaning of, 62
- Funshin, meaning of, 62
- Funshinagh, meaning of, 62
- Funshog, or Funshoge, meaning of, 62
- Furze: standard of Fianna, 433
- Future life, beliefs about, *see* Death and funeral customs and beliefs
- Fylgja, nameless deities, Iceland, 398-400
- Gables, carvings on, 268
- Gaels: children of tree deity, 60
- Gairloch: bulls sacrificed &c., St Maree's Day, 333
- Gal-Greine, standard of Finn Mac-Cumall, 433
- Gall bladder of sacrifice worn, Amazulu, 483 (*plate*)
- Gall of sacrifice drunk and sprinkled on body, Amazulu, 483
- Galloway: in Arthurian sagas, 348
- Games: blind man's buff, 274-5; England, 73-93, 507; Flanders, 83; Germany, 83, 92; golowain, 507; Greek, 274; Korea, 82-5, 93; Philippines, 121; Scotland, 93-100, 210-29; Wales, 275
- Garuda the bird king, Jatakas, 500
- Gaular: autumn and summer sacrifices, 416-7
- Gauls: cutting mistletoe, 33-4
- Gawain, nephew of King Arthur, 338-48, 427
- Gazelle: as local nickname, Palestine, 22
- Gefjon, ocean goddess, 389-90

- Germany : (*see also* Bavaria ; Brandenburg ; Lithuania ; Lusatia ; Mark ; *and* Westphalia) ; cat's cradle, 83, 92 ; devil outwitted type of folktales, 253 ; folklore publications, 14 ; lady's mantle as wound-herb, 208-9 ; marriage customs, 280-3 ; *north*, charm against freckles, 278-9 ; roots cognate to Nuada, 47 ; *south*, klopfeinsnacht, 262
- Gessa or taboos, *see* Taboos
- Ghosts : in animal shape, Iceland, 412 ; ceremony of expulsion, Barwon, 261, S. Australia, 264 ; dreaded, but not always malignant, Iceland, 411 ; in Icelandic sagas, 397, 405, 411-2 ; laying, Iceland, 411 ; reincarnated, Iceland, 411-2 ; spooks with birds' feet, England, 507
- Gippsland, *see* Kurnai tribe
- Gipsies : amulets, Spain, 457, 466, 470-1 (*plates*) ; string trick, 362-3
- Gisla saga, 389, 393-4, 410, 416, 423, 425
- Gisli Sursson's saga, 393, 402
- Glaiv, ancestor of Scottish kings, 34
- Glamorgan, *see* Llandaff
- Glasgow : arms, 329
- Glastonbury : apple tree at, 309 ; coffin of King Arthur, 321 ; founding, legend of, 309 ; identified with Avallon, 308 ; legend of St Neot, 44 ; mistletoe common, 321 ; names of, 310-1 ; oaks at, 310-1 ; sacred trees at, 309-11 ; Tor as Otherworld, 308
- Gleann Dealgain : Finn's leap, May Day, 434
- Gloucestershire : (*see also* Bristol ; Forest of Dean ; *and* Lydney Park) ; Nodons as river god, 50 ; Roman inscriptions, 38
- Gnanji tribe : conception beliefs, 18-9 ; totemism, 18-9
- Goat : kid in huntsman's festival, Romans, 446 ; kid thrown on roof, Esthonia, 281 ; legs of Pan &c., 133 ; in marriage customs, Bulgaria, 283 ; sacrificed, Amazulu, 483-4, Germany, 276, Manyika, 487 ; sinews for sewing, Zulus, 484 ; shape-shifting into, Iceland, 422 ; skin in magic for mist, Iceland, 425, and wrapped round baby, Bantu, 250 ; white, given by bride to older sister, Vosges, 283
- Gods, *see* Deity, conceptions of ; *and under names of gods, such as* Poseidon
- Gold : apple, in folktales, 158, 160, 310, 333 ; in fine for insult to a king, Wales, 309-10 ; tree, in folktales, Ireland, 158 ; utensils, in folktales, Ireland, 158, 168, 335
- Golden bough, The, 156-7, 348, 447
- Goll, son of Dalbh, 150
- Goll, son of Morna, 430
- Golowain, game of, 507
- Gomme, G. L., Translations of Folklore Publications, 230
- Good Friday : 'bachelette' custom, Chatillon-sur-Seine, 280
- Goose : in charm against freckles, N. Germany, 278-9 ; earth-dwarfs with feet of, Germany, 134 ; in magic, Iceland, 424 ; in marriage customs, 281, 283
- Gosling, *see* Goose
- Gothic congener of Nuada, 47
- Gower : prison of Manawyddan, 142
- Gowrie : legend of Hays of Errol, 317-9
- Grain, *see* Corn
- Grainne and Diarmuid, 436-44, 448, 451
- Gramoflanz, King, *see* King Gramoflanz
- Granada : amulets, 456-7, 460-1, 463, 465-7, 471 (*plates*) ; gipsy colony, Albaicin Hill, 470 ; votive offerings, 472 (*plate*)
- Granard in Cairbre, 64
- Graves : fire lighted near, Australia, 261 ; slept upon, N.S. Wales, 261 ; trees springing from, Indian folk-tale, 503
- Great Russia : marriage customs, 282
- Greek folklore : (*see also* Attica ; Greek islands ; Megaris ; Mycenae ; Phocis ; Sicyonia ; *and under names of deities*) ; games, 274 ; Harpies and Sirens, 134-7 ; kings personated Zeus and associated with oak, 32, 52-3 ; missel-thrush, name of, 447 ; scapegoats, 265
- Greek islands, *see* Cos ; Crete ; *and* Delos
- Green : in Arthurian sagas, 338-41, 347 ; in Irish folktales, 338, 347, 431
- Greenland : burial custom, 408 ; in Icelandic saga, 391
- Gretti's saga, 411

- Grey: Glastonbury named the 'Grey Trees,' 310  
 Grianan Aileach tumulus, Inishowen, 32  
 Grian the sun goddess, 449-51  
 Gringalet, Gawain's horse, 343  
 Griselda type of folktale, 500  
 Gristhorpe: oak coffin of Brigantian chief, 321  
 Grosselfingen: ceremony, Thursday before Fastnacht, 272  
 Gubbio: *The Ceri of Gubbio*, by H. M. Bower, 9  
 Guiana: (*see also* Essequibo Indians); figure on gables, 268  
 Guinevere, Queen, *see* Queen Guinevere  
 Gunnlaugs Saga, 391  
 Gwalchmei, son of King Lot, 49-50  
 Gwydion the enchanter, 311-2  
 Gwydir river, *see* Kamilaroi  
 Gwynn, son of Nudd, 35, 48, 336  
 Gwythyr, son of Greidawl, 48, 336  
 Gypsies, *see* Gipsies
- Hades: Glastonbury Tor as, 308; island home of Manannan as, 142;  
 Maui's descent into, 133  
 Hako, The, Pawnee ceremony, 12  
 Hakon, King, *see* King Hakon  
 Halfdan the Black's Saga, 418-9  
 Hallfred's saga, 393, 398  
 Hallow Eve: in Argyllshire, 211-2;  
 in charm against glamour &c., Perthshire, 319; sun charms, Ireland, 58, 320  
 Halogaland: king Hölgi, 405-6  
 Hamingja, *see* Fylgja  
 Hampshire, *see* New Forest  
 Hand: as amulet, Spain &c., 458-60 (*plates*); figures as votive offerings, Spain, 471; silver hand of Nuada, 29  
 Hand Impressions instead of Seals, by W. G. Aston, 113-4  
 Hare: of Naas, eaten by Irish king, 162  
 Harpies, The, 134-7  
 Harðar saga, 389, 405, 407, 413-4, 421-2, 425  
 Hartland, E. S.: Travel Notes in South Africa, 385, 472-87 (*plates*); reviews by,—Parker's *The Euahlayi Tribe: a Study of Aboriginal Life in Australia*, 115-9; Wunsche's *Der Sagenkreis vom geprellten Teufel*, 253; Grubb's *Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco*, 122-4; Mauss' *L'Origine des Pouvoirs Magiques dans les Sociétés Australiennes*, 125-6; van Gennep's *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie: Etudes d'Éthnographie et de Sociologie*, 488-93  
 Harun-er-Rashid, in folktale, 191-2  
 Harvest customs and beliefs: sacrifices, Oberpfalz &c., 276; Tuesday right day for reaping, 46  
 Haunted caves: Leicester, 55  
 Hawk: (*see also* Falcon); Gwalchmei the h. of May, 50; in legend of Hays, Gowrie, 318; totem, Australia, 110  
 Hawthorn-tree: Cawdor Castle, 172-3; Glastonbury, 311; switches from in folktale, Argyllshire, 429  
 Hays of Errol, legend of, 317-9  
 Hazel nut: in Irish folktales, 152-3  
 Hazel-tree: Finn's shield made from, 58-9, 69; in Irish folktales, 152-3, 162; head of Balar hung upon, 58-9, 165; in miracle of St Kentigern, 330; pre-Milesian worship of, Erin, 165; stick from in tests of Fianna, 431  
 Head: between legs, in magic, Iceland, 424; figure as votive offering, Spain, 471  
 Headache: amulets for, Spain, 465, 467, 477 (*plates*)  
 Heart: in amulets, Spain, 460 (*plate*), 464, Italy and Portugal, 464; of slain animals as food for diviner, Iceland, 414; of wolf makes eater fierce, Upsala, 417  
 Heath-fruit: of Bri-Leith eaten by Irish king, 162  
 Hebrews, *see* Jews  
 Hebrides: (*see also* Barra island; Fuda; Iona; Islay; Lewis; Skye; and Uist); game, 100; marriage of Brigit, Candlemas Eve, 326  
 Hedemark: part of king Halfdan's body buried, 419  
 Heimdall the god, 389  
 Heimskringla, The, 387-8, 400, 402, 410, 414-8, 420  
 Heiðarviga saga, 389, 408  
 Helwān: human crocodiles, 198  
 Hen: crowing, killed and thrown over roof, 281; feathers in diviner's cushion, Iceland, 414  
 Henley (Natal): Zulu wedding, 472-9 (*plates*)  
 Hephaistos back-footed, 131-2, 135  
 Herbs in folklore, *see* Plants in folklore

- Hercules: Maui, parallel of, New Zealand, 133  
 Heremon, King, *see* King Heremon  
 Hermes, in struggle of Zeus and Typhon, 28-9  
 Hero cults, Iceland, 397, 405  
 Hierapolis: swine of Aphrodite, 396  
 Highlands: (*see also under names of counties*): folktale, 163; wrestling, 214-6  
 Hildburgh, W. L.: exhibits, 257; Notes on Spanish Amulets, 454-72 (*plates*)  
 Hill Deverill; omen from ash-trees, Manor Farm, 322  
 Hinchoge, meaning of, 62  
 Hind, *see* Deer  
 Hinds, Rev. J., Tree Worship in China, 190 (*plate*)  
 Hindu folklore, *see* India  
 Hodgson, Miss M. L., exhibits by, 7  
 Hód the god, 390  
 Hoeni, the god, 389  
 Hoensa-thori's saga, 389, 405, 413, 422, 426  
 Hölgi, King, *see* King Hölgi  
 Hog, *see* Pig  
 Holland: (*see also* Wambeck); amulet, 462; cat thrown out of gates, Kirmess, 270  
 Holly: berry in story of Diarmuid and Grainne, 438; in story of Gawain, 341, 427; use in oath, Forest of Dean, 54, 341  
 Holm oak, *see* Ilex  
 Hoopoe: valued, 285  
 Hopi Indians, *see* Moqui Indians  
 Hornet: as local nickname, Palestine, 22  
 Horns: as amulets, Spain, 455-64, 471-2 (*plates*)  
 Horse: badger skin in neck strap, Spain, 461; blood sprinkled on temple and people, Scandinavia, 420; crescent amulet, Spain and Italy, 457; devoted to Frey, 396; eating horseflesh test of paganism, Iceland, 419-20; figure as votive offering, Spain, 471 (*plate*); of Gawain, 343; green, in folktales, 338; magic, of Kraljevich Marko, 113, and of Manannan, 141-2; of Malaen, in proverb, Wales, 49; origin of first breed of, 15; Poseidon Hippios, 15; white, in tale of Oisín, 147-8  
 Horse-fighting: Iceland, 420  
 Horsemen, amulets for, Spain &c., 469 (*plate*)  
 Horses' heads on gables, 268  
 Houses: new, tenanted by evil spirit, Africa &c., 265-7  
 Howe, burial in, *see* Death and funeral customs and beliefs  
 Howitt, A. W., The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, 107-110, 174-89, 288-93, 294-307  
 Howth Castle: elm tree, 173  
 Hrafnkel Freysgoði's saga, 392, 394, 396  
 Huculs: custom on seeing first snake, 278; exhibits, 7  
 Hugh, son of Duach Dubh, 69  
 Human bones, *see* Bones, human  
 Hunchback, as amulet, Italy and Spain, 464 (*plate*)  
 Hungary: (*see also* Huculs; *and* Magyars); harvest custom, 276  
 Hunting: Airi the demon huntsman, India, 136; huntsman's festival, Romans, 446; Lappgod, 134-5, 140  
 Hunting of wren, *see* Wren  
 Huntingdonshire, *see* St. Neot's  
 Huntingfield: hall built round oaks, 172-3  
 Hyæna: in beast fable, Cairo, 196  
 Hy-Fiachrach, *see* Moy  
 Hywel Dda, Laws of, 309-10  
 Ibar Cinn Tracta, in Cuchulainn Saga, 150  
 Ibor, brother of Emer, 338; guardian of Lug, 338  
 Iceland: (*see also* Thorsness); Custom and Belief in the Icelandic Sagas, by Miss L. W. Faraday, 386-426; root cognate to Nuada, 47; sagas &c., 13  
 Idun the goddess, 390  
 Ilex: holly oak, 54  
 Illyria, *see* Pojk  
 Imamba snake, *see* Snake  
 Impendhle, *see* Amafunze tribe; *and* Inadi tribe  
 Inadi tribe: (*see also* Amampumuza tribe); dances, 474, 477 (*plates*); marriage customs, 472-9 (*plates*)  
 Inchkeith: apple-tree of St Serf, 328  
 Inchmaree: holy oak and well of St Maree, 331-2  
 India: (*see also* Ajanta; Andaman islands; Assam; Delhi; Kashmir; Khonds; Lucknow; Mhars; Rajputana; *and* Sikhs);



- Airi the demon huntsman, 136;  
 Churels, demons, 136; demons  
 back-footed, 131, 135-6; Dioscuri,  
 494; early institutions, 511; Dra-  
 cott's *Simla Village Tales, or Folk-  
 Tales from the Himalayas*, reviewed,  
 501-3; string games, 88
- Indogermanic race, The, 14
- Indre (Dept): courtship custom, 282
- Inis Fáil, in Irish folktale, 157
- Inishowen Penin.: Grianan Aileach  
 tumulus, 32
- Inislocha, the Lake Island, 154
- Initiatory ceremonies: Australia, 125,  
 491
- Innocents' Day: whipping of boys,  
 383
- Inns: named after Magi, Spain, 469
- In-qumbabane, snake that causes  
 typhoid fever, Bantu, 249
- Insects in folklore, *see* Ant; Bee;  
 Butterfly; Hornet; Scorpion; *and*  
 Wasp
- Inshinagh, meaning of, 62
- Intoxicating drink: legend of dis-  
 covery, Játakas, 498-9
- Inverness-shire, *see* Beaully
- Iona: the Holy Isle, 328
- Ireland: (*see also* Connaught; Cu-  
 chulainn sagas; Finn; Fir Bile;  
 Fir Bolg; Fomore; Leinster;  
 Munster; Ulster; *and under names*  
*of Kings*); áirne or sloe, 57; back-  
 footed beings, 131; Betrothing  
 Custom, by W. Crooke, 114; The  
 Cure of Elf-shooting in the North-  
 West of Ireland, by Rev. J.  
 Meehan, 130, 200-10; 'ditch,'  
 meaning of, 204; feasts of Beltane  
 and Samhain, 30, 45; folk-songs,  
 161, 316; folktales, 143-58, 316,  
 428-9, 448-51; kings inaugurated  
 under sacred tree, 451; king's life  
 bound up with sacred tree, 171-2,  
 315-6; kings must have no blemish,  
 29; Nuada king of Tuatha Dé  
 Danann, 28-35; oak associated  
 with sky god, 53, and equivalent  
 of apple-tree, 57; place names, 62;  
 St Brigit's cross, 325; *south*, be-  
 trothing custom, 114
- Irel Fáith, *see* King Irel
- Iroquois: sacrifice of white dog, 265
- Irôt, King, *see* King Irôt.
- Irpa, goddess, Iceland, 406-7
- Islay: game, 94
- Isle of Man: arms, origin of, 142;  
 fruit eaten by Irish king, 162; the  
 god Manannan, 141-3
- Istria: (*see also* Slovenians); 'means  
 of living' denotes orchard fruit,  
 Croats, 57
- Italica: amulets, 469 (*plate*)
- Italy: (*see also* Campagna; Cam-  
 pania; Latium; Naples; Padua;  
 Romans, ancient; Sicily; *and*  
 Umbria); aborigines descended  
 from oak, 60; amulets compared  
 with those of Spain, 455, 458, 461-  
 5, 468; kings personated Jupiter  
 and associated with oak, 32, 52-3;  
 missel-thrush, name of, 447
- Itonjé, sister of Gawain, 344-5
- Ivy: lines "wassail box," Yorkshire, 350
- Ixopo, *see* Amafunze tribe
- Jachin and Boaz as Dioscuri, 495
- Jamaica: Jamaican Song and Story,  
 by W. Jekyll, 8
- January: (*see also* New Year's Day);  
 13th, cock's head thrown on roof,  
 Russia, 281; 17th, heaven opened,  
 Copts, 197
- Japan: cat's cradle, 93; charms, 2-3,  
 7; hand impressions instead of  
 seals, 114
- Játakas, The, 13-4, 498-501
- Játaka, The, or Stories of the Buddha's*  
*Former Births*, vol. V, by H. T.  
 Francis, reviewed, 498-501
- Jealousy, amulets against, Spain, 457  
 (*plate*)
- Jekyll, W., Jamaican Song and Story, 8
- Jerboa: mumps transferred to, Bantu,  
 250
- Jet, as protective material, Spain,  
 459-60 (*plate*), 460-1, 464
- Jevons, F. B.: review by,—Lang's  
*The Secret of the Totem*, 236-46;  
 notes by Mr. Lang on review, 291-3
- Jews: expulsion ceremony, Easter,  
 Barcelona, 263; name of ancient  
 villages, 22; sacrifice on eve of  
 Day of Atonement, 275-6, 281;  
 scapegoat, 258-60
- Jičin: goat or ram sacrificed, Kirmess,  
 276
- Johannesburg: dances, 478
- Jómsvíkinga-drápa, 406
- Jómsvíkinga saga, 406
- Journey: amulets for, Spain &c.,  
 469 (*plate*)
- Judas Thomas, Acts of, 497-8
- Julian gens, name of, 59

- July : 31st, eve of Lughnassad festival, 44, fair at St Neot's (Hunt.), 44, and festival of St Neot, 43
- Jumping hare, *see* Jerboa
- June, *see* Midsummer Eve; and St Barnabas' Day
- Jupiter : embodied in kings, 32, 53; as sky &c. god, 30-1
- Kabylia : folktale, 506
- Kaffir beer, 481
- Kaitish tribe : conception beliefs, 19, 21, 26; not primitive, 491; re-incarnation beliefs, 21; supernatural being, belief in, 188; totemism, 18-21
- Kamerun : Hewat's *Bantu Folk Lore* reviewed, 248-51
- Kamilaroi : marital terms and organisation, 179; origin of name, 115; relationships, 109
- Kamtchadales : Kutcha the supreme being, 248
- Kashmir : folktale, 133
- Kava, Polynesia, 481
- Keincaled, Gawain's horse, 343
- Kells : oak of St Columille, 327
- Kenneth, King, *see* King Kenneth
- Kent, *see* Eastwell
- Kerloän, battle of, 313-4
- Kerry : (*see also* Luachar Deghadh); palace of King Cairbré, 170-1
- Kharidjites, *see* Abadhites
- Khonds : sacrifice of Meriah, 277
- Kid, *see* Goat
- Kildare : origin of name, 325
- Kildare county, *see* Barrow river; Carbury Hill; Kildare; and Naas
- Kilwhch and Olwen, story of, 39
- Kilkenny county, *see* Barrow river
- Kilpara phratry, 246
- Kiltubbrid : folktale, 442-3
- King Ailill, of Connaught, 160, 167
- King Alexander III of Scotland gave Manx arms, 142
- King Alfred, St Neot the brother of, 45
- King Arthur sagas : Arthur and Gorlagon, 316; king living still as raven, Cornwall, 313; The Legend of Merlin, by Miss J. L. Weston, 230-1; oak coffin, Glastonbury, 321; Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 338-48; story of Creiddylad, 48
- King Ban in Arthurian sagas, 231
- King Bendigeid Vran of Britain, 309
- King Bohoet in Arthurian sagas, 231
- King Bres of Ireland, 29, 33, 45-6, 324, 326
- King Buan of Erin, 166
- King Cairbré of Kerry, 170
- King Cassibellaun of Britain, 51
- King Cathair the Great, of Ireland, 33, 161
- King Charles I of England, 324
- King Conaire the Great, of Ireland, 35, 167
- King Conchobar mac Nessa, 35, 70, 160, 163-4, 168, 309-10, 320
- King Conn of the Hundred Battles, 60-1, 68, 146-7, 154, 157, 162, 169, 430
- King Cormac mac Airt of Ireland, 29, 35, 70, 151-3, 155, 159, 167-9, 309-10, 320, 333, 431, 436-7
- King Crimthan Cass of Connaught, 150
- King Curoi of South Munster, 334-6, 427
- King Dathi of Erin and Albain, 164
- King Dergcroche of Inislocha, 154
- King Domald of Norway, 418
- King Duach Dubh of Oirgiall, 69
- King Eochaid Airem of Ireland, 67, 167
- King Eterscel of Erin, 167
- King Ethelwulf, St Neot son of, 45
- King Gramoflanz of Rosche Sabbins, 344-8
- King Hakon the Good of Norway, 417, 419-20
- King Halfdan of Norway, 418-9
- King Heremon of Ireland, 154
- King Hölgi of Halogaland, 405-6
- King Hugh of Oirgiall, 69
- King Irél of Milesians, 32-3, 59
- King Irôt, 345
- King Kenneth of Scotland, 317
- King Leudonus of Leudonea, 330
- King Loegaire of Ireland, 34
- King Lot of Londresia, 49, 51-2, 55, 59, 143, 330
- King Lot of Norway, 51, 343, 345
- King Llud, *see* Lludd Llawereint
- King Lud, story of, 50-1
- King Lugaid Laigde, 342-3
- King Lughaid Menn of Ireland, 170
- King Malachy II of Ireland, 161, 172
- King Matholwch of Ireland, 309
- King Murchad of Ireland, 61
- King Niall of the Nine Hostages, of Ireland, 328, 332

- King Nuada Finnfaíl of Ireland, 33  
 King Nuada Fullon of Leinster, 33  
 King Nuada Necht of Ireland, 33, 427  
 King Nuada of Ireland, 29, 32  
 King Nuada the Sage of Leinster, 33  
 King Oenomaus of Pisa, 340  
 King of the Wood, The, on Celtic Soil, by A. B. Cook, 1, 27-71  
 King Oilíoll Olúim of Munster, 153  
 King 'On of Scandinavia, 419  
 King Rederech, 329-30.  
 King Rudrach of Inislocha, 154  
 Kings: crops depend on, Scandinavia, 418-9; embody chief deity, Greece &c., 32-3, 35, 37, 165; fine for insult to, Laws of Hywel Dda, 309-10; inaugurated under sacred tree, Ireland, 451; Frazer's *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* reviewed, 375-9; Frazer's *Origin of Kingship*, 15; related to birds, Ireland, 166-7, and trees, Ireland, 171-2, 315-6; taboos on, Ireland, 161-2; to be without blemish, Ireland, 29  
 King's county, *see* *Durrow*  
 King Sithon of Odomanti, 340  
 King's Oak, New Forest, 311  
 King Solomon: seal as amulet, Spain, 460  
 King Solomon's temple: Dioscuri, 495  
 Kingston Lisle: 'Blowing Stone,' 320  
 King Tuathal of Ireland, 64  
 Kinnoull, in legend of Hays, 318  
 Kintyre: (*see also* Strath Duie); games, 98, 213-4, 220, 227; strength feats, 219-20  
 Kirkmaiden: wren caught and freed, New Year's Day, 271  
 Kirmiss: cat thrown from gates, Holland, 270; goat or ram sacrificed, Bohemia, 276  
 Kite: in beast fable, Cairo, 196  
 Klopfeinsnacht, S. Germany, 262  
 Knaresborough: roof tree of Manor House, 173  
 Knees: Back-footed Beings, by A. T. Crawford Cree, 131-40  
 Knobneuzen tribe, *see* Shangaan tribe  
 Koranas: myth of origin, 253  
 Korea: string game, 82-5, 93  
 Kormak's Saga, 389, 408, 422-3, 426  
 Koussa Kaffirs: salute anchor, 255  
 Kraals, Zulu, 479-84  
 Kraljevich Marko, Servian hero, 113  
 Kristni saga, 415, 419  
 Kuinmurbura tribe: marital terms and organisation, 180  
 Kukis: revenge mishap upon tree, 255  
 Kurile islands: animal rolled from roof, 280  
 Kurnai: marital terms and organisation, 180, 182-7, 297-8, 300-1, 304  
 Kurnandaburi tribe: marriage customs, 294-5  
 Kutcha, supreme being, Kamtchadales, 248  
 Labraid the Swift, in Cuchulainn saga, 149  
 La Creuse: meal for newly married, 283  
 Lady's Mantle: in cure for elf-shooting, N.W. Ireland, 207; wound-herb, Germans &c., 208-9  
 Laegaire Buadach, 168, 334-5  
 Laegaire Liban, tale of, 150, 163  
 Laegh, charioteer of Cuchulainn, 149  
 Laguenne: tug-of-war &c., annual ceremony, 272-4  
 Lake Eyre: group marriage and female descent, 176, 301  
 Lamb, *see* *Sheep*  
 Lammass fair, St Neot's (Hunt.), 44  
 Lamps: butter, Tibet, 3  
 Lanarkshire, *see* *Glasgow*  
 Lancashire, *see* *Oldham*  
 Landnámabok, 390-1, 394, 401, 403-5, 413, 417  
 Lang, A.: Mr. Clodd on Crystal-Gazing, 231-3; his theory of totemism discussed, 16-26; Notes in Reply to Mr. Howitt and Mr. Jevons, 288-93; Two Queries, 507  
 Languedoc: as local nickname, 23  
 Languoreth, Queen, *see* *Queen Languoreth*  
 Lanhadron Park: oak with speckled leaves, 323-4  
 Lapps: god of hunting and fishing, 134-5, 140; Tiermes, god of thunder, 452-3  
 Latium: (*see also* Alban Mount; Aricia; and Praeneste); Faunus and Saturnus as early kings, 409  
 Laxdoela saga, 388, 393-4, 402-3, 405, 412-3, 422, 426  
*Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, by J. G. Frazer, reviewed, 375-9

- Ledaig : game, 224  
 Leg, human : figure as votive offering, Spain, 471 (*plate*)  
 Legend of Merlin, The, by Miss J. L. Weston, 230-1  
 Leicester : Black Anna, the cave haunter, 55  
 Leicestershire : (*see also* Charnwood Forest ; Leicester ; Louth ; Ludborough ; Ludford ; *and* Ludney) ; Lud as river god, 50  
 Leinster : (*see also* Almu ; Carlow ; Dublin county ; Kildare county ; Kilkenny county ; King's county ; Longford ; Meath ; Mugna, plan of ; Waterford ; Wexford ; *and* Westmeath) ; kings, 31, 33 ; Manannan with three legs, 141-2 ; Nuada Necht, ancestor of kings, 31  
 Leitrim county : (*see also* Doolas woods ; *and* Kiltubbrid) ; cure of elf-shooting, 200-10  
 Lemon : in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349  
 Lent : burned or cast out in effigy &c., 258  
 Leprosy, ceremony for, Jews, 260  
 Lett, Rev. Canon, exhibit by, 7  
 Letts : marriage custom, 284  
 Leudonus, King, *see* King Leudonus  
 Levarcham backfooted, 131-2, 140  
 Lewis island : game, 228  
 Liban, wife of Labraid, 149, 167  
 Libation ceremonies : Greenland, 408 ; Iceland, 408  
 Library of Folk-Lore Society, *see* Books  
 Libya, ancient : doves and oaks, 327 ; origin of Arab breed of horses, 15  
 Liepa : goat sacrificed, 276  
 Liepe : birds caught, carried, and freed, Ascension Day, 271  
 Life-index : ash-trees, Wiltshire, 322 ; oak of Hays, Errol, 318-9 ; oak of Probus, Cornwall, 323  
 Lightning : Palm-Sunday palm as amulet against, Spain, 470 ; as sword of Nuada or Zeus, 30-1  
 Limousin, *see* Laguegne ; *and* Tulle  
 Lion : in fable, Cairo, 196 ; as local nickname, Palestine, 22  
 Lion's River, *see* Amafunze tribe ; *and* Inadi tribe  
 Lis Logha, *see* Naas  
 Lis Lughach, *see* Tara  
 Lis Luighdhech, *see* Naas  
 Lisnabilla : meaning of name, 172  
 Lisnafunchin, meaning of, 62  
 List of Works dealing with the "Early Institutions" side of Folklore Studies, by A. Nutt, 508-12  
 Lithuania : root cognate to Nuada, 47  
 Little Black Princess, A : a True Tale of Life in the Never-Never Land, by Mrs. J. Gunn, reviewed, 254  
 Livett, R. : cat's cradle, 82-3  
 Lizard : in crest of V1 Duinn, Ireland, 325 ; if has feet, can kill scorpion, Cairo, 198 ; as local nickname, 22  
 Llandaff : Nud, bishop of, 42  
 Llew Llaw Gyffes, tale of, 311-3  
 Lludd Llawereint, as parallel of Nuada, 47-52, 55-6, 57-9, 143, 343  
 Llyn Llunonwy : tradition of eagles, 50  
 Llyr, father of Bendigeid Vran, 309  
 Loch Aweside : strength test, 218  
 Lochgilphead : games, 103-4, 222-3  
 Loch Guirr : in folktale, 347  
 Lochlann, *see* Norway  
 Loch Lein, in tale of Oisín, 147  
 Loch Lomond, *see* Llyn Llunonwy  
 Loch Maree, *see* Inchmaree  
 Loch na-n Ean, in folktale, 150  
 Loegaire, King, *see* King Loegaire  
 Loire Inférieure, *see* Nantes  
 Loki, fire spirit, 389  
 London : (*see also* Clapham ; London bridge ; Ludgate ; *and* St Paul's cathedral) ; in game, Hebrides, 100 ; sanctuary of god Lud, 50 ; string game, 87  
 London bridge : in nursery rhyme, 56  
 Londonderry : St Columcille's church in oak grove, 327  
 Londonderry county, *see* Londonderry  
 Londonesia, *see* Lothian  
 Longford, *see* Bri-Leith ; *and* Granard  
 Lopaš : costumes, marriage, and songs, 252  
 Lorne : game, 222-3  
 Lostwithiel : oak in sympathy with king, 324  
 Lot, King, *see* King Lot  
 Loth, King, *see* King Lot  
 Lothian : Lot eponym of, 51  
 Lots, casting : lot bowl in Scandinavian temples, 414  
 Lough Erne : crystal tree of, 149 ; journey of Conn-eda, 169-70  
 Lough Foyle : Grianan Aileach tumulus, 32

- Lough Swilly: Grianan Aileach tumulus, 32  
 Louth (Leices.): derivation of name, 50  
 Love charms, Australia, 491  
 Lovett, E.: exhibits by, 7; The Folklore of Dolls, 1, 129  
 Lower Finow: birds caught, carried, and freed, Ascension Day, 271  
 Lower Tugela river: witch doctor's kit, 385  
 Luachar Deghadh: annual leap by Finn MacCumall, 433-4  
 Luchtaine the carpenter, 58  
 Luck cups, 172-3  
 Lucknow: string game, 88  
 Lucky and unlucky days and deeds: animals. 285; Bantu, 249; Cornwall, 281; Egypt, 196-8; France, 271; Ireland, 203; Perthshire, 319  
 Lud as river god, Leicestershire, 50  
 Ludborough: derivation of name, 50  
 Ludford: derivation of name, 50  
 Ludgate, burial place of King Lud, 51  
 Lud, King, *see* King Lud; and Lludd Llawerent  
 Ludney: derivation of name, 50  
 Lud river, Leicestershire, 50  
 Lug, slayer of Balar, 58, 165  
 Lug the sun god, 141, 158, 162-5, 312, 338, 343  
 Lugaid Laigde, King, *see* King Lugaid Laigde  
 Lugaid, name of five brothers, 342  
 Lughadh Lis, *see* Tara  
 Lughaid Menn, King, *see* King Lughaid Menn  
 Lugnassad, Celtic festival, 44, 162  
 Luibnech: deer eaten by Irish king, 162  
 Lunacy, cures for, *see* Medical folklore  
 Lunar crescents, *see* Moon  
 Lunatics, as priests of St Maree, 333  
 Luncarty, battle of, 317-9  
 Lusatia, *see* Wends  
 Luxor; shadûfs and shadûf songs, 198-9  
 Luzon island: (*see also* Zambales); Reed's *The Negritos of Zambales* reviewed, 120-2  
 Lycanthropy, *see* Wer-beasts  
 Lycia: "Harpy tomb," 134-6, 140  
 Lydney Park: name of, 48; oak-trees, 53-4; Roman temple and villa, 38, 54  
 Mabinogion, The, 48-9, 309, 311-2  
 Macedonia: footprints of magic horse, 113  
 Mac Firbis, poem by, 34  
 Macharanga tribe, *see* Manyika tribe  
 MacLagan, R. C., Additions to "The Games of Argyleshire," 93-106, 210-29; exhibit by, 7  
 Mac Nowd family, descent of, 34  
 Madmen, *see* Lunatics  
 Madness, cures for, *see* Medical folklore  
 Madrid: amulets, 456, 458-62, 465-7, 469-70 (*plates*)  
 Mael-Duin, the voyage of, 155-6, 158-9, 163, 169, 333, 431, 444  
 Maelrubha, *see* St Maree  
 Magh-adhar: the *bile* of the O'Briens, 171-2  
 Magh Archomnim, in story of Connla, 147  
 Magh Mell, in Irish tales, 146, 149-50  
 Magi, The: on amulet, Spain, 469 (*plate*)  
 Magic: (*see also* Amulets and talismans; Charms and spells; and Shape-shifting); Iceland, 421, 423-6; magician natural enemy of priest, 377-8; Mauss' *L'Origine des Pouvoirs Magiques dans les Sociétés Australiennes* reviewed, 125-6; at root of all culture, 126-8; sorcerer's implements, Tibet, 3  
 Magri. Rev. E., exhibit by, 7  
 Mag-Tured, battles of, 28-9, 47  
 Magyars: folktale, 133  
 Mahire, *see* Magh-adhar  
 Maize: chicha from, United States of Columbia, 481; goddess Chicome coatl, Mexico, 127  
 Malachy, King, *see* King Malachy  
 Malay Peninsula: Sakai or black dwarfs, 120  
 Malta: Phoenician sacred pillar, 7  
 Malwood castle: oak budded on Christmas Day, 311  
 Manann, *see* Isle of Man  
 Manannán mac Lir, 58, 69, 141-50, 152, 159, 162, 168, 336, 431, 438  
 Manawyddan mab Llŷr, analogue of Manannan, 142  
 Mango-tree: in folktale, India, 502-3  
 Manyika tribe: kraal, 485-7 (*plate*); organisation of, 485  
 Manx folklore, *see* Isle of Man  
 Maori legends, 133  
 March, *see* Baramhât.

- Marchant, F. P. : review by,—*The Czech Ethnographical Review*, 251-2
- March Malaen, in Welsh Triad, 49
- Marett, R. R. : reviews by—Clodd's *Animism: the Seed of Religion*, 254-5; Karsten's *The Origin of Worship: a study in Primitive Religion*, 246-8; Preuss' *Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst*, 126-8
- Mark, The, *see* Attendorf
- Marriage customs and beliefs: Amazulu, 472-9 (*plates*); Australia, 17, 20, 107-10, 174-89, 242-4, 288-307, 489; 'bachelette' custom, Chatillon-sur-Seine, 280; Bohemia, 252; bride sprinkled with gall of sacrifice, Amazulu, 483; by purchase, Philippines, 121; cakes, Russia &c., 282-4; cock in, Podlissie &c., 279, 282-3; dances, Amazulu, 279-80, 474 (*plates*), 476; father not at wedding of eldest daughter, Zulus, 478; gifts, Bulgaria, 283, Crim Tartars, 283, France, 283-4, Illyria, 283, Great Russia, 282, and South Slavs, 283; group marriage, 176-89, 288-307; mimetic dances, 279-80; mother of bride not at wedding, Zulus, 478; pig in, Oberpfalz, 280; polyandry, Jatakas, 501; raiding hen-roosts &c., 279; sacrifice, Amazulu, 483; spring customs connected with, 279; taboos obsolete, Zulu, 478; wren customs, Wales &c., 280
- Maryborough tribes (Aus.): relationships, 110
- Masai: chief and medicine-man, 378
- Mashonaland, *see* Umtali.
- Masks: Tibet, 3
- Math, the son of Mathonwy, tale of, 311-2
- Matholwch, King, *see* King Matholwch
- Matriarchy, *see* Mother-right
- Maubeuge: ram led and killed as scapegoat, 275
- Maui: descends to Hades, 133, 140
- May: (*see also* May Day); the May-game, 382, 384
- May Day: cattle driven between fires by druids, Ireland, 30, 45; Easter customs originally on, 262; expulsion ceremonies, 262; feast of Beltane, 30, 64; fight annually of Gwynn and Gwythyr, 48; Finn's annual leap, Waterford, 434; in legends of king Lludd, 49, and sons of king Lot, 49-50, and other tales, 50; Tuatha De Danann reached Ireland, 30
- May Eve: in Mabinogion tale, 48
- Mayo, *see* Moy
- Meadowsweet: maid formed from, Wales, 311-2
- Measuring: to detect elf-shooting, N.W. Ireland, 203-4
- Meath, *see* Ardbraccan; Boyne river; Kells; Tara; and Tortu
- Meave, Queen, *see* Queen Medb
- Medals as amulets, Spain &c., 469-70 (*plates*)
- Medb, Queen, *see* Queen Medb
- Mediaeval Stage, The, by E. K. Chambers, reviewed, 379-84
- Medical folklore: (*see also* Amulets and talismans; and Charms and spells);
- diseases and injuries treated*:—anthrax, 249; of cattle, 208, 322; of eyes, 198; epilepsy, 322; madness, 331; typhoid fever, 249; wind ruptures, 322;
- localities*: amongst Bantu, 249; Cairo, 198; Germany, 208; Scotland, 331; Tibet, 3;
- remedies*: mistletoe, 322; white crow, filament from, 198; lady's mantle, 208-9; water from St Maree's well, 331;
- payment by results, Bantu, 249;
- seventh son of a seventh son, powers of, Leitrim, 201
- Medicine cakes, Tibet, 3
- Medicine men, *see* Wizards
- Medicine women, Philippines, 122
- Medrawt: born on May Day, 50; son of King Lot, 49
- Meehan, Rev. J., The Cure of Elf-Shooting in the North-West of Ireland, 130, 200-10
- Meetings, 1-5, 129-30, 257, 385-6
- Megara: oracular stone, 414
- Megarais, *see* Megara
- Megrims, *see* Headache
- Melanesia: (*see also* Caroline islands; and New Caledonia); back-footed beings, 138-9; string games, 86-7, 359, 369
- Meleager, 348
- Melitene: St Polyeuctes, 496
- Melquart's Temple, Malta, 7
- Members deceased, 1, 6, 257, 386
- Members elected, 1, 2, 6, 129-30, 257, 386

- Members resigned, 1, 2, 6, 129, 385  
 Menhirs, *see* Stones  
 Menstruation, *see* Catamenia  
 Merionethshire, *see* Aberdovey  
 Merlin : The Legend of Merlin, by Miss J. L. Weston, 230-1; prophecies, 56  
 Mermaid : in amulet, Spain, 462 (*plate*)  
 Metals in folklore, *see* Gold; and Silver  
 Mexico : calendar systems &c., 13; maize goddess Chicome coatl, 127  
 Mhars : scapegoat ceremony, 269, 274  
 Miach, son of Dian-Cecht, 29  
 Middlesex, *see* London  
 Midir the fairy king, 67, 153, 162, 167, 170, 336  
 Midsummer : (*see also* Midsummer Eve); sacrifice, Scandinavia, 417  
 Midsummer Eve : rushes offered to Manannan, Isle of Man, 141  
 Midwinter : (*see also* Christmastide); divination, Iceland, 414-5; Yule feasts, *see* Christmastide  
 Milesians : Bile, ancestor of kings, 59; Eber, leader of, 153; king Irél, 33; landing of, 164-5  
 Milk : curdled, baby fed with, Bantu, 250-1; in nursing, amulets to increase, Italy and Spain, 468 (*plate*)  
 Millet : Kaffi beer prepared from, 481  
 Mincopies of Andaman islands, 120  
 Mindanao : negritos, 120  
 Mining customs and beliefs : oaths, Forest of Dean, 54  
 Minstrelsy, mediaeval, 380-1  
 Mirfield : wassailing, 350  
 Missel-thrush, *see* Thrush  
 Mist : brought by magic, 425; cast round Man by Manannan, 141  
 Mr. Clodd on Crystal-Gazing, by A. Lang, 231-3  
 Mistletoe : badge of Hays, 318; carved on tomb, Bristol, 323; ceremony of cutting, Gauls, 33-4, and Hays, 319-21; charm against glamour &c., Perthshire, 318-9; in coffin of Brigantian chief, 321; the 'golden bough,' Nemi, 444; King Gramoflanz, 346-8; could not be harmed by fire or water, 445; medicinal, 322; from oak connected with sun, 320, and life-blood of oak, 445; must pass through maw of birds, 447; in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349  
 Mitres : Tibet, 3  
 Moa, Central Africa, 481  
 Modred, *see* Medrawt  
 Moharrem month : marriages &c. unlucky, Cairo, 196-7  
 Monday : nursery rhyme, Cairo, 197  
 Monmouthshire : (*see also* Chepstow); fairies dance under female oak, 54  
 Montgomeryshire : blindfolding custom, Shrove Tuesday, 275  
 Mooldtharp (bird) : driven away, S. Australia, 264; souls as, S. Australia, 264  
 Moon : ancestor of Rajput princes, 376; crescent amulets, Spain, 457-60 (*plates*)  
 Moqui Indians : dances, 1; Cropping Animals' Ears, by J. Smeaton Chase, 72-3 (*plate*)  
 Moravia : harvest custom, 276  
 Morayshire : fairs, 333  
 More Cairene Folklore, by Prof. A. H. Sayce, 130, 191-200  
 Morgan le Fay, King Arthur's sister, 52, 340  
 Morgawse, sister of king Arthur, 51  
 Morocco : (*see also* Fez; and Morocco city); five as protective number, 458; kotba, a burlesque festival, 506; rain, rites to obtain, 506; Spanish amulets show traces of Moorish occupation, 455, 458-9, 468-9 (*plates*)  
 Morocco city : burlesque festival, 506  
 Morrigu or Morrigan, The, 166  
 Moscow : marriage custom, 283  
 Moss : lines "wassail box," Yorkshire, 350  
 Mother-right : Australia, 117, 489; origin, 19; Paraguay, 123-4; primitive, 16-7  
 Mothers : of brides not at weddings, Zulus, 478; terms for, Australia, 302  
 Mountain ash : badge of Clann McLachlan, 453; berries attract birds, 447, food of fairies, Ireland, 442, and make intoxicating drink, 439; Standard of Fianna, 433  
 Mourie, *see* St Maree  
 Mouse : as local nickname, 23  
 Moy, country of the : in tale of Diarmuid and Grainne, 438  
 Moytura, battle of, 209  
 Mozabites, slayers of Ali, 507  
 Mucuna : seed as amulet, Spain, 467

- (plate), styled "bean" and "wild chestnut," Spain, 467  
 Mugna plain: gigantic oak, 60-1, 65, 67-9, 153, 320  
 Mukwara-Kilpara tribes, organisation of, 179, 246  
 Mule: amulet for, Spain, 456  
 Mumming plays, *see* Folk-drama  
 Mumps, treatment of, Bantu, 250  
 Muncaster: luck cup, 173  
 Munster: (*see also* Clare; Cork county; Kerry; Slienamon; and Tipperary); king Curoi, 334-5; king Oiloll Oluim, 153; trick of king Bres, 46  
 Murchad, King, *see* King Murchad  
 Murrain, sacrifice to avert, Wales, 276  
 Murray river: tribal organisation, 179; tribal All-Father, 175  
 Mur-y-Castell: palace of Llew, 312  
 Music: musical instruments, Tibet, 3  
 Mycenæ: gold cup, 168  
 Mystery plays: defined, 381; Tibet, 3  
*Mythes et Légendes d'Australie: Études d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, by A. van Gennep, reviewed, 488-93  
 Naaburg: pigeon eaten by newly married, 284  
 Naas: hares eaten by Irish king, 162  
 Nairn, *see* Cawdor  
 Names: of children from places, Euahlayi tribe, 245; local nicknames, 22-3  
 Nantes: cat's cradle, 89, 92  
 Naples: amulets, 457 (plate), 462  
 Narran river, *see* Euahlayi tribe  
 Natal, *see* Amafunze tribe; Amampumuze tribe; Camperdown; Durban; Estcourt; Henley; Inadi tribe; Lion's River; New Hanover; Ngcobo tribes; Pietermaritzburg; Swartkop; and Tugela  
 Native Tribes of South-East Australia, The, by A. W. Howitt, 107-110, 174-89, 288-93  
 Necklaces: charm, 7; witchdoctor's, Zulu, 483 (plate)  
 Nechta, water spirit, Ireland, 31, 39  
 Nechtan mac Collbrain, in voyage of Bran, 145  
*Negritos of Zambales, The*, by W. A. Reed, reviewed, 120-2  
 Negros (Philippines): negritos, 120  
 Nemed, in Irish folktale, 154  
 Nemglam, king of the birds, 167  
 Nemi, wood of; branch plucked at, 157, 444; oak of St Brigit compared, 326; rex Nemorensis, 333-5, 441, 451; sacred tree oak or apple-tree, 445  
 Nervous troubles, amulets for, Spain, 470-1 (plate)  
 Netherlands, *see* Holland  
 New Caledonia: snake-man back-footed, 131-2, 138  
 New Castile, *see* Madrid; and Toledo  
 New Forest, *see* Cadenham oak; and King's oak  
 New Hanover (Natal), *see* Inadi tribe  
 New South Wales: (*see also* Darling river; Gwydir river; Murray river; Narran river; and under names of tribes); graves slept upon, 261; relationships, 110; tribal All-Father, 175  
 New Year's Day: in Arthurian sagas, 338-9, 341; wren caught and freed, Kirkmaiden, 271  
 New York: string game, 87-8  
 New Zealand: Maui as a pigeon, 133  
 Ngcobo tribes, 473  
 Niall, King, *see* King Niall  
 Niall O'Loughlin, vengeance of, 172  
 Niamh of the Golden Head, 147-8  
 Nias: animal rolled from roof, 280  
 Nicknames, *see* Names  
 Nidd river, *see* Knaresborough  
 Nile: human crocodiles, 198  
 Ninine the poet, 60-1  
 Nitran: costumes, marriage, and songs, 252  
 Nivernais: wren freed at gate annually, 270  
 Njála saga, 388, 392, 405, 407, 410, 415, 419  
 Njörd: agricultural god, 389; oath by, Icelandic saga, 394; toasted, Yule feast, Scandinavia, 417  
 Nodons: Gaelic deity, 38-43, 45, 47, 50, 53, 55, 57; temple of, Lydney Park, 38-41, 54  
 Noondoo ridges, abode of Byamee, 117  
 Noongahburrah tribe, local division of Euahlayi tribe, 115  
 Nord Dept., *see* Maubeuge  
 Normandy: (*see also* Bec Hellouin; and Rouen); pigeon eaten by newly married, 284  
 Normanton: wassailing song, 351  
 Norns, The, 409-10  
 North America: (*see also* British Columbia; Mexico; United States of North America; and West



- Indies); *south west*, folklore of Indian tribes of, 1, 7
- North wind: sons of Boreas in Wurzburg cylix, 136
- Norway: (*see also* Drontheim; Halogaland; Hedemark; Heimskringla; Lapps; Raumarige; Ringerige; Trondhjem; *and* Westfold); autumn feast and sacrifice, 416; cat's cradle, 86; in folktale, Ireland, 449-51; king Halfdan's body divided for burial, 418-9; king Lot, 51, 343, 345; Scandinavian element in Irish tales, 453; in tale of Diarmuid and Grainne, 438
- Notes on Spanish Amulets, by W. L. Hildburgh, 454-72, (*plates*)
- November: 1st, death of Nuada, 30; feast of Samhain, 30; "wassail box" carried round, Yorkshire, 349
- Nuada, Irish deity, 28-35, 37-40, 43, 45, 47, 52, 58-9, 141, 143, 165, 324, 428
- Nuada Deg-lámh, 33-4
- Nuada Derg, 34
- Nuada Find Feimín, 34
- Nuada Finnfiúl, King, *see* King Nuada Finnfiúl
- Nuada Fullon, King, *see* King Nuada Fullon
- Nuada Sálfota, 34
- Nuada the druid, 33, 59
- Nuada the Sage, King, *see* King Nuada the Sage
- Nuada the warrior, Ulster, 33
- Nuadha O'Lomthuilé, the poet, 34
- Nubia, *see* Dirr; *and* Nubians
- Nubians, drolls about, 195-6
- Nud, bishop of Llandaff, 42
- Nudd: as name of Welsh chiefs, 36-7, 46, 143; Welsh parallel of Nuada, 35-6, 45, 47-8, 52, 55
- Nudos Liberals, 453
- Numbers in folklore, *see under various numbers, such as* Three
- Nursery rhymes: Egypt, 197; England, 56
- Nutcrack night, *see* Hallow Eve
- Nuts: (*see also* Beech-nut; Chestnut, wild; *and* Hazel nut); borne by oak of Mugna, Ireland, 61; burnt on nutcrack night, Ireland, 58; connected with Nuada, 58; in folktale, Ireland, 435
- Nutt, A., List of Works dealing with the "Early Institutions" side of Folklore Studies, 508-12
- Oak-tree: apple-tree as substitute for, Europe, 57-8, 159, Glastonbury, 310-1; in arms of Glasgow, 329; in Arthurian sagas, 341; in ballad, Bretagne, 313-4; on battlefield of Kerloán, 313-4; of Boconnoc, 324; of Charnwood Forest, 323; coffins of Brigantian chief, 321, and King Arthur, 321; as crest, Ireland, 325; of Derry, 327; of Dodona, 67; of Durrow, 327; fairies dance under, Monmouthshire, 54; of Finches, Kent, 323; Finn Mac-Cumall reared in, 429; in folktales, Argyllshire, 316-7, Ireland, 152-3, 334-5, and Wales, 312-3; founder of Glastonbury named from, 310-1; halls built round, England, 172-3; of Hays, Perthshire, 318-9; heads hung on, 340; of Kells, 327; leaves in crowns, 315, and sword of state, 315; as life-index, 318-9, 323; maid formed from blossoms of, Wales, 311-2; of Mugna, Ireland, 60-1, 65, 67-9, 153, 320; names drawn from, Ireland, 327; oak woods, Forest of Dean, 53-4, 341, Ireland, 62, 327; oracles from oak slips, Praeneste, 67; of Ramsays, Dalkeith, 322; of St Brigit, 325; of St Maree, Ross-shire, 332; sky god associated with, 53; Stuart badge, 315, 322; on sword of state, Scotland, 315
- Oaths: by gods, Icelandic sagas, 394; of miners, Forest of Dean, 54
- Oats: Brigit represented by, Hebrides, 326
- Oban: game, 102-3; in game, Uist, 211
- Oberpfalz: goat thrown from church, Sept. 1, 276; pig rolled from roof, wedding, 280-1; pork at wedding breakfast, 280.
- O'Briens, the bile of the, 172
- Ocean deities, *see* Sea deities
- October: (*see also* Båba; *and* Hallow Eve); 28th, eve of Samhain, 44; Ides, sacrifice of 'October horse' on, 420
- Odin: ancestor king, 408; burnt on pile, 409; heaven-god, 409; sacrificed to, Scandinavia, 418-9; sacrifices not named, Icelandic sagas, 395, 426; toast to, Yule feast, Scandinavia, 417; wind or storm god, 389, 393

- Oeth and Anoeth, bone fortress of, 142  
 Ogres: eyes red and do not wink, India, 499; in Jātakas, 499; no shadow, India, 499  
 Oilioll Oluim, King, *see* King Oilioll Oluim  
 Oinomaos, King, *see* King Oenomaos  
 Oirgiall: kings, 69  
 Oisín, tales of, 147-8, 163, 326, 343, 435-8, 440  
 Olaf Tryggvason's saga, 398-9, 407, 416  
 Oldham: "Thor cake," 2, 7  
 Omens: (*see also* Life-index); from bubbles on coffee, Cairo, 198; from state of well, Scotland, 331; of marriage and courtship, Ireland, 58  
 'On, King, *see* King 'On  
 O'Nuadan, in poem, 34  
 O'Neils, inauguration trees of, 172  
 Oracles: Dodona, 67; oracular stones, Greece and Iceland, 414; Praeneste, 67  
 Orange: in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349  
 Oraibi, Moqui pueblo, 73  
 Orchid: children named from country of, Euahlayi tribe, 245  
*Origine des Pouvoirs Magiques dans les Sociétés Australiennes*, L', par M. Mauss, reviewed, 125-6  
*Origin of Priesthood*, The, by G. Landtman, reviewed, 377, 379  
*Origin of Worship*, The: a Study in Primitive Religion, by R. Karsten, reviewed, 246-8  
 Orinoco river, *see* Piaroas  
 Orkney islands: games, 104, 223-4; king Lot, 51  
 Oscar, grandson of Finn, 441  
 Ossianic sagas: (*see also* Finn; and Oisín); king of the woods in, 427-53  
 Ostrich: S. Amer. tribe back-kneed like, 136  
 Otherworld, *see* Hades  
 Owein, son of Nudd, 35  
 Owl: figured on wedding cake, Ukraine, 284; shape-shifting into, Wales, 312; wizard's messenger, W. Africa, 264  
 Ox: devoted to gods, 391, 396; figure as votive offering, Spain, 472 (*plate*); in Floamanna saga, 391, 396; in folktale, Ireland, 450; in marriage custom, Illyria, 283; sacrificed, Amazulu, 483; in Viga-Glúm's saga, 392-3  
 Oyster: as local nickname, 22  
 Padua: figure of St Anthony of, as amulet, Spain, 471 (*plate*)  
 Palestine: (*see also* Jews); local nicknames, 22  
 Palm Sunday: palm blessed then as amulet against lightning, Spain, 470  
 Pamphlets presented to Folk-Lore Society, *see* Books  
 Pan, goat's legs of, 133  
 Panay: negritos, 120  
 Papers read at meetings of Folk-Lore Society, 1, 6-7, 129-30  
 Paragua island: negritos, 120  
 Paraguay: Grubb's *Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco*, reviewed, 122-4  
 Paralysis: amulet against, Spain, 467 (*plate*)  
 Parthalon, in Irish folktale, 154  
 Partridge: in marriage customs, 281  
 Parzival, 344-5, 427  
 Pawnee Indians: Hako ceremony, 12  
 Peacock: plumage in *Parzival*, 345  
 Pellinore, in *Morte Darthur*, 52  
 Perceval, Sir, *see* Parzival  
 Perseus, sandals of, 140  
 Persia: Dioscure, 494; magic spear of king, in Irish saga, 70  
 Perthshire: (*see also* Culross; Errol; Gowrie; Kinnoull; Luncarty; and St Madoes); games, 99, 104, 220-2  
 Philippine islands: (*see also* Luzon; Mindanao; Negros; Panay; and Paragua); ethnological survey, 12, 120  
 Phineus, the feast of, 136-7  
 Phocis: sacred cattle of Artemis, 396  
 Phœnicians: amulet against evil eye, 458; Dioscure, 494; sacred pillar, Malta, 7  
 Phorbas, 340  
 Photography: objected to, Amazulu, 482  
 Phrygia, *see* Hierapolis  
 Piaroas: exorcising new hut, 265-8, 270  
 Pictish kings, names of, 70, 143  
 Pietermaritzburg: kraal, 479-84; Zulu wedding, 472-9 (*plates*)  
 Pig: boar's head crest of clan Campbell, 452; boar's tusk as amulet, Spain, 457-8; figure as votive offering, Spain, 471; in Floamanna saga, 391, 396; in marriage customs, Oberpfalz, 280; nose thrown over house, Cornwall, 281; shape-

- shifting into, Iceland, 422; sow in folktale, Wales, 312; sow in founding of Glastonbury, 309, 311, and Alba Longa, 311; sow, shape-shifting into, Iceland, 422; swine of Aphrodite, Hierapolis, 396
- Pigeon : in annual ceremony, Grossel-fingen, 271-2; connected with golden bough, 447-8; as local nick-name, 22; in marriage custom, Podolia &c., 284; Maui in shape of, 133; valued, 285
- Pigstie : slept in for dream revelations, Iceland, 415
- Pilitor, Albania : origin of Kraljevich Marko, 113
- Pillars, sacred : of Druids, 61; Malta, 7
- Pilsen : female headdress, 251
- Pixies, *see* Fairies
- Place names, derivations of : England, 50, 65; Ireland 62, 67
- Plants in folklore, *see* Broom; Cress; Entada; Flowers-in-folklore; Furze; Ivy; Lady's Mantle; Mistletoe; Moss; Mucuna; Orchid; Polygonum; Rue; Rush; Selago; *and* Vine
- Ploughing customs and beliefs : pre-Milesian worship of, Erin, 165; Tuesday as right day, 46
- Plum : acran, Cornwall, 57
- Pocock, W. Innes : Cat's Cradle, 73-93; Some English String Tricks, 352-73
- Podliassie : cock burnt at wedding, 282
- Podolia : marriage custom, 284
- Poetic preceded prose romances, 231
- Poitou : marriage customs, 280, 284
- Pojk : marriage custom, 283
- Pokomo river : Hewat's *Bantu Folk Lore* reviewed. 248-51
- Pokutia, *see* Huculs
- Poland : (*see also* Lithuania); marriage custom for widower, 281
- Polygonum : children named from, Euahlayi tribe, 245
- Pollock, F. : reviews by,—Frazer's *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, 375-9; Landtman's *The Origin of Priesthood*, 375, 379
- Pollux, *see* Dioscuri
- Polyandry, *see* Marriage customs and beliefs
- Polydeuces, *see* Dioscuri
- Polynesia : (*see also* Society islands); kava, 481
- Pontefract : "wassail box," 350
- Pork : at wedding breakfast, Ober-pfalz, 280
- Portugal : amulets, 457-8
- Poseidon Hippios, 15
- Praeneste : oracle, 67
- Prague : ethnographical museum, 251
- Pregnancy, *see* Birth customs and beliefs; *and* Conception
- President, election of, 4
- Presidential Address, 4, 12-26
- Prilep : ruled by Kraljevich Marko, 111
- Probus : oak as life-index, 323
- Processions : Ascension Day, W. Germany, 271
- Prometheus as origin of crystal-gazing, 232-3, 374
- Prophecies : of Thomas the Rhymer, 319
- Provence : minstrelsy, 381
- Proverbs : Egypt, 197; Scotland, 319; Welsh, 49
- Pryderi, son of Pwyll, 143
- Puberty rites : Baperi, 484; Paraguay, 123; tooth knocking out, 128
- Publications of Folk-Lore Society, 8-9
- Pulmonary diseases : burying place for dead from, Zulus, 484
- Purse : in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349-51
- Pygmies, 120
- Qasr eṣ-Ṣayyād : offering to tamarisk, 199
- Qubbet el-Hawa, Assuan, in droll, 195
- Queen Guinevere, 340
- Queen Languoreth of Cambria, 329
- Queen Medb of Connaught, 160
- Queensland : (*see also* Barwon; Broad Sound; Cardwell; *and* Diamantina river) : tribal All-Father, 175
- Quicken-tree : in tale of Diarmuid and Grainne, 438-9, 448
- Rag-trees : Egypt, 199
- Rainbow, customs concerning, 279
- Rain charms : France, 273; Grossel-fingen, 272; rites, Moslem, Morocco, 506
- Rajputana : pedigrees of princes, 376
- Ram, *see* Sheep
- Ramadan : sayings, 197
- Ramsflue : saga of earth dwarfs, 134, 140
- Rán, sea goddess, 396-7

- Rathvilly : meaning of name, 172  
 Raumarige : part of king Halfdan's body buried, 419  
 Raven : associated with Lug, 165-6, and Cuchulainn, 166; in ballad, Bretagne, 314; dwells on poisoned hazel-tree, 58, 165; form of the Morrigu, 166; kings related to, Erin, 166; in saying, Perthshire, 319; shape-shifting into, 166; wife of Tethra, 166  
 Reaping customs and beliefs, *see* Harvest customs and beliefs  
 Rebirth beliefs, *see* Reincarnation beliefs  
*Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publiés en l'honneur du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes* reviewed, 505-7  
 Red : doll in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349; red-haired woman unlucky, but man lucky, Ireland, 203  
 Rederech, King, *see* King Rederech  
 Red Etin, The, 161  
 Redon, abbey of, 42  
 Reincarnation beliefs: Australia, 18-9, 21, 237-41, 490; Ireland, 163-4  
 Relationship, blood : Australia, 107-110, 116-7, 296-7, 302-6  
 Religion : (*see also* Buddhism); origins of, discussed, 126-8; primitive, publications on, 14-5  
*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, by A. Dieterich and R. Wünsch, reviewed, 253-4  
 Reptiles in folklore, *see* Alligator; Crocodile; Frog; Lizard; and Snake  
 Revenants, *see* Ghosts  
 Reviews, 115-28, 236-56, 375-84, 488-507  
 Reykdale : temple and priest, 419  
 Reykdoela saga, 401, 420  
 Rhodesia : (*see also* Umtali); Kaffir beer, 481  
 Rhymes : (*see also* Folk-songs; and Nursery rhymes); of months, Egypt, 197  
 Ringerige : part of King Halfdan's body buried, 419  
 Rings, finger : set with teeth, Spain, 465 (*plate*), or shells, Spain, 465-6, 471 (*plate*)  
 Ringworm cured by seventh son, Leitrim, 201  
 Rivers and streams : (*see also under their names*); gods, *see* Water gods  
 Robin : in arms of Glasgow, 329; fire-bringer, Brittany and Wales, 447; in folktale, Leitrim, 443, 447; in miracle of St Kentigern, 329; sacred bird, 447; some of God's blood in veins, Brittany and Scotland, 447  
 Robin Hood pastimes, 383-4  
 Rolling on ground, when first stork &c. seen, 278  
 Romans, ancient : amulets, 458, 461, 466, 469 (*plate*); (*see also under names of deities*); drama decayed with fall of, 380; Equiria, February, 420; huntsman's festival, 446; inscriptions, Carmarthen and Gloucestershire, 38; scapegoats, 265  
 Rosaries : Tibet, 3  
 Rose, H. A., Does the Folk-Lore Society exist for the Study of Early Institutions? 111-3  
 Rose, white : badge of clan Stuibhard, 319  
 Ross : yew-tree, 66-9  
 Ross-shire : (*see also* Applecross; Contin; Dingwall; Gairloch; and Loch Maree); fairs, 333  
 Rouen : fish bone as amulet, 467  
 Rouse, W. H. D. : election as president, 4; Presidential Address, 4, 12-26  
 Rowan, *see* Mountain ash  
 Roxburgh (Aus.) : words of dance, 490  
 Rucht the swineherd, 166  
 Rudrach, King, *see* King Rudrach  
 Rue : flower in amulet, Spain, 457 (*plate*)  
 Ruidhe, son of Lughaid Menn, 170  
 Rush : offered to Manannan on Midsummer Eve, Isle of Man, 141  
 Russia : (*see also* Caucasus; Crime Tartars; Esthonia; Finland; Great Russia; Letts; Lithuania; Moscow; Podolia; Poland; Siberia; and Ukraine); cock's head thrown on roof, Jan. 13, 281; early institutions, 512  
 Sacrifice :  
   *animal*,—Amazulu, 483; at cutting of mistletoe, Gauls, 33-4; on eve of Day of Atonement, Jews, 275-6, 281; of dog, Iroquois, 265; after holmgang, Iceland, 407-8; of horse, Iceland, 419-20; at marriage, Amazulu, 483, Caucasus, 283; three months after death, Manyika, 487; in new house, Africa &c., 265-6; on St Maree's day, Ross-shire, 333; by

- throwing from height, Belgium &c., 276; at Yule feast, Scandinavia, 417;  
 in autumn, mid-winter, and summer, Scandinavia, 416-8; disablót, or sacrifice to Disir, Iceland, 400, and Norway, 416  
*human*,—at burial, Iceland, 403; in new house, Africa, 268; Iceland, 419; for long life, Scandinavia, 419; of Meriah, Khonds, 277; only in special emergencies, Scandinavia, 418-9; striking victim, 274;  
 as motive for folk sports, 383  
*Sagenkreis, Der, vom geprellten Teufel*, by A. Wünsche, reviewed, 253  
 St Anthony of Padua: figure as amulet, Spain, 471 (*plate*)  
 St Augustias of Granada: figure as amulet, Spain, 471 (*plate*)  
 St Barnabas' Day: Glastonbury walnut budded, 311  
 St Bartholomew's Day: Glastonbury walnut in leaf, 311  
 St Brigit and oak-tree and sun, 325-6  
 St Brigit's Festival, 325-6  
 St Columcille, 327-9  
 St Dioscurus, 496  
 St Donatianus, 496  
 St Felicitas, 496  
 St George: medal as amulet, Spain, 469 (*plate*)  
 St Kentigern, 328-30  
 St Lucy: emblems of, Spain, 463 (*plate*); shell named after, Italy, 465, Spain, 471  
 St Madoes, Gowrie, in legend of Hays, 318  
 St Maelrubha, *see* St Maree  
 St Malubius or Malrube, *see* St Maree  
 St Maree, 331-3  
 St Maree's Day: sacrifices, Ross-shire, 333  
 St Moling and the Devil, 133  
 St Mourie or Moury, *see* St Maree  
 St Mulray, *see* St Maree  
 St Nearchas, 495-6  
 St Neot, Cornwall, 42-6, 55  
 St Neot's (Corn.): cenotaph of saint, 42; legends of saint, 43, 45  
 St Neot's (Hunt.): fair, July 31st, 44, Dec. 6-8, 44; pronunciation of, 42; saint's body brought from Cornwall, 42; saint's festival, July 31st, 43  
 St Nicholas' Day, 383  
 St Nicholas of Bari, 44  
 St Nicholas' Fair, St Neot's (Hunt.), 44  
 St Ninian's staff, 328  
 St Patrick: and Caeilté, 170; would-be assassin of, 34  
 St Paul's cathedral: in nursery rhyme, 56; sanctuary of god Lud, 50  
 St Perpetua, 496-7  
 St Phileas, 496  
 St Philoromus, 496  
 St Polyeuctes, 495-6  
 St Rogatianus, 496  
 St Ruffus: 333; feast, 333  
 Saints: Celtic, associated with sky god's tree, 324-33  
 St Serf, 328  
 St Servanus, 329  
 Sakai of Malay Peninsula, 120  
 Salmon: in arms of Glasgow, 329; on diadem, Lydney Park, 41; in Irish folktale, 152; of Llyn Llyw, in Welsh story, 39; 'mugna,' Ireland, 62; in miracle of St Kentigern, 329; in Nechta's well, Ireland, 39, 162; in temple mosaic, Gloucestershire, 39  
 Samhain, feast of: death of Nuada, 30, 58; in folktale, Ireland, 429; Oct. 28th, eve of, 44; ritual of, Ireland, 30, 159, 162, 325  
 Sandals, winged, symbolism of, 140  
 Saragossa: amulets, 462, 469 (*plates*)  
 Saturnus as king of Latium, 409  
 Satyrs, goat's legs of, 133  
 Saxo Grammaticus, authority of, 387-8, 406, 409  
 Sayce, Prof. A. H., "More Cairene Folklore," 130, 191-200  
 Scandinavia, *see* Denmark; Norway; and Sweden  
 Scapegoat, The, in European Folklore, by N. W. Thomas, 257-87; in Játaka story, 501  
 Scarborough: oak coffin of Brigantian chief, 321; A Yorkshire "Wassail Box," by Mrs. E. Wright, 349-51 (*plate*)  
 Sceptre: Amazulu, 474 (*plate*); symbolism of, 165, 315  
 Scorpion: killed by lizard with feet, Cairo, 198; as local nickname, Palestine, 22-3

- Scotland: (*see also* Hebrides; Highlands; Orkney islands; *and under names of counties*); crown, 315; Glais, ancestor of Scottish kings, 34; sceptre, 315; sword of state, 315
- Scutari, *see* Skodra
- Scythia: back-footed beings, 131-2, 135
- Sea-deities: Gefjon, 389-90; Greek, 396; Jupiter, 30; Manannan, 141-2; Nuada, 31; Poseidon, 397; Rán, 396; Zeus, 30
- Seal: as local nickname, 22; shape-shifting into, Iceland, 422
- Seal of Solomon, as amulet, Madrid, 460
- Sea-mew: in ballad, Bretagne, 314
- Secretary, election of, 5
- Secret of the Totem, The*, by A. Lang, reviewed, 236-46, 289
- Seeds: (*see also* Entada; *and* Mucuna); as amulets, Spain, 467-8 (*plate*)
- Selago herb: plucked in white robe, 34
- Selkirkshire, *see* Yarrow
- Senach the Unearthly, 149
- Senchas Mór, 434-5
- September: 1st, goat sacrificed, Oberpfalz, 276
- Serpent, *see* Snake
- Servia: Kraljevich Marko, a Servian hero, 113
- Seven: 7th son of 7th son as healer, Leitrim, 201
- Seville: amulets, 456-8, 460-5, 467-9 (*plates*)
- "Shade of the Balkans, The," by Miss M. E. Durham, 113
- Shangaan tribe: dances, 478; duiker clan, 484; twins, one slain, 484
- Shape-shifting: devil as cat or wolf, Esthonia, 263; in folktales, India, 503, Iceland, 421-2, Ireland, 435, Wales, 312-3
- Shark: tooth as amulet, Spain, 464
- Sheep: in 'bachelette' custom, Chatillon-sur-Seine, 280; dead lamb thrown into trees, England, 281; lamb as marriage gift, Crim Tartars, 283; in marriage customs, 280-1, 283, Bulgaria, 283, Crim Tartars, 283, Illyria, 283, Poitou, 280; ram led and killed as scapegoat, 275, or sacrificed, Bohemia, 276, Zulus, 483; skin rolled round baby, Bantu, 250
- Shellfish in folklore, *see* Oyster
- Shells in folklore: (*see also* Cowrie shell; Fossils in folklore; *and* Trochus shell); as amulets, Spain &c., 465-6 (*plate*)
- Shields: of Finn MacCumall, 59, 69; of Hugh, son of Duach, 69-70
- Ships: burial in, Iceland, 397, 401-3, 410-1
- Shooting: at wren, Limousin, 273
- Shrove Tuesday: blindfolding custom, Wales, 275
- Siberia, *see* Kamtchadales; *and* Kurile islands
- Sicily: triskeles origin of Manx arms, 142
- Sicyon: oracular stone, 414
- Sicyonia, *see* Sicyon
- Siedlitz: cock carried and burnt at wedding, 282
- Sikhs: deification of John Nicholson, 376
- Silver: apple-tree in Irish Otherworld, 144-5, 149, 151-3, 155-9; palace in folktales, 152; rod, in fine for insult to a king, 309-10; thirteenth-pence piece in elf-bags, N.W. Ireland, 202; votive offerings, Spain, 472
- Silver bough in Irish legend, 144-5, 149, 151-3, 155-9, 161, 169, 320, 333, 445
- Simla Village Tales, or Folk-Tales from the Himalayas*, by A. E. Dracott, reviewed, 501-3
- Sin-eating: Chatillon-sur-Seine, 280
- Siren: in amulets, Spain, 462 (*plate*)
- Sirens, The, 134-6
- Sithon, King, *see* King Sithon
- Skipping games, Argyllshire, 216-7
- Skodra: Kraljevich Marko, 113
- Sky: Altjira the sky-god, Australia, 135; The European Sky-God, IV-VII—The Celts, by A. B. Cook, I, 27-71, 141-73, 308-48, 427-53; tree growing in castle sacred to sky god, Ireland, 171; twins children of, Africa, 494; Tyr a sky god, 389
- Skye, isle of: (*see also* Strath); Oisín's mother a deer, 435
- Slavonians: early institutions, 512; rites in spring &c., 258; *south*, gifts to bridegroom, 283, 'means of living' = various fruits &c.
- Slienamon: origin of name, 436
- Sligo: (*see also* Carrowmore; *and* Moytura); cure of elf-shooting, 200-10

- Sligo county, *see* Calraighe Laithim ; Moy ; *and* Sligo  
 Sloe : árne, Ireland, 57  
 Slovenians : (*see also* Lopaž ; *and* Nitran) ; 'means of living' denotes beech nuts, 57  
 Smallpox : caused by injury to spirit, Philippines, 122  
 Smoke : tests bewitching of baby, Bantu, 250  
 Snake : ammonite as, Whitby, 7 ; bite, medicine for, Zulus, 483 (*plate*) ; causes typhoid fever, Bantu, 249 ; Danbe, s. god, Dahomey, 268-9 ; dance, Moqui Indians, 1 ; Delphyne, gaol of Zeus, 28 ; Erinyes connected with, 138 ; first seen killed for luck, 277-8 ; imamba now killed, Zulus, 479-80 ; in Játaka story, 500 ; snake-man back-footed, New Caledonia, 131, 138 ; Snake-skin, Magyar tale, 133, 138, 140 ; worshipped, Egypt, 199  
 Snap-apple night, *see* Hallow Eve  
 Sneezing : blessing after, Cairo, 198 ; shows baby not bewitched, Bantu, 250  
 Snow : brought by magic, Iceland, 425  
 Snowdon : in tale from Mabinogion, 49  
 Society islands, *see* Tahiti  
 Solomon, King, *see* King Solomon  
 Some English String Tricks, by W. Innes Pocock, 352-73  
 Somerset : (*see also* Avallon, isle of ; Bath ; *and* Glastonbury) ; Dumnouii, 42  
 Sophora japonica, worship of, 190  
 Sorcerers, *see* Wizards  
 Sorcery, *see* Magic  
 Souls : in animal form, 264 ; birds as, Ireland, 169, S. Australia, 264 ; Paraguay beliefs, 124 ; separable souls, 504, India, 503  
 South America, *see* Brazil ; British Guiana ; Carayas ; Chirionossos ; Guiana ; Orinoco river ; Paraguay ; Piaroas ; *and* United States of Columbia  
 South Australia, *see* Arunta tribe ; Diamantina river ; Gnanji tribe ; Kaitish tribe ; Lake Eyre ; Murray river ; *and* Umbaia tribe  
 Sow, *see* Pig  
 Sowing customs and beliefs : Tuesday as right day, 46  
 Spain : (*see also* Andalusia ; Aragon ; Catalonia ; Italica ; *and* New Castile) ; amulets, 257, 454-71 ; Bile, king of, 68 ; ex votos, 257, 471-2 (*plate*) ; Notes on Spanish Amulets, by W. L. Hildburgh, 454-71 (*plates*)  
 Spears : magic, in Irish sagas, 69-70  
 Spitting : on seeing first snake, Huculs, 278 ; transfers sins, Játaka story, 501  
 Spooks, *see* Ghosts  
 Spring : (*see also under months*) ; cock-throwing, 279 ; customs connected with marriage customs, 279 ; saying on first hot day, Cairo, 197 ; victims figuring in customs, 286-7  
 Springhaas, *see* Jerboa  
 Springs : St. Neot's, 55  
 Sreng, Fir Bolg champion, 29  
 Stag : associated with Diana Nemo-rentis, 445 ; Finn changed into, 436 ; in folktale, Ireland, 435 ; in legend of St Neot, 46 ; as local nickname, Palestine, 22  
 Starling : as local nickname, 22  
 Stars : (*see also* Dioscuri) ; totems surviving as, Australia, 110  
 Stirlingshire, *see* Loch Lomond  
 Stomach of sacrifice hung as offering, Zulus, 483  
 Stones : (*see also* Cromlechs) ; associated with totems, Australia, 18, 21 ; baetyls, Ireland and Crete, 61 ; dead inhabit black boulder, Philippines, 122 ; Fal, in Irish folktale, 157 ; holed, Antrim, 7 ; Caithness-shire, 7  
 Stor-Junkare, Lapp god, 134-5, 140  
 Stork : customs on first seeing, 278  
 Storms : Odin, god of, 389 ; stopped by magic, Iceland, 425 ; Valkyries storm ghosts, 409 ; Zeus, Jupiter, *and* Nuada, gods of, 30  
 Strath : tradition of St Maree, 331  
 Strath Duie : strong men, 218  
 String games : Australia, 86 ; England, 73-93, 352-73 ; Flanders, 83 ; Germany, 83 ; Korea, 82-5 ; Melanesia, 86 ; Norway, 86  
 Stuarts : Hays descended from, 318, 321 ; oak as badge, 315, 322  
 Stuibhard : clan badge, 319  
 Styria, *see* Slovenians  
 Suffolk : (*see also* Huntingfield) ; cat's cradle, 92

- Sun: ancestor of Rajput princes, 376; Diarmuid and Grainne as solar deities, 441, 452-3; Finn MacCumall as solar champion, 433; Gawain as sun god, 343; goddess, Ireland, 163; Lug, the sun god, 141, 158, 163, 165, 312, 343; Manannan as sun god, 141-2, 159; Nuada, Irish god, 30; sun charms on Allhallow Even, Ireland, 58; sun trees, Ireland &c., 159, 163; symbolised in regalia, 315; Virbius as, 441; worshipped, ancient Erin, 165
- Sunday: (*see also* Palm Sunday); nursery rhyme, Cairo, 197
- Sunrise: water to cure elf-shooting taken before, N.W. Ireland, 207
- Sunset: water to cure elf-shooting taken at, N.W. Ireland, 207
- Sunwise: in charming mistletoe, Perthshire, 319; round temple causes storm, Icelandic saga, 394
- Surrey, *see* Clapham; *and* Croydon
- Svarfdæla saga, 390, 397, 401-3, 412, 417
- Swallow: caging unlucky, freeing lucky, France, 271; first seeing, customs on, 278
- Swan: in marriage customs, 281
- Swartkop, *see* Amampumuza tribe
- Swastika, *see* Cross
- Sweden: (*see also* Upsala); bad crops reckoned against kings, 418; Frey a tribal god, 392; root cognate to Nuada, 47
- Sweetmeats: in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 349
- Swine, *see* Pig
- Switzerland, *see* Canton Grisons
- Sword: blunting by magic, Iceland, 423; of Gawain, 343; of Nuada and of Zeus, 30-1; of state, Scotland, 315
- Sword dance, 382-3
- Syria: Dioscuri, 495; tree worship, 199
- Syrians, drolls about, 193-4
- Taboos: Amazulu, 478; in folktales, 504; Ireland, 161, 167, 336
- Tabor, C. J.: exhibit by, 2, 7; note on Spanish hand amulets, 458-9
- Tadg, son of Nuada the druid, 58-9, 69, 169
- Tadg, tale of adventures of, 153-5, 158, 431
- Tahiti: attitude to gods, 247
- Taliessin, poem ascribed to, 37, 40
- Tamarisk: in *Parzival*, 344; offerings to, Egypt, 199
- Tara: in folktales, 151, 153, 157-8, 429, 432, 436-7; kings in, embody sun god, 163-5, 343; seat of Nuada's reign, 32, 165; taboos on king at, 161, 336
- Tay, Firth of, *see* Errol
- Tearne-wadling: in saga of King Arthur, 341
- Teeth: of alligator on bangle, Spain, 468 (*plate*); chipped, negritos of Philippines, 121; first shed as amulet, Pliny, 465; in finger-rings, Spain, 465 (*plate*); knocked out at puberty, 128
- Teething, amulets to aid in, Spain, 456, 464-5 (*plates*)
- Temair, *see* Tara
- Termites, *see* Ant
- Tethra, king of the Otherworld, 166
- Teutonic institutions, works on, 512
- Thidrandi, saga of, 389
- Thighbones, *see* Bones, human
- Thirteen: numeral as amulet, Italy and Spain, 464
- Thirteen-pence piece, in elf-bags, N.W. Ireland, 202
- Thoas, 340
- Thomas, means twin, 497
- Thomas, N. W.: Dr. Howitt's Defence of Group-marriage, 294-307; The Scapegoat in European Folklore, 257-87
- Thomas the Rhymer: prophecies, 319
- Thor: animals devoted to, 391, 396; figure of, 405; oath by, Icelandic sagas, 394; references in Icelandic sagas, 390-2, 395-6; sacrificed to, 390, 393; Thor's stone, for human sacrifice, Iceland, 419; thunder god, 389
- Thor cake, 2, 7
- Thorfinn Karlsefin's saga, 391-2, 408, 414-5
- Thorgerd Holgabrúð, worshipped, 405-7
- Thorskrifðingasaga, 389-90, 398, 422-4
- Thorsness; origin of name, 390
- Thorstein Hall of Side's Son, saga of, 389, 398
- Thorstein the White, saga of, 389
- Three: cow spanned thrice to detect elf-shooting, N.W. Ireland, 204; legs of Manannan, 141-2; three drinks of three-mearne water for



- cure of elf-shooting, N.W. Ireland, 206-7; years, serpent god carried round Dahomey city, 268-9
- Three Kings, patron saints of travellers, 469
- Thrush: mistletoe must pass through maw of, 447
- Thunder: connected with Irish king, 167-8; customs concerning, 279; hymn of St Columcille sung against, Ireland, 327; Thor a thunder god, 389; Tiermes a thunder god, Lapps, 452-3
- Thursday: before Fastnacht, ceremony, Grosselfingen, 272
- Tibet: exhibits from, 3, 7
- Tiermes, Lapp deity, 452-3
- Tipperary county, *see* Borrisokane
- Tlachtga: centre for fresh fire of Samhain, 30; well of, water drunk by Irish king, 162
- Toasts: at Yule feast, Scandinavia, 417
- Toledo: amulets, 456, 463, 465, 467-9 (*plates*)
- Tooth, *see* Teeth
- Torres Straits: string trick, 370-2
- Tortu, the tree of, 63, 65-6, 68-9
- Totemism: Australia, 16-26, 107-110, 118-9, 489; Lang's *The Secret of the Totem* reviewed, 236-46; theories discussed, 16-26
- Toucan: in exorcism, Piaroas, 266-7
- Translations of Folklore Publications, by G. L. Gomme, 230
- Transvaal, *see* Johannesburg; Shannann tribe; and Zoutpansberg
- Travelling, *see* Journey
- Travel Notes in South Africa, by E. S. Hartland, 385, 473-87 (*plates*)
- Treasure, buried: in burial mounds, Iceland, 412-4
- Treasurer, election of, 5
- Trees in folklore: (*see also* Apple-tree; Ash-tree; Elm-tree; Fruit-trees; Hawthorn-tree; Hazel-tree; Holly; Ilex; Mango-tree; Mountain ash; Oak-tree; Quicken-tree; Rag-trees; Sophora japonica; Tamarisk; Walnut-tree; Yew-tree; and Yggdrasil-tree); baetyls near sacred trees, Crete and Ireland, 61; Baldr a tree spirit, 389; Bile a divinised tree, Ireland, 60, 65, 67, 171-2, 315, 452; Manannan's sacred trees, 143-51; nucleus of palace, Emain Macha, 337; of St Maree, Ross-shire, 331; tree growing in castle sacred to sky-god, Ireland, 171; tree of virtues, in folktale, Ireland, 449-50; Tree Worship in China, by A. R. Wright, 190 (*plate*); worshipped, China, 190, Egypt, 199, Ireland, 448, Syria, 199
- Tritons on Roman diadem, Lydney Park, 41
- Trochus shell: as amulet, Italy, Spain, &c., 465-6 (*plates*), 471; name given to seed amulet, Spain, 467
- Trondhjem: cat's cradle, 86
- Trout: in folktale, Ireland, 435
- Trumpets: Tibet, 3
- Truro: oak as life-index, 323
- Tuatha Dé Danann, 28, 30, 32, 46, 154, 162, 165, 170, 209, 324, 326, 438-9, 444
- Tuathal the Acceptable, King, *see* King Tuathal
- Tuesday: right day for ploughing, sowing, and reaping, 46
- Tugela: witch doctor's necklace, 483 (*plate*)
- Tug of war: annual, France, 272-4, 279; newly married share in, France, 273, 279, Germany, 283
- Tuirenn: saga of children of, 70; sons of, 169
- Tullaghoge: inauguration place of O'Neills, 172
- Tulle: tug-of-war &c., annual ceremony, 272-3
- Tumuli: Grianan Aileach, 32
- Tunis, in Cairene droll, 195
- Turkey in Europe: (*see also* Albania; Bulgaria; Macedonia; and Servia); "The Shade of the Balkans," by Miss M. E. Durham, 113
- Twins: one slain, Essequibo Indians, 494, Shangaans, 484; Harris's *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* reviewed, 493-8
- Two Queries, by A. Lang, 507
- Typhoid fever: due to snake, Bantu, 249; treatment of, Bantu, 249
- Typhon: struggle with Zeus, 28-9
- Tyr, sky god, 389
- Uap island: string trick, 366
- Ugaine, sons of, 65-6, 68
- Uisnech, the tree of, 63-5, 68
- Uist: games, 93-4, 102, 211, 222; strength feat, 219

- Ukraine : marriage custom, 284  
 Ulidians, vengeance of, 172  
 Ulster: (*see also* Antrim; Boyne river; Cavan; Donegal; Londonderry county; Lough Foyle; *and* St Maree); Celt-chair the champion, 70; corn baby, 7; Nuada the warrior, 33  
 Ulthaana, Arunta deity, 134  
 Umbaia tribe: conception beliefs, 18-9; totemism, 18-9  
 Umbria, *see* Gubbio  
 Umbrina fish: "ear-bones" as amulets, Romans, 466  
 Umtali, *see* Manyika  
 Underworld deities, *see* Chthonian deities  
 Umgeni, *see* Amafunze tribe; *and* Inadi tribe  
 Umooti, *see* Amafunze tribe; *and* Inadi tribe  
 Underberg, *see* Inadi tribe  
 United States of Columbia: chicha, 481  
 United States of North America, *see* Arizona; Cherokee Indians; Chipewewa Indians; Iroquois; New York; *and* Pawnee Indians  
 Unshinagh, meaning of, 62  
 Unshog, meaning of, 62  
 Upper Palatinate, *see* Oberpfalz  
 Upper Umkomanzi, *see* Amafunze tribe  
 Upsala : midwinter sacrifice, 417  
 Urabunna tribe: 293; marriage customs, 177-8, 183-4, 186, 294-5, 489; mother right, 489; reincarnation beliefs, 21; totemism, 21, 489  
 Urquhart: St Maree slain, 333  
*Ursprung der Religion und Kunst*, Der, von K. Th. Preuss, reviewed, 126-8  
 Usnagh hill, *see* Uisnech  
 Valhalla, 387, 400-3, 409-10  
 Valkyries, the, wind or storm ghosts, 409  
 Vapnfirðinga saga, 389  
 Vaulse Dept., *see* Entraigues  
 Vediovis pater: cult of Julian gens, 59  
 Veniua, daughter of Adam, 154  
 Vessel cup: name not used near Scarborough, 349  
 Vice-Presidents, election of, 4  
 Victoria: (*see also* Gippsland; Murray river; *and under names of tribes*); relationships, 110; tribal All-Father, 175  
 Viga-Glum's saga, 389, 392-4, 398, 407, 415  
 Vine: annual marriage of Dionysus, Athens, 378-9  
 Virbius, Latin divinity, 335, 337, 340-1, 441-2, 445  
 Virgin Mary, The: confused with Grainne, Finn's wife, in folktale, 448-9; in "wassail box," Yorkshire, 350  
 Vlasiu: local customs, 251-2  
 Volsungasaga: oak and apple-tree as equivalents, 57  
 Vosges district: marriage custom, 283  
 Votive offerings: Nemi, 445-6; Spain, 257, 462-3, 471-2 (*plates*)  
 Vukashin, ruler of Skodra, 113  
 Wakelbura tribe: relationships, 109  
 Wales: (*see also* Dinodig; Dyved; Gower; Mabinogion; *and under names of counties*); acron or fruit, 57; blindfolding custom, Shrove Tuesday, 275; cock valued, 285; Manawyddan mab Llyr, 142-3; Nudd corresponds to Irish Nuada, 35-7; robin as fire-bringer, 447; victim over precipice for murrain, 276; wedding gifts, 282; wren customs for newly married, 280  
 Walgan, *see* Gwalchmei  
 Walnut-tree: at Glastonbury, 311  
 Walrus: shape-shifting into, Iceland, 422  
 Walweitha, *see* Galloway  
 Wambeck: cat thrown out of gates, Kirmess, 270  
 War: amulets, Japan, 2-3, Tibet, 3; dances, 477  
 Waramunga tribe: ceremonial helmets, 489; organisation, 186  
 Wasp: first seen killed for luck, 277-8  
 "Wassail box," Yorkshire, 349-51 (*plate*)  
 Water: (*see also* Lakes; Rain; Rivers and streams; Springs; *and* Wells); scooped against stream for cure of elf-shooting, N.W. Ireland, 206  
 Waterdale saga, 389, 362-3, 395, 402, 413-5, 419, 423-6  
 Waterford county, *see* Dungarvan; *and* Gleann Dealgain  
 Water gods: Jupiter, 30-1; Lot, 52; Nodons, 39, 45, 50; Nuada, 30-1,

- 37, 39, 45, 52; Nudd, 37, 45, 52; Zeus, 30-1
- Water spirits: Nechta, Ireland, 31, 39
- Wathi-Wathi tribe: marital terms and organisation, 179
- Weather-lore: (*see also* Mist; Rain; Snow; Storms; *and* Wind); weather spells, Iceland, 424-5
- Wednesday: unlucky to begin or end work, Cairo, 197
- Week, days of, *see under names*
- Weir, Dr. H. H.: cat's cradle, Korea, 82-3
- Wells: Boyne from sacred well, Ireland, 31; of St Kentigern, Glasgow, 329; of St Maree, Ross-shire, 331
- Wends: goat sacrificed, 276
- Wer-beasts: Celebes, 262; Wales, 316
- West Australia: need to investigate tribes, 489
- West Flanders, *see* Ypres
- Westfold: part of King Halfdan's body buried, 419
- West Indies, *see* Jamaica
- Westmeath, *see* Durrow; Farbill; Fir Bile; *and* Uisnech
- Weston, Miss J. L.: The Legend of Merlin, 230-1
- Westphalia: driving out the butterfly, Feb. 22, 263
- Wexford county, *see* Barrow river
- Whale: in Icelandic saga, 391
- Wheat: crown of wheatears, Ireland, 168
- Wheatcroft: "wassail box," 349 (*plate*)
- Wherry, Miss B., exhibit by, 7
- Whipping, ceremonial, *see* Beating, ceremonial
- Whitby: exhibits, 7
- White: in cutting mistletoe, Gauls, 33; Nuada Necht, king of Ireland, 33; in plucking herb *selago*, 34
- White animals, *see* Birds in folklore; Bull; Cock; Cow; Crow; Deer; Dog; Dove; Falcon; Goat; Horse; *and* Ox
- White Horse Vale: 'Blowing Stone,' 320
- Widdershins: in magic, Iceland, 425
- Wigtonshire, *see* Galloway; *and* Kirkmaiden
- Wiltshire, *see* Hill Deverill
- Windie, B. C. A.: review by,—Hewat's *Bantu Folk Lore*, 248-51
- Winds: (*see also* North wind); assigned to totem kins, Australia, 118; nature spirits, 136; Odin a wind god, 389, 409; Valkyries wind ghosts, 409
- Winter: (*see also* Midwinter; *and under months*); buried or cast out in effigy &c., 258; expulsion ceremonies at solstice, 262; feast and sacrifice of the Winter Nights, Iceland, 416, 418
- Wiraidjuri tribe: totem and phratry, 246
- Wise women: diviners at Yule &c., feasts, Scandinavia, 414-5
- Witchcraft: amongst Bantu, 249; amulets against, Italy, Spain, and Romans, 461-2 (*plates*)
- Wives: husbands go to reside with, Paraguay, 123
- Wizards: Australia, 125; elf-doctors, Ireland, 200-10; Equatorial Africa, 256; owl is wizard's messenger, W. Africa, 264; witch doctors, Bantu, 249-50, Tugela, 385, 483 (*plate*)
- Woburn: great ash, 63
- Wolf: (*see also* Wer-beasts); devil driven out as, Esthonia, 263; heart makes eater fierce, Upsala, 417; in poem of Taliessin, 37; in temple of Nodons, Lydney Park, 40
- Women: (*see also* Catamenia; Marriage customs and beliefs; Mothers; Wise Women; *and* Wives); as diviners, Scandinavia, 414-5; labrets, Manyika, 486; scarred, Manyika, 486; special side of kraal theirs, Manyika, 486, Zulus, 481-2; special place of burial, Zulus, 484
- Wood gods: back-footed, Brazil, 131, 135; oak gods, 53
- Wood-pigeon: mistletoe must pass through maw of, 447
- Worgaia tribe: bull-roarers, 491; corroboree, 489-90; love charms, 491; totem centres but not sacred store-houses, 240; traces of churinga, 490-1
- Workington: luck cup, 173
- Wotjobaluk tribe: class system, 110; marital terms and organisation, 180
- Wounds: magical protection against, Iceland, 423-4
- Wren: in annual ceremony, Limousin, 273; carried to house of newly married, 279; in customs for newly-

- married, Wales &c., 280; hunting and freeing of the w., 270-2
- Wright, A. R.: exhibits by, 2-3, 7; Tree Worship in China, 190 (*plate*)
- Wright, Mrs. E., A Yorkshire "Wassail Box," 349-51 (*plate*)
- Wurunjeri tribe: class system, 110; marital terms and organisation, 180
- Würzburg cylix, The, 136
- Yakshas, *see* Ogres
- Yarrow: inscription, 36-7
- Yeogan the Stream, 149
- Yew-tree: Conchobar's palace built of, 337; in Cuchulainn sagas, 150, 337-8; origin of name Emain, 337; rods in divination, Ireland, 67; standard of Fianna, 433; the Tree of Ross, 66-9
- Yggdrasill-tree: in Cornish drama, 56-7; in Merlin's prophecy, 56
- Ynglinga saga, 408-9, 415, 418-9
- Yorkshire, *see* Brigantians; Gristhorpe; Knaresborough; Mirfield; Nidd river; Normanton; Pontefract; Scarborough; Wheatcroft; and Whitby
- Yorkshire "Wassail Box," A, by E. Wright, 349-51 (*plate*)
- Ypres: cat sacrificed, 276
- Yperen, *see* Ypres
- Yuin tribe: marital terms and organisation, 181, 185
- Yule, *see* Christmas
- Yung-Ping-Fu: tree worship, 190 (*plate*)
- Zambales mountains, Luzon: negritos, 120-2
- Zas or Zeus, *see* Zeus
- Zeus: compared with Irish Nuada, 28-35; embodied in kings, 32, 53; oak of, 63; struggle with Typhon, 28-9; as water god, 30-1
- Zodiac, *see* Dioscuri
- Zoutpansberg, *see* Shangaan tribe
- Zulus, *see* Amazulu



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